

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. IV, No. 44.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1935.

Five Cents

SOCIALISM AND THE COMING WAR By Bertram D. Wolfe

The Bauer-Dan-Zyromski Thesis And Its Relation To C.I. Line

The most important problem facing the international labor movement today is the problem of its attitude towards and plans for the approaching world war. It is a problem pressing for immediate solution before the war is upon us. Yet there is widespread confusion and disagreement where, above all, there should be complete clarity and unity. In such a situation, any attempt at formulation of attitude offered by any section of the labor movement, must be welcomed as a contribution to the need of discussion and clarification. In this light we must welcome the attempt of Otto Bauer of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, Jean Zyromski and Amedeo Dunois of the French Socialist Party and Theodor Dan of the Russian Social-Democratic Party to formulate a thesis on "Socialism and the War Danger" as a proposal of policy for the Labor and Socialist (Second) International.*

Their document is a significant one. Since the Second International collapsed on August 4, 1914 and dissolved into so many national sections each warring on the other in alliance with its own master class, this represents the first serious attempt within its ranks to substitute for innumerable national policies involving various degrees of servility to the interests of the various national bourgeoisies, a single uniform policy of international validity for all sections of the L.S.I. Moreover, a thesis advanced by Bauer, Dan and Zyromski and given general endorsement by Friedrich Adler is no mere three or four-man document. Such men are not rank and filers or local leaders. They are men of international reputation. Otto Bauer is the leader of the current, historically known as Austro-Marxism. Dan is an outstanding Russian Menshevik. Zyromski is a leader of the French Socialist Left, Friedrich Adler is secretary of the Second International. And a document so sponsored may be fairly regarded as the expression of the attitude of an important current of the Second International, a current which has been historically characterized as Centrist or Left Social Democrat.

NEW FEATURES OF THE THESIS

The thesis contains various new features. First, there is the attempt to formulate policy from a single international viewpoint, as already mentioned.

* Translated into English by Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the L.S.I. and printed in the *Socialist Call* of October 12, 1935.

Second, there is an attempt to examine the role of the Second International during the last war. Third, there is an attempt to base the policy proposed upon the recognition of two new features in the world situation that did not exist on the eve of the last world war, namely the existence of fascism in Germany and the existence of the Soviet Union. Lastly, there is an avowal of the pre-war aim of the Second International, expressed in its Stuttgart and Basle resolutions and abandoned by all but the revolutionary socialists or Communists in 1914, namely the utilization of the crisis caused by war to overthrow capitalism and establish a socialist society. Let us examine these features of the thesis.

THE MISTAKES OF 1914

The Second International can develop no sound position on war, nor can they win the confidence of any internationalist or revolutionist, until they make a frank examination of the errors (the word is surely charitable!) of August 4, 1914 and a clean break with all that those errors represent. This is all the more necessary since Bauer and Dan are no "spring chickens." They went thru the great betrayal of internationalism in 1914, not, to be sure, as its most energetic advocates, but at least as tolerators, conciliators and apologists for the Scheidemanns, Renners, Thomases, Renaudels, etc.

It must be said that the thesis does not make a clean break with the betrayal of 1914 but diplomatizes with it in unclear and unsatisfactory fashion. It declares that the Socialist Parties were "taken by surprise" in 1914. Yet Marx and Engels began predicting the world war in 1870 (see the warning of the consequences of the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in the Manifesto of the First International.) Engels indicated the outlines of the coming world war with fair accuracy in the 90's. And the exact character of the war was outlined and plans to meet it adopted at the Stuttgart (1907), Copenhagen (1910), and Basle (November 1912) conferences of the Second International. No, the Parties were not "taken by surprise." Neither were they, as the thesis maintains, "driven into a hasty, ill-considered attitude." They had formulated their attitude, laid their plans, and made their pledges, but abandoned and violated them upon the declaration of war. A

clear statement of this fact is the only guarantee that the leaders of the Second International understand what happened in 1914 and are determined not to repeat it or permit it to happen again.

ATTITUDE TO SOVIET UNION

The Bauer-Dan-Zyromski thesis comes out unequivocally in favor of the defense of the Soviet Union. It recognizes the economic and cultural achievements of the proletarian dictatorship (albeit it is intentionally vague on the question of whether that dictatorship was historically necessary or not). It recognizes that the defeat of the Soviet Union would be a calamity for the workers

THE birth of the Soviet Union,

the split in the radical movement, and the foundation of the Communist International, grew directly out of the attitude of Socialism towards the last war. Once more the labor movement is in a ferment of discussion of its tactics in an approaching world conflict. On its decision hangs the safety of the Soviet Union, the future of the revolutionary movement, and, in large measure, the fate of mankind. On the occasion of this 18th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, it overshadows all other questions.—Editor

of the world and its victory a victory for world progress. "Therefore," reads the thesis, "if there should be a war, the interests of international Socialism demand that the Soviet Union should be victorious." This is a clear and unequivocal statement. It is reinforced by the following declaration rendered all the more significant because it is signed by the Menshevik Dan:

"Socialist parties," says the thesis, "who, during the war, should organize or assist nationalist insurrections against the Soviet Union or, for nationalist reasons, undermine the defense of the Soviet Union, would by so doing act contrary to the vital interests of the working class of the world . . . They would take their stand on the other side of the barricade. It is therefore necessary to make it quite clear, in time, whether the Ukrainian, the Georgian and the Armenian So-

cialist Parties** are prepared, in case of war, unconditionally and unreservedly to assist the defense of the Soviet Union and to subordinate their national claims to that defense. Only if they are prepared to act accordingly can there be room for these parties within the L.S.I."

This is indeed a remarkable acknowledgment coming from Theodor Dan! But its full significance only becomes clear in the further development of the thesis.

THE HEART OF THE THESIS

Three fundamental objectives are laid down by the thesis, as the aims of the working class in the coming war. These are:

1. "That German fascism shall be defeated."
2. "That the Soviet Union shall be victorious."
3. "That in all capitalist countries the war shall be used to win power for the working class and to abolish the capitalist system." In these three aims lies the heart of the thesis. They are all laudable objectives. The real question is, how does the thesis propose to accomplish them? Not by any lesser questions, however important, but by the soundness of the tactical and strategic proposals for attaining these objectives, must the thesis be judged.

QUESTION OF GERMAN FASCISM

One of the new features in the world situation is the presence of fascist countries. In them capitalism in a more advanced stage of decay presents most clearly the inherent logic of capitalism in its declining era. The most powerful and menacing, and probably the most brutal (if such distinctions in degrees of maximal brutality can be made) of fascist governments is that of Hitler. It has inspired the hatred of workers everywhere. This can easily be taken advantage of by the ruling class of such a capitalist-imperialist power as France, to attempt to harness the French masses once more to their war chariot in the event of a war in which France and Germany would be on opposing sides.

** These are the names of little groups of anti-Soviet emigres among which Dan and his group should be numbered, who have received and still receive aid, comfort, recognition and support from the Second International.

Add to this that France is one of the "sated imperialisms," that it came out of the last war victorious, with its belly full of German colonies, provinces like Alsace-Lorraine and new vassal states under its hegemony. While it is digesting its meal it can temporarily look as peaceful as a maw-crammed tiger. The sated imperialist powers are not less imperialist, they are only less hungry, less anxious for a disturbance of the status quo which may threaten their loot. But they prepare no less energetically for war, in a military, diplomatic, and moral sense. And their war for the retention of their loot is no whit less imperialistic than the war of the opposing brigands who attempt to make them part with some of it. Thanks to their sated condition, however they are strengthened in their "moral" preparations. They can pose hypocritically before their own masses as "less aggressive", "more peace-loving"—the old game of attempting to enlist mass support for imperialist war by masking it as innocent national defense, a game so skillfully practiced to take in the masses in all lands during the last war.

What is the duty of revolutionary socialists in this situation? Clearly to warn the masses against such hypocritical deceptions. To unmask sated imperialisms as imperialistic. To warn that the military dictatorship installed by a capitalist republic when war breaks will be in no wise distinguishable from fascism. To call upon the masses in countries like France (I use it only as an example, but an important one since Zyromski and Dunois sign the thesis) to wage relentless war against their own master class and its war preparations. To rob Hitler of the powerful weapon that would be his if he could declare that "all France, regardless of class, is united in a race war against Germany." To strengthen the German working class struggle against Hitler before and during war, by giving assurance that there is a like French working class struggle against its ruling class before and during war. Such are the duties of the revolutionary socialist.

And what does the thesis do? Essentially the opposite! Here are its proposals:

"In fighting against war, international Socialism must support the governments of those countries which, satiated by the results of the last war, want to preserve peace." (em-
(Continued on Page 5)

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

NEW OFFENSIVE IN ETHIOPIA; SCHACHT EXPLAINS HITLER DESIGNS ON SOVIETS; KING RETURNS TO GREECE; JAPAN WANTS ACTION IN CHINA DISPUTE

New Offensive In Ethiopia Involves More Than Quarter Million Troops

AFTER a week of optimistic reports of advances towards Makale in the North and a similar advance from the South, it appears that Italian armies had not at all budged. The real offensive has just begun with the participation of some quarter of a million troops. The Ethiopians are reported to be retreating slowly,—apparently still carrying out the same strategy which has to this day kept Italy without an important engagement or victory.

Conviction continues to grow that a sudden and widespread victory by Italy is impossible and that an extended campaign may be expected.

SANCTIONS TO BEGIN

In the meantime the League of Nations still talks about sanctions. Now that nearly everyone including France (to the great surprise of Italy) has approved sanctions against Italy (embargo on Italian goods, no credits, no shipment of vital war commodities) it has become known that the date on which sanctions are to begin has been set for November 18.

Negotiations for a settlement are still proceeding with the air in Geneva thick with rumours of all sorts. Laval still continues to talk with both Italian and British representatives regarding the ending of the present conflict.

GERMANY AIMS AT USSR

German Minister of Economics, Hjalmar Schacht, has spilled the beans. While conferring with Jean Tannery, governor of the Bank of France, and Montague C. Norman, governor of the Bank of England, he insisted that Hitler has no designs upon France or Alsace-Lorraine. For the present, he said, Hitler would be satisfied with expansion in the

Baltic area and later with the division of Soviet Ukraine between Poland and Germany.

The Soviet Ambassador has questioned Premier Laval regarding the frequent conferences with Berlin.

VOTE FOR KING GEORGE TO RETURN TO GREECE

With the Republicans boycotting the elections as a protest measure the result of the national plebiscite on the return of George II, was a foregone conclusion. Nominally Republican sections such as Crete gave huge majorities for his return.

The ground for the return of another European monarchy is in process of preparation in Austria where Major Fey, recently ousted from the Cabinet, came out for the return of the monarchy while addressing a large gathering of war veterans.

JAPAN SEEKS ACTION IN CHINA DISPUTE

The strained relations between Japan and China continue. The Japanese Military authorities have finally formulated their demands and submitted them to the Chinese Nationalist leaders. They call for (1) wiping out anti-Japanese propaganda and actions in the northern provinces; (2) economic cooperation of the northern provinces with Manchukuo; and (3) an offensive against the Soviet districts in which Japan offers the services of its Manchukuo troops.

Within the Chinese people sentiments of hostility against the pro-Japanese orientation of a section of the Nationalists is developing fast and expressed it-

self in the attempted assassination of Premier Wang Ching-wei.

Perhaps as a threat against Japan Nanking has opened negotiations with the Soviet Union for closer cooperation. Spokesman have declared that China will soon have to make a choice between the Soviet Union and Japan.

GOVT MEDIATOR IN ON PATERSON SILK STRIKE

Colonel Frank P. Douglas, of the Textile Relations Board and the Department of Labor has come to Paterson to mediate the silk strike which, according to Alex Williams, Manager of the Union, is about 90% effective. Mr. Douglas has conferred with Mayor Hinchcliffe and with a delegation from the union. The demands placed before him were a \$20 per week minimum and the return of the 1933 agreement.

Mr. Douglas stated he will now get into conference with the employers and try to secure a joint conference with the union.

LOFT STRIKERS WIN

Local No. 50 of the Bakery & Confectionary Workers announces a complete victory in the six weeks strike in the Loft Company. The settlement calls for \$2 to \$4 increases in wages; decrease in hours from 54 to 44 and recognition of the union.

1,400 workers are still involved in the strike at Cushman Sons, Inc., and the union announces that it is raising a \$100,000 fund to tackle the firm in real earnest.

Jay Lovestone is on the road and his column did not arrive. Comrade August Thalheimer's column arrived too late to be included.
—Editor

Schacht Admits Nazi Plans To Divide Soviet Ukraine With Poland

SHOE BOSSES SAY NO

Coordinator George L. Berry had written to the National Boot and Shoe Manufacturers Association asking them to send representatives to Washington to discuss the adoption of voluntary codes for the industry. J. O. Ball, speaking for the Association replied that no codes were necessary: "since the abrogation of codes, and by continued effort thru voluntary agreement, the shoe manufacturing industry has made considerable progress . . ."

They decided not to send representatives.

LABOR LOSES TO TORIES IN CITY ELECTIONS

The municipal elections held thruout England on Friday November 1, indicated that Labor did not hold its own. The Tories made considerable gains primarily at the expense of Labor.

Figures for 100 towns showed that the Conservatives won 50 seats and lost but 18; the Liberals won ten and lost 12; Labor gained 36 and lost 60.

A not insignificant fact is that the Tories made gains in industrial sections such as Birmingham and Leeds, hitherto Labor strongholds. The vote has considerably encouraged the Tories and placed added strain upon the Labor Party in the campaigning for the general elections to be held on November 14.

CORN-HOG BAN SECURES FARMERS' VOTES

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration has received a vote of confidence from the corn and hog farmers of the

middle west. The referendum to determine the attitude of the contract and non-contract farmers resulted in a vote of 813,063 to 120,340 in favor of continuing the restrictions in the production of corn and hogs.

This overwhelming endorsement of New Deal policies has led to an avalanche of bitter denunciations of Roosevelt Administration methods. Milo Reno, of the Farmers Holiday Association states that he is amazed that over 120,000 farmers had the courage to vote against the Administration after the high-pressure methods resorted to for lining up and bringing out the vote.

PRISON ASS'N CONGRESS AGAINST CHAIN GANG

The American Prison Association Congress meeting in Atlanta, Ga. last week voted unanimously to condemn the chain gang as "utterly inconsistent with the dictates of humanity."

In response to an address by Governor Talmage of Georgia in which he declared that the "change in environment and work of the prison camp or chain gang is the most humane way to keep prisoners," William S. Cox of the Osborne Association pointed to them as a menace and a threat. Dr. Nathan Cantor, penologist at Buffalo University said that "THE GEORGIA CHAIN GANGS ARE PROBABLY THE MOST BESTIAL ELEMENTS IN THE AMERICAN PRISON SYSTEM."

REMEMBER! THIS IS THE CHAIN GANG ON WHICH ANGELO HERNON IS TO SERVE 18 TO 20 YEARS. WHAT HAVE YOU DONE TO HELP FREE HIM?

Workers Age Has Six Years of Achievements

By DAVID SCHEYER

I want this to be a comradely article, an article addressed primarily to the readers who have supported the Workers Age for six rather long years, to the many friends who have sacrificed to us over financial crises, to the organizations we have aided in building and that have in turn aided us.

From day to day and from week to week publishing the Age can be a dreary sort of business. I suppose to many of our readers it has been a trifle dreary too. The Age is a paper small in size and circulation because the complex questions it discusses can appeal to only the most advanced and class conscious. We do not have "sensations," "exposés," "scoops." Perhaps we could have won a wider audience by keeping closer to the surface of things, by playing up the newsy, exciting angles of labor events at the expense of analysis. But that is not the function of the Workers Age.

But on our sixth birthday we can pause to view the Age with a broader perspective than one gets from an office desk. We can ask "What was the Age established to do?" and we can survey the tasks it has done, the tasks that are half-done, the things that yet remain to be done. And I think that from this viewpoint the staff and the writers of the paper as well as its readers and friends may well be proud of the American labor movement which the Workers Age may justly claim as its own.

OUR OBJECTIVES

What were the objectives for which the Age was founded? How have they been realized?

As an independent Communist organ the Age has been largely devoted to the problems centering about the trade unions. I don't, of course, mean that

flexible program. Our fight was for trade union unity, not on the basis of capitulation or liquidation of the militant forces, but for unity on a progressive foundation for energizing the mass trade unions into action on the vital issues of a labor party, of industrial unionism, of struggle against the attacks of the employers rather than the betrayals of class-collaboration. Naturally our first was centered on those sections of the trade unions where we had the greatest influence—the needle trades, the shoe industry, coal, etc.

Our first achievement was the rebuilding of the left-wing in the ILGWU. Without disparagement of anyone we may claim for that reconstructed left-wing a great share in making the ILGWU a tremendous force it is today, a great share in lifting the dress-makers out of the sweatshops into a position of proud, militant, class-conscious workers.

If I had written this article a year ago I should have stopped here. But today, a few weeks after the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L. we can measure even better the ever-widening circles spreading out from the progressive movement and washing clean the organized labor movement. When the Workers Age first raised the slogan of a labor party, we were very literal in our work. Six years later in Atlantic City the labor party was a major issue with perhaps a fifth of the delegates favoring it outright and another fifth giving conditional assent. The labor party based on the A. F. of L. is not yet realized. But the goal is so close that we can begin to bring it from the realm of abstraction into that of reality.

LOOKING AHEAD CONFINENTLY

Trade union unity within the UMWA has taken a forward stride within the last week as the United Anthracite Miners have followed the National Miners Union into dissolution. In our fight against the cancer of dual unionism we were nowhere denounced more than in the mine field. I am sure that the progress of the Progressive Miners—and the official Communists—in the NMU and the United Anthracite—called us agents of the Lewis bureaucracy for suggesting that the fight be within the framework

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNION SPLITTING

On the trade union field, where our greatest efforts have been concentrated, we early developed a comprehensive yet

Division in Labor Ranks Helps the Conservatives

By BILL PATTERSON

When one reads of what is happening in the labor movement throughout the U.S.A. one is led to the conclusion that the American Labour movement resembles a mad-house, but to see stark crazy lunacy in all its glory and its resulting victory for the lackeys of Big Capital one has to take a trip across the border and steer a course direct for Hamilton, Ont., Canada. Hamilton is the Pittsburgh of Canada with the result it possesses a strong proletarian mass.

Where proletarians live and have their being one expects a strong proletarian sentiment and Hamilton lives up to one's expectations. The East End of the city, true to its proletarian instincts had two Labour members sitting in the Canadian House of Commons. Sam Lawrence sat in the Provincial Parliament of Ontario and Humphrey Mitchell sat in the Dominion House of Commons as Labour Members.

Then something happened. Jimmie Woodworth organized the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation which has no roots in the trade union movement and has a clause in its constitution barring trade unions from affiliation.

The particular branch of the Labour Party which had nominated Humphrey Mitchell refused to line up with the C.C.F. and of course Humphrey Mitchell had a rival in Hamilton's C.C.F. in the person of John Mitchell, organizer for Ontario. John is a good talker and feels he deserves a place in the sun sitting with his masters. He can weep crocodile tears about the poor workers, he can preach the sermon on the Mount in a style which is the envy of every pulpiter in Hamilton and he doesn't like Communists. Of course neither does Humphrey. John and Humphrey hate one another, but they are united when they smell a Communist. The only difference is that Humphrey has a "practical" trade union leader openly says—"Honest Humph." But John is a product of the British Labour Party and his apprenticeship was not served in vain. He cries over unity and the poor mothers and babies of the working class but when a resolution was moved against the imprisonment of the 8 Communist leaders by the Bennett Government, John moved an amendment against it that the Communists being against the Independent Labour Party were the enemies of the working class, and no resolution was sent. Of course that was behind closed doors.

Anyhow the CCF decided to run John against Humphrey, so we had the spectacle on October 14, of two Social Democrats splitting the working class in a Labour stronghold with the result that the seat was handed over to the Conservatives. The voting resulted: Conservatives 10,000, Humphrey Mitchell 7,500, John Mitchell 4,500, Labour got 12,000 votes against 10,000 for the Conservative. The Chamber of Commerce held a special banquet and must have drank a toast to the two Labour candidates.

But the end is not yet. Charles Atchison, the strategist of the Labour Party, it is rumored, has made the threat that if it is the last thing he has in his life he will have his revenge. So we can look out for the Labour Party sticking up Humphrey again when Sam Lawrence has the seat and to behold what will live there two conservatives where two Labour men should be.

So comrades in the U.S.A. confusion you may have but for the real thing come to His Majesty's Dominion of Canada.

There is no such thing in the Soviet Union as a doctor, dreary-eyed for lack of sleep after a hard day's work, dragging himself out of bed at four o'clock in the morning because of a frantic call that a baby must be ushered into the world. Neither is there the heart-breaking wait for the telephone to ring or for a patient to pass the "Doctor is In" sign which the young graduates do in the Soviet Union.

"One thing that might well be adopted here," Dr. Banting said, "is the system of bringing doctors back into school after three years in the field. They are sent to refresher courses and learn the latest developments in medical science. In this way they are kept right up to date."

When the Soviet doctor has finished his day in the laboratory, the clinic or the hospital, he is free to have private patients if he wishes. The usual charge to those who for one reason or another wish a private physician is ten rubles.

Another advantage possessed by the Soviet doctor is this, his patients come to him in the hospital or are visited in the hospital. Consequently a doctor can visit a great many more in a day than can his brother physician in Canada who must waste time dashing about from one end of a city to another and from one hospital to another.

"In the Soviet Union disease is never allowed to go to its last stages before attention," declared Dr. Banting. "It costs the patient nothing to see his doctor; therefore, he consults the doctor early and often."

"In addition to all this, periodic examination of school children is an important factor in the Soviet Union's plan for health."

"Up to the present time the milk supply in the U.S.S.R. has been inadequate, not with scientific management of dairy herds a limited supply of pasteurized and certified milk is now available and this supply is growing all the time. This milk goes to babies, young children and school children."

"Of visiting ones of these milk factories and watched the milk from the cow to the bottle. The doctor in charge gave me full details, not only as to the handling of the milk but also of the care of the cows and of the workers who handle the milk and the animals who produce it. The cows are washed before milking, utensils are sterilized and the milk chilled. The workers are scrupulously clean. Every worker is periodically examined for milk-borne disease, such as typhoid, paratyphoid and tuberculosis. Cows, too, are carefully examined and tested."

But here again, Dr. Banting saw the dark side. Outside of one city, he visited a village market place in company with a Soviet doctor. There he saw individual peasants, uncollected, still clinging to the old ways of the days of "the little father, the Czar."

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee Communist Party U.S.A. (OPPOSITION)
51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
Phone: GRAMERCY 5-9303

Published every Saturday by the WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
Subscription Rates: \$2.00 per year—\$2.25 for six months.—5c a copy. Foreign rates: \$2.50 per year—\$1.50 for six months.

Entered as second class matter, Nov. 5, 1934, at Post Office at New York, N. Y., under No. 129, March 3, 1917.
Address mail to Box 68 Station "O" N. Y. C.

Vol. IV, No. 44. Sat., Nov. 9, 1935

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SIR FREDERICK BANTING TELLS OF SOVIET SCIENCE

The saga of Soviet science is being written on the most tremendous page in the world's history—one-sixth of the earth's land surface is being explored by specialists of every kind, from the engineers of the Moscow-Volga canal to the bacteriologist at his microscope, work with the toilers of the factory and the farm to build a country that is now the awe and wonderment of the whole world.

"There is no country in the world," states Sir Frederick Banting, "where science occupies such an exalted position as it does in the Soviet Union."

The scientist, the technician, the doctor and the artist, all of these, have found in the vastness of the Soviet field for enter here they are unhampered and free. Every resource of the State is at their disposal because the Soviet peoples wish to make for themselves the best possible country in which to live.

Dr. Banting paid tribute to Academician I. P. Pavlov, the physiologist whose work on conditioned reflexes is known far outside the borders of the U.S.S.R.

"The esteem in which Academician Pavlov is held is symbolic of the attitude of the people of the Soviet Union towards scientists," he said, "every profession is made for their work and their personal comfort. For example, Pavlov has just moved into a new laboratory which has the very latest equipment and abundant facilities for work. Added to that, the government has built for Pavlov a fine residence in close proximity to his laboratory."

"So great is the interest in science that Pavlov's work is well known to

laymen even in the remotest parts of Russia."

Science is interpreted to the people in the form of popular articles in the newspapers, he explained.

"Science," said Dr. Banting, "is being applied to all branches of industry and agriculture in a manner as unexpressed by the progress being made in all branches of science in the Soviet Union."

High praise from one who is trained to see facts and nothing but facts!

This summer Dr. Banting, co-discoverer of insulin with Professor Charles H. Best of the University of Toronto and Dr. Collip, attended the 15th International Physiology Congress held in Leningrad and Moscow. He spent two months in the U.S.S.R. and travelled 11,000 kilometers, about 7,000 miles. He visited hospitals, laboratories, collective farms and factories. At first he was impressed by the progress being made in all branches of science in the Soviet Union.

The man who won the Nobel Prize and then divided it among his colleagues, whose sharp scalpel has brought untold happiness to diabetics sufferers over all the world, whose name is a by-word on five continents, told this to "The Moscow News" on August 8th:

"On my trip I have visited many hospitals, sanitariums and laboratories. I am convinced that socialized medicine will serve the needs of the people better than any other system. Medical care of the sick, preventive methods, public health work and sanitation are as much State functions as education."

In the Soviet Union of 1935 there is still a dark and a bright side, Dr. Banting told this writer.

In spite of the dozens of new medical schools in the U.S.S.R., about 85,000 more doctors are needed. In 1913, the year before the outbreak of the World War, there were 13 medical schools in Russia. Today there are 63, and more are being built.

In 1930 there were 19,785 medical practitioners to take care of a population of 170,000,000 people. Today there are 76,300.

There are 46,000 medical students in the Soviet Union.

"The Soviets received a sorry inheritance from the old regime. In the time of the Czar only 115 towns had anything resembling a water supply and only 13 cities had sewage disposal. But today 566 towns have a water supply system and there are 85 with sewage disposal plants."

"Science is being energetically applied to health problems. In pre-revolutionary days epidemics were common and cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis and others, were very prevalent. Large areas of the old Russia had no doctors at all and no sanitation. People lived and died without knowledge or benefit of medical aid. Superstition and quackery held the place now occupied by science."

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CRAFT UNIONISM PRESENTS ITS CASE

George F. Miles

To understand the full significance of the issues which stirred the stagnant waters of the American Federation of Labor, one must read carefully the speeches of the leading representatives of the reactionary Green-Woll bloc. The most typical and intelligent of these was undoubtedly the address delivered by John P. Frey, head of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and Secretary of the Resolutions Committee at the fifty-fifth convention.

He is the old type of labor leader who cherishes dearly the policies and methods of his idol, Samuel Gompers. Like the "gran old man" himself, John P. Frey has stubbornly resisted every change, every innovation. His own future very much in the past, he closes his eyes and refuses to see that the new in industry—the growth of gigantic trusts and combines—calls for new methods and new forms if trade unionism is to survive. But it is precisely these changes that he and his like in the Executive Council have dreamed most.

WHY CHANGE NOW?

At the Federation Convention in 1929 the same Frey earnestly spoke against any demand for social legislation to meet the crisis which was just beginning to make itself felt. For 49 years, he argued, the Federation served clear of making demands upon the government and this tradition must not be violated. "By the same reasoning," he said at that convention, "it (the proposal) might go much further, it might even ask for unemployment insurance, and, yes, even for health insurance." Apparently Frey considered such demands the height of impertinence, to be rejected with indignation. The same Frey now speaks earnestly, devoutly, against the menace of industrial unionism. For fifty-five years we have gotten along without it, why disturb things now?

So he spoke, but he had serious misgivings as to the outcome. Referring to the sharp and frank discussion, he says: "I am of the opinion that this was a definite turning point, that from now on our Federation of Labor will never again be just what it was."

Very vaguely he seems to hint at the enlargement of the Executive Council as the "original sin," as the root of all evil. In a useful voice he continues to intone: "The large majority of the delegates (at the San Francisco Convention in 1934) favored that change. The Council was enlarged. I was one of those opposed to increasing the number of members and, listening to the discussion this afternoon (by following John L. Lewis), it seems to me that we have just discovered the first fruits of increasing the number of members on the Executive Council."

If the speech of Lewis can be compared to a "first fruit" then it must indeed have tasted bitter in the mouth of Frey. But how typical of the old-line reactionary to believe that if these sharp controversies had only been kept from the floor of the convention things could go on as of old. A dangerous illusion! It is a definite turning point, that from now on our Federation of Labor will never again be just what it was."

Let us see what are the chief arguments against industrial unionism of this reactionary theoretician of craftism.

CHARTERS ARE HOLY

1. Inviolability of charters. With the psychology typical of an American busi-

ness man when he's at the long end of a deal he argues that a contract is something holy that cannot and must not be broken. Just as we consider unbreakable a contract with the employers, he maintains, in the same sense must the Federation consider unbreakable the charters it granted to the International Unions. Industrial unionism would violate jurisdictional awards guaranteed in these charters, therefore industrial unionism is unthinkable.

In this, as in all following arguments, Mr. Frey does not even attempt to judge the question from the standpoint of the interests of the masses of working people—the chief test of the industrial unionists—but from the standpoint of constitutionalism and commitments made 55 years ago when the International Molders Union, for instance, joined the A. F. of L. Not a glimmer of realization that during this half century industry has undergone the most profound changes and that to meet these changes the living labor movement must break the strangle-hold of the dead past—craft unionism—or else shrivel away.

TROTTING OUT RED MENACE

2. Industrial Unionism means oppression. By the use of sly and crafty innuendo Frey left the impression that industrial unionism was closely akin to company unionism, and, in an attempt to ride in on anti-Red and anti-fascist sentiments, he trotted out Germany, Italy and Russia.

"When Mussolini gained control in Italy he destroyed all the free trade unions, and in their place organized three industrial unions to which every one must belong who worked for wages. . . . the only thoroughly industrial unions in the world are the company unions or the type of organizations forced upon the workmen in Russia, in Italy, and recently in Germany, by dictators brought into existence only after free institutions and free expressions had been suppressed." The implications are clear. Those who

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Analyzing the Speech of John P. Frey at the A. F. of L. Convention

George F. Miles

propagate industrial unionism are either company union agents, or spokesmen for subversive movements which aim at the destruction of our "free institutions." A more ridiculous, more despicable argument was not resorted to by anyone else throughout the duration of the convention.

Another example of brazen falsification and Red-baiting. Says this hide-bound bureaucrat: "In Russia there were free trade unions. I knew their officers and corresponded with them. When the Bolsheviks gained control and formed the Soviet they destroyed these trade unions, they assassinated most of the officers, and in their place the government created twelve industrial unions—only twelve for every one employed in Russia. . . ."

Leaving aside the atrocity stories, at which even a George Creel would balk, we again have the dominant trend of his argument—the industrial unions originate with enemies of our "free institutions" and their introduction is synonymous with the introduction of a brutalizing and destructive dictatorship. It is perhaps no accident that this shameful distortion of the question of industrial unionism should come from the mouth of a regular contributor to the New Leader!

In the face of the existence and functioning of such industrial unions as the United Mine Workers of America, it would be insulting the intelligence of any trade unionist to attempt to disprove the contentions of Frey.

SUCCESS OF CRAFT UNIONS

3. Craft unions have succeeded. Leaving the field of innuendo and insinuation Mr. Frey insists that the craft unions have succeeded. There is not a single industrial union which can prove, he states, that it has made greater advances due to its form of organization than "my own International Molders' Union." (Shades of William H. Silvis!)

Delegate Murray of the U.M.W. met that challenge squarely in two ways. First, in connection with the so-called achievements of the craft-union movement, he declares: "I happen to come from

a part of the country where approximately 100,000 are engaged in the production of steel. . . . and I am prepared to venture the assertion upon the floor of the convention this evening that out of those 100,000 workers employed in and around the steel industry in and around the area, MR. FREY DOES NOT HAVE A SINGLE SOLITARY MOLDER IN HIS UNION AT ANY OF THOSE PLANTS."

Secondly, he points to a concrete case where industrial unionism had led to the organization of a large plant employing 8,000 workers only to be lost to unionism when the craft unions swooped down union-like to make raids upon this union. This case is so glaring an example that we cannot refrain from quoting it in full from the stenogram of the convention. Murray is speaking.

"Mr. President, I was invited to a meeting in the town of Aliquippa eighteen months ago, at the great plant of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company, where some 8,000 men are employed. The workers employed at that plant, of their own volition, of their own motion, without an organizer attending the meeting in its initial stages, called a meeting. Many of them were unemployed. Many of them were working for 25c an hour, 19c an hour, twelve and fourteen hours a day, and they were suffering the pangs of hunger and distress and poverty and want. They were clamoring for protection, howling for protection, pleading to the God above them which were bound to withhold and children would be given the protection of workers that might enjoy a better standard. And these workers operating under their own motion, without any assistance from any international union, without any assistance from the American Federation of Labor, at that time organized 6,500 out of the 8,000 workers at the Aliquippa plant into an independent union. They petitioned, pleaded, begged that they be given an industrial charter.

"In the meantime some of the agents of these organizations stepped into the cities of Ambridge and Aliquippa, held meetings and claimed jurisdiction over certain of the men who had joined the industrial union. They created confusion and disorganized the movement and broke it up, and the men went back, back, and they are still back. THEY HAVE NO ORGANIZATION, THEY HAVE NO CHARTER, THEY HAVE NO INDEPENDENT UNION, THEY HAVE NO CRAFT UNION, THEY HAVE NOTHING. They are today where they were before they started their campaign of organization eighteen months ago."

Could there possibly be a stronger condemnation against present-day craft unionism than the case of the Aliquippa Steel mill. And how many other such cases are there throughout the length and breadth of the country?

4. Industrial unionism has failed. Mr. Frey assured the convention that the American Federation of Labor have ever raised the question of industrial unionism. He points to the Western Federation of Miners, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of Daniel DeLeon and the I.W.W., to prove that industrial unionism was uniformly a failure.

Mr. Frey misreads his history. The movements he mentions arose within the very body of labor as a revolt against the smugness and stand-patism of the Freys of a past age. The impatience of those militants of past decades led them to secession and the setting up of dual unions. "The Freys" organizations which were bound to withhold and children would be given the protection of workers that might enjoy a better standard. And these workers operating under their own motion, without any assistance from any international union, without any assistance from the American Federation of Labor, at that time organized 6,500 out of the 8,000 workers at the Aliquippa plant into an independent union. They petitioned, pleaded, begged that they be given an industrial charter.

To this Delegate Murray replied: "Is this convention constantly to be met with the argument that the preaching of newer and more sane philosophies is wholly illogical? Is the movement toward industrial unionism to be compared to the scapegoat movement referred to by Delegate Frey in his address to the convention here this evening? The movement for industrial unionism in this convention is being led by responsible leaders of labor and the heads of great international organizations that recognize their responsibility, not only to their membership, but to their Government as citizens of the United States of America."

The very fact that "responsible leaders of labor" have heard the bitter cry of the inhumanly exploited millions in the basic industries of our country; the fact that these refuse to go into battle armed with pen-shooters (craft unions) against the tremendous power and might of trust capital; these facts augur well for the winning of industrial unionism and give new hope and courage to our unorganized millions.

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WORKING CLASS UNITY IS NEED OF THE HOUR!

By WILL HERBERG
Working class unity against capitalist reaction is the burning need of the hour! The cry for unity echoes from the depths of the proletarian masses of Europe. Shocked and sobered by the Fascist victories in Germany and Austria, impressed with the gravity of the Fascist menace, every man, decisive, seeing the labor movement are raising their voices aloud, clamoring for unity of action in tones that will not be denied.

A Discussion of the Basis for Effective Cooperation

way in this country, manifesting itself only in isolated cases here and there. But that is merely the beginning of the problem. In this country, unlike France, or England, or Belgium or Norway or most European countries, the Socialist and Communist parties together form a relatively small part of the organized working class, whether in numbers or in influence. The great body of organized labor is to be found in the A. F. of L., which is certainly neither Socialist nor Communist to any appreciable degree. The problem of achieving labor unity against reaction is therefore far from being solved simply by effecting cooperation between Socialists and Communists, however essential and welcome this would be as a first step. The chief task would still remain of broadening the united labor front so as to embrace the great masses of organized workers through the program of a Fascist mass movement, deeply rooted in the trade unions. But what is the C.P. doing? It obstinately persists in pushing forward the American League Against War and Fascism as the chosen vehicle for rallying the masses on this field. What matter if this organization has been so thoroughly discredited by the crassly sectarian manner in which it was organized and in which it has functioned that it is now utterly incapable of winning the support of any one but the C.P. and its sympathizers, together with some radicalized intellectuals? What matter if it has been so thoroughly painted "Red" thru the blind stupidity and factionalism of its leaders that it is now capable only of repelling those sections of the workers who are beginning to awaken to the danger of war and Fascism? The American League must nevertheless be cherished as the only road to salvation!

right tactics. The old ultra-left course is completely outdated. It is true, but the broken pieces still remain as festering sources of infection. That's where the real trouble lies today!
Members and sympathizers of the Communist Party! Just examine for yourselves, in a sober and self-critical spirit, the policies of the party in some of the most important fields of work and see if this is not the case.
LIQUIDATE THE LEAGUE
1. Great masses of workers are becoming deeply aroused over the imminence of a new world war and over the menacing advance of Fascism. The A. F. of L. convention reflected the universal resentment of American labor against the bloody imperialist adventure of Italian Fascism in Ethiopia. Never was the situation more favorable for the development of a powerful anti-war and anti-Fascist mass movement, deeply rooted in the trade unions. But what is the C.P. doing? It obstinately persists in pushing forward the American League Against War and Fascism as the chosen vehicle for rallying the masses on this field. What matter if this organization has been so thoroughly discredited by the crassly sectarian manner in which it was organized and in which it has functioned that it is now utterly incapable of winning the support of any one but the C.P. and its sympathizers, together with some radicalized intellectuals? What matter if it has been so thoroughly painted "Red" thru the blind stupidity and factionalism of its leaders that it is now capable only of repelling those sections of the workers who are beginning to awaken to the danger of war and Fascism? The American League must nevertheless be cherished as the only road to salvation!

For decades. But what is the C.P. doing about it? True, it has made a series of very welcome steps in correcting its suicidal trade union policies and the beneficial results of this turn are already to be seen. But a good deal still remains to be done before the situation can be considered healthy again. A fundamental and complete change of line is still far from having been achieved. Dual unionist sectarianism has yet not been openly rejected in principle; it has simply been dropped in practice, allegedly because of "changed objective conditions" while its miserable record for the last seven years is actually being praised in extravagant terms. This is not a question of any claims to "recognition" for having been correct; the matter goes far deeper. A party political is not an automatic reflex, least of all on the trade union field. It requires to be carried out into life by members and followers of the party; but how is this possible if no attempt is made to reeducate the party membership to the new policy, if no explanation is given as to why the old course was false, if it is not even recognized that it was false! To mean anything at all, a party policy must be able to win the confidence and support of the workers; but how is this possible if the party frankly tries to recognize its own flagrant errors and even to abjure them without reservation for the future?
Even the dual Red unions, misborn products of the "third period," have not yet all disappeared. There still remain such organizations as the dual office workers, food workers and metal workers unions, still playing the old, destructive game of "conferences" and "committees". Reckless adventurism and the tendency to manufacture "issues" for the sake of opposition still crop up in situations after situation. Altogether too frequently, mere factionalism, unrestrained hostility to "Lovestonites" and progressives, is allowed to influence and determine party policy. And cases are far from unknown where the C.P. groups in the unions are apparently prepared to trim their sails and pull their punches as far as may be necessary to win toleration or favor from some reactionary union officials; this, it seems, is what the new course means to them.

Arising thus spontaneously, the movement for unity is forging rapidly forward, making great headway on every front. At the present time the greatest obstacle in its way is the embittered resistance of the extreme right wing of Social-Democracy. The leaders of this tendency, dominating the labor movement in a number of important countries of Europe, are in mortal fear that proletarian unity with the left will, in the end, menace their standing alliance with the bourgeois liberals and even call into question their entire system of reformist policy. But even this obstructive force is beginning to crumble, yielding bit by bit to the irresistible will of the masses. The fact that united action of some sort has been established in such countries as Belgium and Switzerland, where the Social-Democratic leadership is ultra-right wing in character, the fact that the Socialist and Labor International is already beginning to adopt a more "reasonable" attitude towards collaboration with the Communist International, ought to make perfectly clear the trend of the times. The movement for labor unity is the movement of the hour; it has the future before it!

Unfortunates IN THE WAY
What are the big hindrances in the way of such collaboration at the present time? Along with the hesitation and vacillation of the Militants, the most serious obstacle is undoubtedly the irritating sectarianism, overlaid with new opportunist errors, cropping up continually in the actual work of the C.P., in spite of all resolutions and in spite of some genuine efforts to resume correct

of what good, furthermore, are such old "third-period" masquerades as the recent "People's March For Peace"? What sense is there in dressing up the American League in a new cloak so threadbare that no more than a formal gesture is made to keep up the pretense? What sense is there in sponsoring the demonstration when obviously nothing of the sort is the case? What sense is there in publishing leaflets alleged to be "issued" by a number of unions, when the majority of these organizations have never even offered to join in the affair, much less endorsed it? What sense, in short, is there to the sectarian bluff of the "third period" now, towards the end of 1935? Is that the way to carry out Dimitroff's directives at the seventh congress?
The American League, in whatever guise it may appear, has always been and continues to be an annoying hindrance to real united action against war

and Fascism, a standing obstacle to cooperation on this field. Why not face the facts and adjust your policy accordingly? Why not frankly scrap the American League, which can play no useful role anyway; why not let it go the way of the so many other paper "mass organizations" of past years? Why not start anew in the face of the new situation and, in collaboration with the Socialists and the C.P.O., help launch a new anti-war movement on sound foundations, with program, methods and appeal such as will open the way to a fruitful approach to organized labor? On such a basis, effective cooperation is possible immediately. Eventually, this will come; why not now?
BUILDING A LABOR PARTY
2. That about 20% of the voting strength at the A. F. of L. convention could be mustered in favor of a labor party is a most encouraging sign of the headway sentiment for independent working class political action has made in the ranks of labor. But here again the C.P. persists in a course that can only isolate the party from this leftward movement. On the one hand, sectarian blunders—such as the "Labor party from below", the Labor party "over the head of and against" the trade union leadership; or the injection of the "Red" issue by insisting to the point of split on the direct representation of the C.P. On the other hand, opportunistic blunders—permitting and even encouraging C.P.-controlled Labor parties to support old-party politicians as "friends of labor"! And all overlaid with vague phrases about the "People's Front", "People's Party", etc., which lead to nothing but confusion worse confounded.
All this simply alienates and disgusts those elements in the labor movement who are beginning to grow more favorably inclined to the idea of independent working class political action, and sectarian effective cooperation in this field. Why must this go on? Why not come out openly with a clear-cut, constructive policy, dropping all the nonsense of the "Peoples Front", fostering and stimulating every tendency favoring a Labor party based on the recognized trade union movement, scrupulously guarding the independent character of such a party by unreservedly refusing any contaminating connection with old-party politicians of any kind whatsoever.
In the same situation, in whatever guise it may appear, has always been and continues to be an annoying hindrance to real united action against war

the opposition in principle with which the Communist International and its sections used to meet every suggestion for proletarian unity, is now happily a thing of the past. In spite of all the opportunist excesses it countenanced or defended, the recent Seventh Congress of the C.I. certainly accomplished one thing: it definitely broke with the old anti-united front nonsense of the "third period" ("Social-Fascism" and the "united front from below"); it threw the entire weight of its emphasis on the burning need for united labor action; it declared itself ready to go out of its way, to make any reasonable concession, in order to achieve it. We must all heartily welcome the new attitude of the C.I. as a powerful stimulus to the world-wide movement for unity.

OUR OWN PROBLEM
In the United States the problem of unity assumes a special aspect, full of the greatest difficulties. Here, the resistance comes primarily from the "old guard" of the Socialist Party and from reactionary, anti-Socialist trade union officials, whose boots the "old guard" is so proud to lick. The right wing and the center of the C.P., in spite of the resolutions and in spite of some genuine efforts to resume correct

of what good, furthermore, are such old "third-period" masquerades as the recent "People's March For Peace"? What sense is there in dressing up the American League in a new cloak so threadbare that no more than a formal gesture is made to keep up the pretense? What sense is there in sponsoring the demonstration when obviously nothing of the sort is the case? What sense is there in publishing leaflets alleged to be "issued" by a number of unions, when the majority of these organizations have never even offered to join in the affair, much less endorsed it? What sense, in short, is there to the sectarian bluff of the "third period" now, towards the end of 1935? Is that the way to carry out Dimitroff's directives at the seventh congress?
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TRADITIONS IN THE MAKING OF OCTOBER

By BERN BRANDON
The October Revolution is the most significant episode in a long and glorious tradition whose lessons will have meaning for the workers of the world till the tasks which history has set for them have been successfully accomplished. In retracing our steps, we are motivated by purposes other than the traditional attitude of the bourgeoisie to its past. We go back to glean our own accomplishments of the dead. We go to learn from the living.

The Basic Concepts of Bolshevism Which Made October Possible

REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS
The course of the Russian Revolution is another reminder that the appeal to force as the ultimate arbiter of social destiny is as ancient as the history of class struggles. It is the price that civilized man has had to pay for the realization of those aspirations unattainable in the society in which he is a constituent but a subordinate part. And it would be strange, indeed, if it were otherwise. The appeal to reason is an appeal for the composition of conflicting interests that are ultimately reconcilable. There is no basis for a resolution of differences where the legitimate aspirations of one class not only strike at the root but involve the very surrender of the established postulates by which another class lives. Self-preservation is not only a law of the natural world as well. This, in a word, is the verdict of history. Without acting upon this knowledge, there would have been no Russian revolution worth celebrating.

ever, with the instruments of coercion to enforce its will on all classes. This revolutionary interpretation of the past became an instrument for the revolutionizing of the future. It cleared the way for the realization of objectives that were now sharply defined. It was obvious that the existing state could neither be ignored nor supported. As the most effective obstacle to the realization of the established expectations of the masses, it had to be destroyed. This was the condition precedent to an effective redefinition of class purposes. Upon this knowledge of the state the revolutionary movement, especially in Russia, was reared. It inspired the Bolsheviks with a consciousness of purpose, clarity of aim, and firmness of will. "The class struggle was known to many others before me, but my teaching consists in the knowledge that the development of capitalism leads inevitably to the dictatorship of the proletariat." In applying in life this teaching of Marx, in the constant adaptation of means to an end, the Bolsheviks offered a revolutionary model to the workers of the world of iron cohesion, uncompromising spirit, unity of viewpoint, and perfect centralization dedicated to the central objective—the conquest of political power.

of the bourgeoisie is always national in content even when international in form; the struggle of the proletariat is always international in content even when national in form.
In the same sense that the First International was the father of the Paris Commune, the Communist International was the father of the October Revolution. Though it is true that the Comintern came into being only after the seizure of power, as a moral force which inspired the activities of revolutionary Marxists it long preceded it. When the vote on war credits came up in the Russian Duma, fourteen Bolsheviks declared that "the hearts of the Russian workers" were "with the European proletariat" that the war had been provoked by "a policy of expansion for which the ruling classes of all countries were responsible", and that "the terms of the peace" would be "dictated by the people themselves and not by diplomats"—the international solidarity of labor was alive at that moment. When the largest section of the Second International dropped the torch of proletarian internationalism in 1914, it was picked up by a small but incorruptible remnant who nursed the flickering flame through Zimmerwald and Kienthal in the darkest days of the international labor movement. And when the Moscow Conference met in 1919, it regarded itself as the outgrowth of the Zimmerwald movement and dissolved the Zimmerwald Commission before formally inaugurating the Communist International. If today the Soviet Union is hailed as the fatherland of the workers of all the world, it owes its singular status in no small part to that tradition of proletarian internationalism which has gone into its making.

Proletarian internationalism is the supreme expression of the unity of interests of the workers of the world. Workers have but one real enemy—capital; one ally—all others who are opposed by capital; one and the same international goal—the international socialization of production and distribution. There should be differences, to be sure, in the tactics pursued for the attainment of the common objective in the different countries of the world if the leading party is not to be a mere specter managing in a void. But these national differences in tactic do not in the slightest affect the international solidarity of interests which unites the workers of all lands. In this it is to be seen once more the fundamental difference between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The struggle

THE STATE AND REVOLUTION

It is obvious, of course, that the appeal to force is no invention of the Russian Revolution, nor of Karl Marx. There is no lack of evidence in history that the class needs of prior epochs were of sufficient urgency to draw forth the proper fire. But the tradition which produced October was something more; it was a tradition which revealed the state as the embodied crystallization of the purposes of one class, armed, how-

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

It is one of the ironies of a social system built upon hostile and opposing classes that the hopes it engenders must wait upon the succeeding social system for their ultimate realization. No expectation perhaps is so urgent nor one so impossible of fulfillment under capitalism as the universal working class struggle for social and economic democracy. The established expectations of the masses for social and economic equality are realized through the destruction of private monopoly in the instrument of production. The security of the new state is assured by the arming of the

DICTIONARSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only instrument afforded by a class society for the realization of the aspirations of the masses for genuine social and economic democracy. While democracy under capitalism conceals the dictatorship of capital, dictatorship under socialism reveals the democracy of the workers. The proletariat is guided by considerations of revolutionary policy. On the ruins of the old working class state, reared with new organs to give effect to the new purposes. The established expectations of the masses for social and economic equality are realized through the destruction of private monopoly in the instrument of production. The security of the new state is assured by the arming of the

dictatorship in Germany?
It is impossible to reproduce the whole thesis with all its deceptive trimmings, all its "revolutionary" disguises for its basic aim; supporting "your own" bourgeoisie in the event of war with Germany under the new excuses of the interests of the proletariat in the respective countries and in the Soviet Union as well. Can it be that Bauer, Dan, Zyromski and Adler are being raised to the level of the Comintern? The thesis declares:
"In the democratic countries fighting against Hitler Germany Socialism cannot refuse to undermine national defense. But it must try to make use of the war in order to transform it into a Jacobin revolutionary defense of a working class and Socialist country."
What meaning has the phrase "Jacobin revolutionary defense" if you are willing to sabotage "national defense", throw it so that the Soviet government will no longer have to diplomatize with such treacherous, less than scrap-of-paper allies, and can conclude genuine and unbreakable agreements for revolutionary defense directly with the French workers organized as the ruling class in a Soviet France?
And does not the Seventh World Congress share responsibility for the danger that this thesis may influence wide masses, since the Seventh World Congress issued a more definite and worse than vague formulations on "weak and small nations," on the defense of bourgeois democracy against fascism? And above all, does not the Seventh Congress bear the responsibility of not having spoken clearly on the French and Czechoslovak errors, of having tried to correct some of them by just dropping them without analysis, thus leaving loopholes for their repetition? This state of affairs gives aid and comfort to such theses as Adler, Dan, Bauer, and Zyromski have sponsored. The Comintern must hasten to clean house. It must correct its errors openly in germ, else it cannot fight them adequately when they have developed, as they have in these theses, in their full flower and fruit. For politically speaking, the Bauer-Dan-Zyromski thesis is based upon those germs of error, has magnified them as if thru a great microscope, has enlarged and developed and fitted them into a system, and has done one greater service, showed us the dangers the proletarian revolution inherent in those germs of error if they are not promptly destroyed.

SOCIALISM AND WAR

(Continued from Page 1)
phasia mine.—B.D.W.)
And again:
"Desirous that Hitler Germany—if it went to war—should be defeated, it has no objection to desire that Germany's opponents should be lacking arms."
Of course there are attempts to mitigate or rather veil the crassness of the above declarations. There are phrases about "dispelling illusions" while reporting those governments. Platonic declarations about the policy of the supported governments being "not our policy". And so forth.
But these qualifying phrases do not improve the thesis. To the extent that they obscure its true character they make it worse. But they are not very effective. The logic of the thesis on this first objective is only too clear. It is a logic which if followed will cause French "left" socialism under the lead of Zyromski and Dunois to support French militarism and imperialism under slogans about the "menace of Hitler", no different in essence from French capitalism in 1914.
The thesis is not a document for revolutionary struggle against war, each working class to vie with the other by seeking to excel and win first in the struggle against its own master class, its own war-makers and exploiters. It is a document of Alphonse-and-Gaston politics in which Zyromski and Dunois say to the German working class, "After you, my dear Hans! After you defeat your ruling class. We will start to break with ours." The thesis provides a splendid weapon in the hands of the Comite des Forges. And at the same time a useful weapon in the hands of Hitler.

throw the French bourgeoisie in order, if successful, to continue the war against Hitler Germany as a dependable ally of the Soviet Union. But both proletarians would have no objection to desire that Germany's opponents should be lacking arms."
Of course there are attempts to mitigate or rather veil the crassness of the above declarations. There are phrases about "dispelling illusions" while reporting those governments. Platonic declarations about the policy of the supported governments being "not our policy". And so forth.
But these qualifying phrases do not improve the thesis. To the extent that they obscure its true character they make it worse. But they are not very effective. The logic of the thesis on this first objective is only too clear. It is a logic which if followed will cause French "left" socialism under the lead of Zyromski and Dunois to support French militarism and imperialism under slogans about the "menace of Hitler", no different in essence from French capitalism in 1914.
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WHERE U.S.S.R. COMES IN
The second objective proclaimed by the thesis is the defense of the Soviet Union. Here too, a closer analysis reveals, that just as the "struggle against fascism" is used as a pretext for the support of capitalist-imperialism in the

NEW SPLIT LOOMS IN WORKERS PARTY

The Trotskyist Workers Party has just gone thru another split. We do not know whether the split is formal or not. The split was provoked by the attempt on the part of Trotsky and his American rubber-stamps to internationalize the French turn. In other words the "Left Wing" objects to Trotsky's orientation upon the Second International and insists that the ephemeral Fourth International is the cure-all for present ills.
It is of interest that all minority opinion has been rigorously suppressed and the whole discussion kept out of the press. The "Left Wing" complains of bureaucracy, slugging tactics (opponents were beaten up in Philadelphia) and expulsions. The minority charges, in one of its recent documents, that it was Trotsky himself who urged Cannon to stop pussyfooting and give the opposition the knife. Similar charges of bureaucracy are also directed against their In-

ternational Secretariat (Trotsky).
A recent issue of the "New Militant" presented a very humorous spectacle. One of the would-be humorists lets his imagination run riot and fills a whole column with his idea of a capitulatory speech which he would make were he Jay Lovestone.
In the same issue of the "New Militant" is printed a long document allegedly written by a Trotskyist escaped from exile in Russia. For four columns this 100 per center raves and rants in the carry the present change of line to its full and logical conclusion? Why not make a clean sweep of the pernicious dual sectarianism that has weighed like a nightmare on our movement for seven years? Why not put a check to the new opportunist errors before they get altogether out of hand?
On such a basis, effective cooperation is possible immediately. Eventually it will come; why not now?

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THE JOINT COUNCIL OF KNITGOODS WORKERS UNION OF THE I.L.G.W.U. and the U.T.W.
(affiliated with the American Federation of Labor)
GREETINGS
WORKERS AGE
as it completes the sixth year of its struggle for the unity of the trade unions and solidarity of all workers.
M. LIPSKY President
LOUIS NELSON Manager

GREETING ON THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY WORKERS AGE
Eighteenth Anniversary
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
Montreal Unit
Communist Party (Opposition)

Communist Greetings to the WORKERS AGE
DOWN TOWN UNIT No. 2
COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

GREETINGS
on the occasion of the SIXTH ANNIVERSARY WORKERS AGE
And Eighteenth Anniversary of THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION YOUTH UNIT
COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)
New York District

Greetings from MLAWER BENDINER
BRANCH No. 639 W. C.
Build the Weekly "Workers Age"

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO WORKERS AGE
from DOWN TOWN UNIT No. 1
COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

New Workers School DANCE & BAZAAR
Saturday, November 30, 1935 — 8 P. M.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th St. and Irving Place
ADMISSION: IN ADVANCE 50c AT DOOR 45c
AUSPICES: NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

WORLD LABOR AT THE CROSSROADS
is the subject on which George F. Miles Editor of the Workers Age will speak at AMBASSADOR HALL 3875 Third Ave., Bronx, N. Y. FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15
Auspices: Bronx Section C.P.O.

Chicago Unit Communist Party (Opposition) Sends Proletarian Greetings on Occasion of SIXTH ANNIVERSARY WORKERS AGE
and the EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS

Jewish Labor Turns Out Strong For Anti-Nazi Conference

The second convention of the Jewish Labor Committee took place on Sunday, October 27th in New York City. It was representative of the organized Jewish workers in the U. S. The New York delegation constituted the overwhelming majority of the convention. But there were delegates from Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newark, and even from Los Angeles. Amongst the organizations present were the ILGWU national organization, its Joint Boards and many of its locals, the Amalgamated and its sub-divisions, the Millinery Workers Union, the Furriers International Union, District Council No. 9 of the Painters Union, various locals of the Bakers Union, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Workmens Circle and 247 of its branches. Only one political tendency was officially represented at the convention—the New York state organization of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Verband. The right wing of the SP was also represented officially thru the Forward Association. Absent from the convention were the CP controlled organizations—the International Worker Order and the innumerable CP controlled clubs. The Zionist controlled organizations were likewise unrepresented.

By far the most heated discussion took place on the shameful transfer agreement between the Nazi government and certain Zionist organizations. The Nazi government permits emigres to take along with them only a small amount of money. This transfer agreement, however, makes possible the export of German goods which are sold in Palestine and neighbouring countries. B. C.

Vladeck, in his report, charged that the Zionist organizations involved received a 12% rake-off. The convention rejected all compromise resolution and accepted one condemning the transfer agreement.

The receipt of a communication on the United front from the C.P.-controlled International Workers Order and the ICOR was the occasion for a lively discussion on this question. The resolutions committee recommended to table the whole matter. It should be mentioned that in the resolutions committee the Socialist Verband proposed an outright rejection of the united front. A number of left wing delegates spoke in favor of the united front. The convention, however, overwhelmingly carried the recommendation of the resolutions committee.

A number of delegates questioned Vladeck on the statement issued by the American Jewish Committee, B'nai Brith, and Jewish Labor Committee proving that a very small proportion of the German Jews were Communists. The statement can be taken as a sniveling apology to Hitler by the Jewish bankers who control the American Jewish Committee. It is at the same time an implied endorsement of Hitler's persecution of the Communists. Vladeck took full responsibility for the statement and defending its content he added, "It is expressly stated in the statement, that Jews have a right to be communists but that not all the communists are Jews as Hitler would have us believe."

A future issue of the Workers Age will carry a more thoro analysis of the convention.

Nov. Negro Voice Appears this Week

In August of this year the Harlem Section of the Communist Opposition began to publish THE NEGRO VOICE, a mimeographed monthly magazine, perfection itself technically and rich and varied in content. During the three months that have elapsed this youngster has already made many friends for itself and its circulation has increased issue by issue. The reason for this is not hard to find when you examine the printed cover-page and discover that the November issue carries the following articles:

THE NEW SLAVERY, by James Sand; ACID TEST, by Bertram D. Wolfe; THE NEGRO AND THE TRADE UNIONS, by George F. Miles; EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF SOVIET RULE, by Clarence Jenkins; SELF-DETERMINATION, by Will Herberg; THE NEGRO AND THE OLYMPICS, by Edward K. Welsh.

This is not an extraordinary number. Previous numbers have been equally well covered as far as subject matter and equally well represented as far as authors are concerned.

You are missing something essential, if you fail to secure the November number.

It sells for 5c a copy and can be secured thru Workers Age.

(We have received a number of requests for back copies but are unable to meet these requests. We are completely sold out.)

All Set for Big Bazaar

The response of our friends and sympathisers to the Dance and Bazaar of the New Workers School already indicates that it will be one of the most interesting and colorful affairs ever held by the School.

Among the groups that have already made arrangements to have booths at the Bazaar are the Knitgoods Workers, Dressmakers, Furriers, Shirtmakers, Doll & Toy Workers and Art Workers.

All the articles to be sold are being contributed by the workers of the above trades. If you need a new dress, a sweater, a knitted dress, shirts, dolls, toys, ski suits and pants, pictures, shawls, fur collars cuffs, muffs etc., hold off until November 30 and you will incur a substantial saving.

The Bazaar will be held on November 30, at the Irving Plaza. Admission is 35c in advance and 45c at the door. An additional feature of the affair, beside dancing, will be the appearance of the Mandolin Orchestra of Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U.

DON'T MISS
WHAT? Party, Dance & Musicales
WHEN? Saturday Nov. 16, 8 P. M.
WHERE? Rivera Hall, 51 W. 14 St.
WHO? Everybody, and welcome.
Keep the Date Open!

Philadelphia Sympathisers
 Send Greetings to the
SIXTH ANNIVERSARY
WORKERS AGE
 Anna Katz — Wm. Malen
 J. Lesser — J. Goldman
 G. Levin — F. Berkman
 Clara Pevar

PHILA. UNIT C.P.O.
 Sends greetings to
Sixth Birthday
 of
WORKERS AGE
 Comrades, let us redouble our efforts to achieve
Sound Communist Unity

Our Proletarian Greetings to
WORKERS AGE
 On its Sixth Anniversary
OUR SOCIALIST FATHERLAND—THE U.S.S.R.
 On its Eighteenth Birthday.
 Central Committee
Lithuanian Workers Society
 (Lithuanian Communist Opposition)

Individual Greetings to WORKERS AGE

Mildred Schwartz
 Rose Agronowitz
 Celia Silverman
 Moische Lefkowitz
 Bella Suris
 Frank Mactas
 B. Senz
 Doris Kenton
 Eva Grand
 Anna Gassner
 W. Fight
 M. Ruffer
 H. Manfield
 Morris Zimmerman
 Morris Gross
 M. Sheyfer
 Sperber
 Razon
 Grobman
 Madnin
 Sadigursky
 Tarensky
 Freind
 Schneider
 S. Rich
 A. Friend
 D. Davidson
 Rose Seiler
 Irene Steinberg
 I. Furman
 Sam Hollan
 Harry Weinstein
 Harry Slavin
 Same Lare
 Louis Erlich
 Jack Levine
 Charlotte Newman
 Nettie Feuer
 Max Fishler
 Rose Perez
 Lillian Elson
 Edna Lind
 Harry Berg
 B. Koenigsberg
 I. Rosen
 Rose Kaplan
 Millie Fede
 Josepha Accarda
 Wm. Suskind
 E. Rendlich
 I. Rubel
 Sam Garber
 A. Gomez
 J. Sanchez
 Tomasa Rodrigez
 Juan Ramos
 Manuel Martinez
 P. Cruz
 Adolph Hut
 Caroli Diweter
 Mary Phialen
 Mary Custis
 Dave Goldberg

Paul Rutiglian
 Charles Sirokusa
 T. S.
 Abe Altman
 Hyman Kimmel
 Harry Cohen
 Benny Goldberg
 Dave Topolsky
 Max Lefor
 Louis Silverman
 Sylvia Gong
 Pearl Steinberg
 I. Milsten
 Santiago Corrales
 Rose Cheskin
 Eldica Raley
 Layle Sandeman
 Harry Fixman
 R. Pogron
 L. Weinman
 W. Grill
 Jennie Summer
 Lucy Frazzetti
 A Revolutionist
 Ben Levine
 A. Shajr
 G. Book
 D. Weinstein
 M. Cherrin
 M. Goodman
 P. Fuehrer
 Roy M. Friedenberg
 Morris Drutt
 I. Kleinman
 L. Davis
 Florence Smith
 Manny Tatz
 Elkom
 Lena Greenberg
 Rose Bazlini
 Clara Weissglass
 Jean Le Gaulois
 Louis Shapiro
 I. Rickman
 D. Glatt
 Bessie Newman
 Abe Krukofsky
 H. Horowitz
 Al Lerman
 Morris Lipsky
 Barman
 Stanbourg
 Jack Grossfield
 Seymore Hertz
 Sidney Glick
 Abe Weisberg
 Sam Miller
 Sam Siegel
 Morris Bassin
 I. Bender
 B. Becker
 Cutman
 Anderman

Celia Lichtman
 Eva Pasher
 Rosita
 R. Cohen
 A. Friend
 H. F.
 S. R.
 E. S.
 Eric Cadwalder
 James Thorpe
 Wm. Schaeffer
 A. Zirlin
 Robert Schlackman
 Sam Eisenberg
 S. Sigman
 Sam Garber
 Joe Mason
 Minnie Millman
 Kate Gartman
 Nina Gordon
 Kranz
 Juchtmann
 Rosenberg
 Sam Arkow
 Max Cohen
 Meyer Kapchuk
 A. Nemeroff
 D. M.
 Kalman Heisler
 A. Kreisler
 J. Holtzman
 S. Siegel
 Joe Fishstein
 Max Weizman
 I. Geller
 Max Kassman
 B. Kaplan
 Platnick
 Ralph Hollenberg
 Isidor Sherer
 Fanny Liechtman
 Frieda Zwiebon
 M. Pilchik
 B. Plotnick
 Abraham Rosenberg
 H. Rosenberg
 H. Waldman
 Abe Drescher
 Bella Gray
 Morris Packer
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 Mary Ambracia
 Morris Jeniger
 Rose Brill
 Abe Schneider
 Vazquez
 Max Kohlenberg
 J. Goldstein
 H. Siegel
 A. Hirsch
 Fannie Mezlin
 Sol Wilfish
 Sam Rubinstein

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

The New York Times recently carried a story of the widespread revolts of the company unions in important industries, especially steel. This is a matter of far-reaching significance and points, once again, to the correctness of the attack made by the industrial unionists at the recent A. F. of L. convention.

How damning is the indictment against the leadership of the A. F. of L. when we note that one of the company unions in the forefront of the revolt is that of the Jones & Laughlin mill at Aliquippa, Pa. That is the mill, referred to by Murray of the Miners and Howard of the Typos, in which there existed a union of 6,500 workers out of the working force of 8,000. This is the union that was destroyed when the craft unions began to raid it under the excuse of jurisdiction over certain crafts, thus wiping out legitimate unionism and leaving the field to the company union.

That the workers have remained militant is proved by the recent development. It shows also that many tens of thousands in the company unions could be swept into the trade unions were there to be started a broad organizing drive for establishing industrial unions in these industries.

NATIONAL COMPANY UNIONS

A second important feature is the tendency toward national company unions. This sounds like a paradox, for it was the accepted rule that a company union was limited to one mill or factory only. It was a matter of past experience that the greatest pressure and influence could be exerted only when the company organization was strictly confined to the one plant where the foremen, straw-bosses, stool-pigeons, etc. could exercise the full repressive influence. The minute an attempt is made, to federate any number of company unions in the same industry, that minute the employers are headed for trouble. Yet, precisely that development has taken place among the company unions of the American Sheet and Tin Plate, United States Steel, Republic Steel, and other corporations.

HOW COME?

To this question we might of course answer that the Corporation Executives were not aware of the development, that a good deal of the preparatory work was done sub-rosa. However, we doubt that that answer is satisfactory. Within the company unions there is not very much that occurs without the company becoming aware of it. Besides, the officials of the company unions are almost exclusively company agents. We must conclude therefore that the attempt to federate these company unions—in some cases conventions, of these were held—had received the sanctions of the company executives.

But why this radical departure? I believe this was made necessary because of the present composition of the important company unions and of the widespread sentiment for unionism among the masses of the workers. In short the company executives may have yielded to the desire for an inter-plant union in much the same manner as William Green yielded to the pressure for an international union in the auto and rubber industries.

It will be extremely interesting to see how the employers will handle the problem thus created.

If there were today a trade union movement alive and vigorous, led by courageous trade unionists the system of company unionism could be given a death blow.

Chicago Teachers Make Further Gains

The Chicago adult teachers local of the American Federation of Teachers is giving a fine demonstration of the way in which a progressive union functions during a period of crisis. Along with the rest of the workers on work relief in Illinois the teachers on the Emergency Education Program were laid off on October 3rd. They were promised pay in a short time from the WPA.

From past experiences the Union had learned to take such promises with several grains of salt and speedily organized a campaign to bring pressure for the immediate starting of the WPA adult education project for Chicago. Members of the Union and active non-members were mobilized on committees to contact all kinds of civic, educational, and labor organizations to flood the office of Harry Hopkins, Federal WPA Administrator, with telegrams, letters and resolutions. The Citizens Schools Committee has come to the support of the campaign by circulating a petition for immediate continuance of the adult education program in Chicago. This was the committee which, as the "Save Our Schools" Committee, was so successful in saving the public schools from the School Board's "economy" program when Chicago's teachers were so long unpaid.

As a result of this active campaign, involving many adult teachers, the union is rapidly increasing its membership and prestige.

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PHILADELPHIA
Will Herberg
 Educational Director of Local 22,
 ILGWU, will speak on
THE CONVENTION OF THE
A. F. of L.
SUNDAY NOV. 10, 1935 - 8 P. M.
LABOR EDUCATIONAL
CENTER
 415 So. 19th Street
 Auspices: Phila., Branch C.P.O.

HARLEM SECTION — COMMUNIST OPPOSITION
 Greet the Eighteenth Anniversary of the SOVIET UNION where racial oppression is no longer known; and
 Greet the Sixth Anniversary of the WORKERS AGE, fighter for those principles and tactics that will bring victory to our class here.

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