Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 47.

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GM's Terms

Conference Brands Them Inadequate; Old Pact **Continues In Force**

Detroit, Mich. Representatives of the workers in General Motors plants thruout the country, meeting over the week-end in a conference called by the United Automobile Workers of America, unanimously rejected as inadequate the offers made by the General Motors management be included in the new agreement between the union and the automobile concern. Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W.A., declared, in a letter to William Knudsen, head of General Motors, that the corporation's proposals fail "even reasonably" to provide "a just and workable relationship between corporation and union."

With the rejection of General Motor's new proposals, the old agreement, arrived at the conclusion of the memorable G.M. gentral strike in the early part of this year, remains in full force. Negotiations with the corporation will, of course, continue until the present agreement is supplemented and modified in line with the union's demands.

So confident does the U.A.W. feel of its overwhelming support among the automobile workers in the General Motors plants that it has declared its readiness to accept a National Labor Relations Board election, either on a plant or company-wide basis, for the purpose of determining the union's right to sole-bargaining agency for G.M.'s employees.

New Jersey Labor Party Is Formed

An attempt to form a New Jersey labor party, with both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions affiliated, will be started next month, it was announced last week by Carl Holderman, chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League of that state. The initial conference will be held at Newark on December 5 and every trade union in the state has been Luigi Antonini, chairman of the American Labor Party of New York, are to be among the speakers to address the gathering.

Mr. Holderman, who is also New Jersey director of the C.I.O. Textile Workers Organization Committee, said a new party was necessary because of the "callous disregard of the rights of labor" by both the Democratic and Republican parties in this state. He referred particularly to the antilabor views of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, supporter of United States Senator A. Harry Moore, who is governor-elect to succeed Harold G. Hoffman.

"It is absolutely necessary at this time," said Mr. Holderman, "to be prepared to resist the domination of the state government by the Hague and Hoffman alliance in the next term of Governor Moore." self has been compelled to take 000,000 in stock-market share

UAW Rejects Detroit Elections and People's Front

By WILL HERBERG

ABOR'S participation in the recent elections as an independent force constitutes a development of first-rate importance in the shifting scene of American class relations. In its victories and defeats, in its achievements and snortcomings, it is replete with experiences of far-reaching significance. In fact, upon the degree to which labor proves capable of grasping and assimilating the lessons of the recent elections, will depend, to a considerable extent, the real headway it will be able to make on the political field in the near future. The best service that those who aspire to leadership in the labor movement can render it in this situation is to bring to it a clear, a realistic, a class-conscious understanding of its own political experiences in the perspective of the movement as a whole and in organic relation to its ultimate aims and objectives.

The Daily Worker On The **Detroit Elections**

All the more vile, therefore, are the brazen perversions and distortions spread by the Stalinist press as to the meaning of the recent

elections in New York and Detroit and the lessons that labor must learn from them. Instead of attempting to raise the level of class consciousness and class understanding among the masses, the Stalinists are deliberately at work degrading and confusing it. Instead of trying to fan into flame the first sparks of political class consciousness among the masses, the Stalinists are doing everything in their power to smother them in a heavy blanket of "progressive," "democratic" phrases in which there is not a sign of working-class spirit.

In the Daily Worker of November 5, there is a long editorial estimating the results of the elections. How thoroly reactionary is the political orientation of this selfstyled "communist" paper and of the party it represents, can be seen best from what it has to say about Detroit.

"This is shown by the successes and the failures in Tuesday's elections. New York and Detroit are cases in point . . . Detroit, where the entire labor slate was defeated, presents a picture that is the reverse of New York . . . The chief reason lies in the narrow approach to the whole problem of defeating (Continued on Page 7)

IN THE U. S."

thirteen years old, committed suicide by hanging on Tuesday, November 9, at his home in the Greepoint section of Brooklyn. His father had lost his job with the Brooklyn Edison Company because of an accident; a technicality deprived him of compensation, altho the company gave him a "certificate of merit" along with his dismissal notice. In the entire family of seven, Harold, Jr., 21, a W.P.A. worker making \$54 a month, was the only breadwinner. The Troel ers had once been on home relief but they were dropped from the rolls some months ago because, with a brazen disregard for all rules and regulations, Mr. Troeller had attempted to make a little extra money by selling Christmas trinkets. The electricity and gas had been shut off. There was no food in the house-a month before, they had had some stew meat but none since. For days, they had lived on some potatoes.

On Tuesday night, unable to keep himself going any longer, William committedted suicide. . . .

"NOBODY STARVES

WILLIAM TROELLER,

FACING A NEW CRISIS

= By Jay Lovestone =

Age declared editorially: "We are in the throes of a precarious boom. The forces making for the present prosperity are the forces preparing the ground for the crisis crisis. It does mean that the present prosperity is very shoddy. It does mean that the present prosperity, no less than the recent crisis, serves to accentuate the contradictions inherent in capitalism

as an international system and in

American capitalism as an integral

part of the world structure. . .

"The gap between productive capacities and the possibilities for consuming the products turned out, invited to send delegates. Mayor is widening. In this chasm gather LaGuardia of New York City and all the elements of crisis. The sources, the causes of the crisis, which is not yet at hand, which we are not facing immediately, but which is developing in the very midst of and because of the charac ter of the very prosperity at hand, can be overcome only with the overcoming of capitalism as a social and economic system. . . ."

Depression In Full Swing

The serious economic depression forecast above is now in full swing. Not even the meekest worshipper of Roosevelt as the Messiah of "all the people" can today deny with the sligtest semblance of sanity the fact that a first-class economic blizzard is sweeping the country. In fact, after acting a la Hoover, after stubborn insistence that things are just swell, that happy days were never so numerous as they are now, the White House it-

N April 3, 1937, the Workers cognizance—in a hesitating and inadequate manner, it is true-of import. Especially sinister is the stark reality at hand. That is the basis of the Roosevelt conference with the biggest business brains of the country for the purpose of unahead. This does not mean that we covering and discovering some are now on the threshold of a great cures. That is the why and wherefore of the promises being made by the Roosevelt Administration for "easing taxes," "new RFC loans," for "using the Social-Security fund," for the recent change of stock-market regulations in order "to spur business." With the possible exception of the economic "theorists" of the Communist Party, nearly everybody now recognizes that what we have in the country is not a conspiracy by "big business" to weaken the "strong progressive hand of that great liberal President. not stock-market flurry, but a serious depression.

Stock Market Collapses

The collapse on the New York Stock Exchange, while not as great as the 1929 chute, approximates the debacle of 1920-21. In some respects, it resembles the panic of 1907. We say panic because that is what you face when you have a situation in which about half of the listed shares have fallen more than 50% in price within a few months. It is not insignificant that industrial shares have lost about 40% of the ground they recovered since the 1932 lows were touched. the steel industry are the lowest Railroad shares have lost 60% and utilities more than 80% of this ground. Even for so wealthy and powerful an economic unit as the United States, a drop of \$25,000,-

"values" is a phenomenon of major significance of this drop because it was not preceded, as has been usually the case, by a genuine or artificial shortage of credit. American capitalism continues to choke with a physical but unusable super-

abundance of credit. It is true that the stock-market is not an accurate reflector and effective barometer of the immediate economic situation at hand. It is also true, however, that it is in no small measure a vital index of the economic situation in process of development, of moods and plans, of outlook for the next and nearest future. It is likewise unchallengable that the stock-market has substantial effects on the trends in production.

Anticipating a decline in steel production, the stock-market began to fall weeks ahead of time. Once the stock-market did go down, it served to stimulate the downward trend in steel which had already started. For instance, this week, steel production is operating at 41% capacity. Here we have a drop of 7.6 points in a week. This is a drop of more than 15% in a few days. It is the ninth consecutive drop. It marks a reduction of more than 50% in production in a period of nine weeks, and is half the average production rate maintained for the first nine months of this year. The present operating figures in since July 1935. We have not yet reached bottom.

We have already reached, according to the Times index of (Continued on Page 6)

Union Parley Halted Again

Will Resume Nov. 18; Clash Over Industry Lines Ends Sessions

Another adjournment, this time for eight days, ended the second series of "peace" conferences between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. held at Washington last week. The thirteen-man joint committee will reconvene on November 18.

The discussions had started off on a new tack when it was proposed to explore in detail those fields of industry where the A. F. of L. would agree to accept industrial unionism as the official form of organization. For a time, this method of approach held out some promise of results but, in the end, it became clear that nothing substantial could be achieved because of the refusal of the Federation delegates to make any formal commitments on which industries should be "turned over" to the C.I.O. Another difficulty was the unwillingness of the A. F. of L. spokesmen to define what the limits of an industry were in each particular case; without agreement on such a definition, all discussion of "apportioning" specific industries to the C.I.O. must, of course, remain inconclusive.

In view of the new deadlock reached, the original proposal to appoint sub-committees to examine the situation in particular industries, was dropped.

Despite the lack of concrete results of the "peace" conferences hitherto, the C.I.O. spokesmen reiterated their desire to achieve unity in the labor movement on a basis that would safeguard the principles of industrial unionism and the trade union organizations that have been built up by the C.I. O. in the last year and a half.

Fascist Regime Set Up In Brazil

A new constitution for Brazil setting up a "corporative state" along the fascist model was approved and put into immediate effect last week by the country's dictator, President Getulio Vargas. The federal congress, the state assemblies and the municipal councils were all dissolved and more power and authority was concentrated in the hands of the president than any head of the state has ever possessed since the days of the empire. All political parties, labor and social organizations of a liberal cast, were also banned.

According to the official announcement, there will be established a Consultative Council of National Economy, made up of representatives of "commercial, professional and industrial associations" on the Italian and German models. But actual power, apparently, is to remain in the hands of Vargas and his clique.

In Washington, there is said to be considerable concern over recent developments in Brazil as foreshadowing an increasingly unbusiness activity, the lowest level favorable situation for American capital.

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November 20, 1937

A DANGEROUS PRACTICE

THE decision of the National Labor Relations Board to void the "closed-shop" agreement between the A. F. of L. electrical workers union and the Consolidated-Edison Company of New York, on the ground that the company had deliberately imposed the Federation union on its 30,000 employees and had thus violated their rights under the Wagner Act, again calls attention to a vicious practise that is beginning to root itself in the A. F. of L. and is bound to have disastrous consequences for the whole labor movement unless it is promptly checked.

By long and honored tradition, the closed shop has become widely recognized as one of the great aims of the trade-union movement and its achievement as decisive evidence of the solidarity and collective power of the workers in wresting such a vital concession from the employers. For the closed shop to prevail in a plant or an industry has always been taken to mean that the union in question has won such overwhelming support among the workers involved that the employer is finally forced to recognize it as the sole and legitimate organization of his employees.

But what has the A. F. of L. done to the closedshop idea? In the heat of its frantic struggle to crush the industrial-union movement arising under the banner of the C.I.O., the Federation has degraded the whole conception and has actually perverted it into an instrument of employer domination! Take the Consolidated-Edison case, for example. When the supreme Court validated the Wagner Act, the utility-company executives came to the conclusion that their company union, in which trouble had been brewing anyway, was no longer adequate to the meet the situation-especially with the C.I.O. United Electrical Workers making considerable headway among the employees. What did they do? They got into touch with President Tracy of the A. F. of L. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and simply converted their "agreement" with the old company union into a so-called "closed-shop" contract with the I.B.E.W.! It is on record that Mr. Carlisle, chairman of the Consolidated-Edison board, publicly described as "a very apt statement of his position" the declaration that the company preferred the I.B.E.W. so as to head off the C.I.O. danger. Mr. Carlisle also admitted that he had known that the Brotherhood did not have any real support among his employees when he signed the agreement with it; he expected that to come "afterwards." Even the old company-union methods were taken over. Former company-union officials now became A. F. of L. agents, collecting dues and signing up members on company time and on company premises. In fact, it was simply the old companyunion setup under a new shingle.

It is hardly necessary to point out how profoundly dangerous such practises on the part of the A. F. of L. are for the whole labor movement. The standards and achievements of more than half a century are being undermined and dragged in the mud by a craft-unionist officialdom that has lost all sense of labor solidarity and decency in its mad hatred of the C.I.O. To make the closed shop mean only all too often simply a scheme whereby an employer may frustrate the will of his employees and retain his company union under a new name—what graver disservice could be rendered to the cause of labor?

But even from the very narrowest standpoint, the A. F. of L. policy is suicidal. No labor organization can long maintain itself as such if it deliberately makes it its practise to serve the employers as an preventive or insurance against genuine unionism and genuine collective bargaining thru representatives of the workers' own choice. For such an organization, the future can hold only the dry-rot of decay amidst the well deserved contempt of the masses of the workers.

It is the duty of all members of the A. F. of L., no matter what may be their opinion of the C.I.O., so long only as they have the interests of labor at heart, to demand of their leaders that such practises as were revealed in the Consolidated-Edison hearings, be repudiated and put an end to once and

WHY THE DELAY IN THE POUM TRIALS?

(From the Spanish Labor News Service) THE long delays in bringing the

P.O.U.M. leaders to trial can e attributed to two main causes. (1) The first is the problem of which kind of law, civil or military, is applicable. This question has involved both the defense and the prosecution in all sorts of legal rguments. There has been created "Special Tribunal for Espionage and High Treason." This body denands what is known as "summary udgment" within a limit of five days after arrest. Obviously such summary judgment" is no longer ossible. What is more, no adeuate organisms exist in civil war for this type of trial. Appeals, rectifications, consultations have supplanted the lack of an adequate legal apparatus. Also, in connection with legal difficulties, the first vas withdrawn on the insistence of Pabon, lawyer for the defense, because he could offer nothing in the usations. The second judge seems

be little improvement. In addition, Pabon, in a prelininary session between the lawers for the prosecution and for the aw passed after their alleged the P.O.U.M. When a third wellcrimes. Since it was obvious that the law was not retroactive, the prosecution then changed their actics and brought the same harges under two previous laws. This does not, however, mean that he trial will be held by the Popular Tribunals established by those prerious laws. The "Special Tribunal" stablished June 23, 1937, will still try the accused, and this means hat they may be tried secretly and without appeal.

(2) The second reason for the

MENT by Karl Korsch

THE RAIROAD STRIKES OF 1885-86

BETWEEN WAR AND SOCIALISM

THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

MR. HOGBEN AGAINST MATHEMATICS

SYNTHESIS IN ART INVESTIGATION

DR. JOHNSON AND THE OLD ORDER

Communication and reviews by Edward Conze, Jim

Cork, Meyer Schapiro, Harry Levin, B. D. Wolfe, and

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ISM by G. Reimann

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by Sidney Hook

by William Gruen

by Meyer Schapiro

by Stuart G. Brown

by Eliseo Vivas

by Leo Balet

The Marxist Quarterly

in its Winter Issue presents:

THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM, A RESTATE-

BACKGROUND OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR,

CHANGING NATURE OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL-

FROM the October 14 issue of the Madrid paper, C. N.T., authoritative organ of the National Confederation of Labor, powerful anarchosyndica ist trade union cen-

"Despite everything that its enemies may say, the P.O.U.M. is growing stronger every day in Ca-

To which we may add: This is true not only in Catalonia but thruout loyalist Spain!

delay is the fact that Pabon is still in France and refuses to return to Spain unless the government assures him of protection against arrest and incarceration. Already all the old liberal and labor lawyers udge who drew up the accusations in Spain have been arrested without cause. Among the first was Barriobero, former deputy and one way of evidence to back up his ac-Spain. Altho Barriobero has long of the most famous lawyers in all been noted for his defense of working-class organizations and individuals, he was recently arrested without charge in Barcelona. He lefense, made the point that his yer, Rusinol. Both of them had lients could not be tried under a been connected with the defence of known lawyer, Sanchez Roca, telephoned from the office of a police official in Barcelona to protest against the arrest, he too was apprehended and placed in jail, incommunicado, with no charges prought. The authorities have called this "governmental" or "protec-

> Pabon, who is a deputy from Zaragoza, has already been attacked by the communist press for hi

The Situation In China And The

THE reports of the victories of the Eighth Army

The Japanese have conquered a section of China twice the size of Germany in two months. Barring fundamental changes in the Chinese army or government, the conquest of all territory extending to the

and the Kuomintang are incapable of rallying the necessary military and moral forces to check Japan and to launch a counter-offensive. Only a thorogoing bourgeois revolution, which, in China, would be primarily an agrarian revolution, could arouse the fighting morale of the mass of peasants and workers and eventually defeat Japanese imperialism. This would necessitate a fight against Chiang Kai-shek and the emergence of a revolutionary party as the leader of the revolution. The Communist Party of China, following in the footsteps of the C.P. of Spain, has become a brake on the revolutionary movement. Its role can be gleaned from a dispatch printed in the Paris Humanite which states that "72 Trotskyites and their leader, Wan Gun Dun, who had attempted a coup d'etat in Kwangsi, were executed." In other words, Chiang Kai-shek, with the approval and aid of the C.P., now kills those who refuse to accept the betrayal of the Stalinists and to repudiate their revolutionary principles. The course of military affairs in the Sino-Japanese conflict has demonstrated even earlier than in Spain that counter-revolution is the main obstacle to an effective military defense by the people against imperialist attacks. The difference between China and Spain consists in the fact that Chiang Kai-shek, the Kuomintang and the war lords are part of a semifeudal, military system and that a bourgeois-democratic revolution of workers and peasants is on the order of the day.

THE ELECTION IN FRANCE

seats and the S.P. 280. Actually, the C rank and file.

Le Temps are quite revealing. Just 223 Radical-Socialists and Republican-Socialists were elected with the support of the right wing, which is opposed to the People's Front; 160 were elected with the support of the left wing; and 211, with the support of both right and left.

What effect will the election results have on the

1. The Chautemps-Blum regime will continue in power and swing to the right.

2. The S.P. will be more critical of the C.P. 3. The Radical-Socialists will continue to collaborate with right wing bourgeois parties for the purpose of replacing the People's Front regime with

WORLD TODAY

Role Of The Kuomintang

London, October 20, 1937.

(the former Red Army) in the province of Shansi and of the stiff resistance put up by the Chinese at Shanghai do not alter the fact that the conquest of North China which was the original object of the Japanese invasion, has been successfully accomplished. The greater part of the five Northern Provinces is already in Japanese hands. Chahar is offering little resistance; in Suyuan, the Chinese army is cut off from the rest of the country and is waging a losing battle against Japanese troops and their Mongol allies. In Hopei, Chinese soldiers, having been routed, are fleeing in the direction of the Yellow River. The Japanese advanced on Shansi from three different directions. Railroad connections with the rest of China have been cut. Shantung, lying north of the Yellow River, is in Japanese

Yellow River will be completed in a short time.

These facts indicate clearly that Chiang Kai-shek

The run-off elections in France did not materially change the results of the primaries. There was, nevertheless, a decided swing to the right on the part of the masses within the People's Front. The Communist Party of France suffered a defeat in comparison with the Socialist Party. Humanite is attempting to confuse its readers by referring to the cantonal elections of 1931, which bear no relation to the present contest. To judge by the parliamentary elections of 1936, the C.P. should have gained 150 only 42 seats and the S.P. 232. In a number of districts, as for example in Vaucluse and in the North. socialists refused to withdraw their candidates even tho the Radical-Socialist candidates had won in the primaries—a sign of the disintegration of the People's Front and of the opposition to it by the

The statistics analyzing the elections compiled by

political set-up of France?

a government composed of the S.P., the Radical-(Continued on Page 7)

THE SECOND WORLD WAR IS HERE

By Bertram D. Wolfe

of three that, in their entirety, con- tinuity of imperialist policy, Nor- ment is not a concern for the fate said, might avoid war if sanctioned After making the agreement, the stitute a condensed version of the man Davis, Morgan agent, was apstenogram of the report delivered by pointed by Herbert Hoover in his as to that, you need only recall the by the signatories to the Nine- later. Because the Italo-British Bertram D. Wolfe to a recent mem- closing term, or in the closing attitude of the Roosevelt adminisbership meeting of the I.C.L.L. in months of his term, and was con-New York, opening a discussion on the war situation.—The Editor.)

THE Second World War in reality has already begun. Its flames are burning inward from the periphery of our world towards its center where they will meet in a general conflagration.

Balkans and Northern Africa, so ever in fundamental foreign policy. the interest in varying degrees of credit, that he selected his moment in China which was so quickly today in the Mediterranean and the Far East, the war is already on. The first World War of 1914 to present government. He it was who 1918 settled absolutely nothing. tipped off Stimson so that he Imperialist capitalism, whether might be prepared the very day masked in Wilsonian phrases and after the Chicago speech with an covered by a League of Nations or elaborate declaration endorsing it. no, can settle nothing fundamental Norman Davis, it is clear, will be in the matter of imperialist anta- the Colonel House of the Roosevelt State departments into a single objections were not political but gonisms. The present rivalries out negotiations, a Colonel House more joint conference—a most unusual technical. They said: Six of our us the key to the marking time and of which the Second World War is authorized than was the preceding affair. He asked the heads of the fifteen battleships are in drydock. springing are nothing but a continuation and extension of the carry thru. rivalries which began in the closing years of the last century and | Chicago speech does not lie in its | by proposing a naval blockade to be | cruisers, two squadrons of deswhich brought on the First World fair-sounding words. The primary run jointly by England and the troyers and maybe two or three

By a strange turn of fate, the Marxism and .S. Labor Roosevelt administration seems destined to follow a course similar to that followed by the Wilson ad ministration. They began alike at the end of periods of depression and drifted alike into a new depression. Each of them was accompanied by a weakening of the twoparty system. Each opened with a liberal policy in domestic affairs. Each of them, it seems, has parallel fate—to end by bringing the nation into war-and, in both cases, the liberal domestic policy weapon for the preparation of a against capitalism, for socialism. war morale and for carrying the liberals and the labor movement along with the master class into the war. Make no mistake about it -if this curve should be completmoves toward socialism. It does so ed during the present administration as it is already begun, those who resist our entry into war, now as then, will meet with the most savage and self-righteous repression from a liberal administration.

The Chicago Speech

The Chicago speech of President Roosevelt is a call for the country to arm. The stirring words, the States. Nowhere in the world are brilliant phraseology, with which economic conditions as ripe for sothat policy is enveloped, are new, cialism; nowhere is production as but the policy there advanced was completely socialized in the form of actually discussed and decided upon enormously large and complex coras a long-range policy for Amer- porate organizations and in the alican imperialism prior to the most complete separation of owninauguration of Franklin D. Roose- ership and management. And the victory of the working class, is full of the richest material

Hoover was still in office and while Roosevelt was the President-elect.

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tinued by the Roosevelt adminis- consider the unilateral boycott in tration as ambassador-at-large and the Spanish civil war. representative plenipotentiary of The central concern of the Chi-

the same time.

Norman Davis had an important the imperialist powers concerned. hand in preparing the line of the

By LYMAN FRASER

TT is becoming fashionable to

eral theoretical and tactical prin-

ciples, Marxism is the expression

of the historical movement of so-

ciety and of the experience of the

America Ripe For Socialism

ism maintains that capitalism

in two ways: by preparing the ob-

jective economic conditions for so-

cialism-socialization of the means

of production within the relations

of capitalist production itself; and

by the decline of capitalism—which

throws the system into permanent

crisis and makes a new social order

imperative. Both are now over-

whelmingly evident in the United

declining; the "new prosperity"

ployed people, and that incomplete

prosperity is now in the midst of

a recession that underscores the im-

which again makes necessary gov-

confirmed by American experience.

of socialism, and that class in the

tion-60%-than in any other

country except Great Britain. While

working class is the social architect of socialism.

the rights and privileges of the em- standing and action. The uneven

ploying class. American organized development of capitalism is paral-

bor has increasingly limited the leled by an uneven development in

possibility of complete recovery-

From the historical angle, Marx-

ernment of the United States at head of a great imperialist power waters. with the interests of American cap-However much the New Deal ital in the Far East. And, from may represent a change in domestic | such a source, if no war comes at policy as between the Republican present but an agreement is reach and Democratic administrations, ed, we can rest assured that it wil As in 1911 to 1914 it was in the there has been no change whatso- be at the expense of China and in

Diplomatic Background Of

The Chicago Address Let us examine the background of the Chicago speech. Last Spring, President Roosevelt called the re- the British admiralty has since obpresentatives of the Navy and the jected to the whole proposal. Their ber's league of "hungry" imperialone for the role that he has to Navy to prepare a strategic plan to We are tied up with our hands full block Japan's advance into China. in the Mediterranean. The British The fundamental meaning of the The admirals present answered him admirals finally agreed to send two

But what is Marxism? In its gentrial unionism are further limiting value lies in making possible an

pendent class political action, stili

hesitantly, incompletely, crudely.

working class in the struggle But the impact of the permanent that appear different are at bottom

The Active Role Of Marxism

But while that is true, it is

perience differs essentially and im-

portantly from European experi-

ence. That is not recognized by the

mechanical Marxists, who also em-

phasize the "automatic" and "in-

evitable" aspects of the movement

toward socialism. It is automatic

and inevitable that capitalism it-

self prepares the objective eco-

nomic conditions for socialism and

that capitalism must decline and

to conquer capitalism.

conquest of power.

| rights of employers in the enter-| the consciousness and activity of

prises of the nation, a foreshadow- the workers of the world. Those

ing of the complete abolition of exceptional conditions and historic-

those rights. Now the American understanding of the "exceptions"

crisis of capitalism will driving the same. That American labor did

and deepen that movement, drive not develop the socialist conscious-

American labor toward the larger ness of European labor is in itself

consciousness and action necessary no evidence of the backwardness of

equally true that American ex- of bourgeois democracy. American

workers are moving toward inde- and peculiarities.

Power Pact! The admirals prothe blockade should be at Panama and the British naval base should be at Singapore, both of them con- as originally adopted. the House of Morgan and the gov- cago speech is the concern of the siderably removed from Japanese

The plan was adopted in principle at that time but Roosevelt correctly judged that the public tions for a settlement, the dickerwas not yet ready for it. He decided to wait for a strategic think this, too, is the real backmoment and we must say, to his ground of the Pope's intervention with great skill.

Why was the State Department present at this conference? The State Department was present be- policy—expresses the fact that cause it had the task of transmitting the plan to Great Britain. But at least, together with Germany

(This is the first article of a series. In order to guarantee the con-| concern of the American govern-| United States. This blockade, they | battleships to their Pacific base. came much sharper, they said: We are too busy in the Mediterranean now to go thru with the plan even

This, I take it, explains the real meaning of the Nyon conference, the recent warm professions of friendship for Italy, the conversaing as to what Spain must pay. I denied. Despite the denial, it is perfectly clear that the Vatican-instrument today of Italian foreign Italy is ready, for the time being and Japan, to go in a sort of robist powers. It is this, too, that gives Brussels conference which has just

How does the stock-market analyze the Chicago speech? I quote from the financial page of the New York Times: "A strong wave of opinion that President Roosevelt's speech in Chicago . . . represented a warming up to an approaching extensive rearmament program wept the financial district yester-

How is it that stocks did not shoot up? the Times analyst asks. argue that Marxism is unAmerican, that it is inapplicable to home master of industry and he answers: "It naturally in those rights when the working class are decisive factors are decisive factors and he answers: "It naturally in the struggle for socialism, not becomes master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not becomes master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not becomes master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism, not become master of industry and in the struggle for socialism and problems. ed, coordinated, enacted into law and carried into effect. It would, therefore, be a long time before mills began rolling steel for new battleships, cannon or other armaments that might be required."

This, then, is the political significance of the recent Chicago speech which has pleased Earl Browder and the editors of the Daily Worker so well.

(The second article in this series vill appear next week. -THE EDITOR.)

WHY THE DELAY IN

apart. Vast Possibilities For American Marxism

Marxism, moreover, is not satis-

fied with appearances. Often things

the American working class. The

dominant socialism in Europe was

reformist; it was identified with the

struggle for the fuller realization

reformist democracy was essential

That is one historical peculiarity that offers Marxists a fruitful field | paper, Frente Rojo, answered their decay; it is automatic and inevit- for investigation. The whole of charges by insisting that he had able that the working class engages | American history, the whole ex- | accepted the defense responsibiliin the struggle for socialism. But perience of the American working ties for the sake of justice, since in American capitalism is definitely and the coming of socialism are for Marxist analysis, an analysis ing the cause of the war and the neither automatic nor inevitable; capable of making substantial con-It was discussed in a conference after the depression of the 1930's they depend upon the consciousness tributions to Marxist theory and of Frente Rojo that he would drop between Roosevelt and Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State of the Stimson, Secretary of State of the levels of 1929, with 8,000,000 unemulation and the structure of the structu tegy and tactics necessary for the ican Marxists, the overwhelming charges of treason. Now, due to the majority of whom have been stul- recent arrests, Pabon is convinced It is here that Marxism makes tified by their mechanical approach, that it would be foolish to return its creative contribution. For, in erecting Marxism into a dead to Spain without guarantees. There final analysis, Marxism is the dogma instead of using it as a liv- are few, if any, liberal labor lawernment aid to a declining eco- science of the struggle to realize ing guide. Before the Russian Re- yers left and it would not be difnomy. The economic and historical socialism; it provides the necessary volution, there was mechanical ac- ficult to "forget" that Pabon is conclusions of Marxism are fully subjective factor of understanding ceptance of the theory and practice President of the Advisory Judicial and action that alone can trans- of German social-democracy; after Commission. Marxism is also confirmed by the form objective economic conditions the Russian Revolution, there has Recent unconfirmed reports that experience of American labor. The and necessity into the social reality been mechanical acceptance of the the labor lawyers have been releastheory and practice of the Bol- ed encourage the hope that Pabon But that understanding and sheviks. In both cases, there is a will return to Spain and that the United States is today a larger action are crippled by the me- rejection of the idea that a dynamic trials will proceed without further proportion of the working popula- chanical approach that sees only Marxism, capable of guiding the delay. In addition, the news of the "general" principles and tactics. workers to the conquest of power release of several of the lesser P. Neither the social-economic de- and to socialism, must root its gen- O.U.M. leaders seems to indicate the American working class has not velopment of a country nor the exercise in the concrete, exercise the possibility that popular presyet consciously accepted socialism, perience of its working class can ceptional, peculiar experience of sure, since the murder of Nin, has it has engaged actively in the be fitted into a fixed pattern woven the American working class and its prevented the complete annihilastruggle against capitalism. So- of mechanical application of Marx- social relations—as was done by tion of these groups and individuals cialism, which arises out of the ist theory. In every country there the Russian Bolsheviks in their not in total political sympathy

(Continued on Page 6)

ly the same as European moderate socialism in practice. The two labor **POUM TRIALS?** movements, stripped of their ideological masks, were not so very far (Continued from Page 2)

willingness to accept the case of the P.O.U.M. prisoners. Some time ago, Pabon, in an open letter to the editors of the Communist Party that way he felt that he was servrevolution. He assured the editors

social conditions and struggles of are "exceptional" conditions and own country. Hence the largely un- with present governmental policies. the workers, means the abolition of problems that must shape under- fruitful nature of American Marx- This was predicted by Juan Lopez, Minister of Commerce in the Ca-Yet American Marxism should ballero government, when he was in New York a few weeks ago.

THE U.S.S.R. AFTER TWENTY YEARS

Soviet Balance-Sheet

(November 7) to provide the

American bourgeoisie with a sober

"Finally is it possible to say that

estimate of the Soviet balance-

following evaluation:

By M. S. MAUTNER commemorating a single event now to the repudiation of socialist poli- planned economy under the leader- tions of socialist economy. Led by two decades old. The realities of tics. the present day Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics and the twenty years of its history are beclouded in their significance by the bewildering manifestations of crisis | Soviet Union that is of fundaand degeneration that have made mental economic significance? It their appearance during the past is mere malicious superficiality to two years. Grave doubts as to the see in what has been accomplished validity of Marxism and the sound- nothing but the erection of facness of the Bolshevik road to so- tories in a land of waving grain, or cialism are beginning to assail sccthe replacement of primitive sheet, Calvin B. Hoover makes the power of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of primitive sheet, Calvin B. Hoover makes the power of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of primitive sheet, Calvin B. Hoover makes the power of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of primitive sheet, Calvin B. Hoover makes the power of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of primitive sheet, Calvin B. Hoover makes the power of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of primitive sheet, Calvin B. Hoover makes the power of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of primitive sheet, Calvin B. Hoover makes the power of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the replacement of the revolution to be their is compelled to safeguard and despite the revolution to be the revolution to be the revolution to be their in the revolution to be the revoluti tions of the labor movement whose sources of power by electricity. It general political trend is towards is a crude misconception that "Rusthe Leninist doctrine yet wnose ad- sia, under the Bolsheviks, has Russia under Stalin is a socialist

of Leninism in the U.S.S.R. now you have its belated, yet legi- alliance with the poor peasantry, timate, fruits. But, for the advanc- could accomplish in Russia the ed worker who does some thinking | modernization of the country—but for himself, the problem lies only on a new class-economic basis, precisely in the fact that the same only on the basis of socialism. Stalinist regime which is now socialist offensive of the Five-Year of the new socialist order. "Even Plan. The identification of "Stalin- if the Stalinist burocracy should ism" with socialist construction is succeed in destroying the economic

Vast Social Achievements and a Burocratic Scourge

What Has Been Achieved In The

Soviet Union? What has been achieved in th

vance in that direction is blocked simply achieved what capitalism society? Private ownership of the by what appears to be the practice and the capitalists did for Western means of production has practical-Europe fifty or more years ago." ly ceased to exist. The old class For the orthodox Stalinist, there Why, then, did capitalism and the lines have been almost wholly is, of course, no problem for there capitalists fail to do the same in abolished. The inequality of comis no crisis in the Soviet Union— Russia? Industrialization in the pensation which exists is not inconsave that the presidents or U.S.S.R. is not merely the erection sistent in principle with the early premiers of all but one of the con- of plants and the mechanization of stages of socialism as visualized stituent republics, seventeen lead- agriculture under conditions of by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Caping commissars in all branches of modern technology, leaving funda- italism, as it existed in any preeconomic life, practically all of the mental social relations untouched. vious historical manifestation, is heads of the trade unions and other The whole achievement of the Oct- certainly not being reestablished." social organizations, together with ober Revolution and its twenty thousands of state and party func- years of development since, conmanent duty in the government of tionaries, have suddenly been dis- sists precisely in that it made poscovered to be traitors in the pay of sible the regeneration of backward, Japanese imperialism or German feudal Russia by a complete and the fact that the whole population the meetings of the soviet; and in fascism! For the orthodox Trot- basic transformation of social and to a man should be gradually skyite, too, there is not much of a property relations. The real justproblem: the Thermidorian reaction ification of the Russian revolution organization (on condition that triumphed over ten years ago and lies in that only the proletariat, in they submit to the organizations of the toilers) and to serve in the

The achievement of Soviet rule, leaving destruction and demoraliza- no matter what may yet be in tion in the wake of its campaign of store for it, is indelible: the political terror only yesterday led creation of modern means and the Russian people in the great forms of production on the basis

Lenin On Soviets

(The following theses on the soviet | ism (as the separation of legispower are from the draft of a pro- lative from executive functions): gram for the Russian Communist the combination of legislative and Party presented by Lenin to the eighth executive state functions. The congress of the party in March 1919. fusion of government with legis-These theses are of fundamental sig- lation. nificance in the light they cast on 4. Closer contact on the part of Lenin's conceptions of the nature, the whole apparatus of state power structure and tasks of the proletarian and of the state administration their emancipation from exploita- it to the study of the devout Stalin- principle with unequalled valor and state after the experiences of nearly with the masses than was the case tion; ruthless suppression of the ists of today, those worshippers at the perseverance. . . . a year and a half of revolution. with earlier forms of democracy. exploiters. Lenin's theses were accepted with 5. The creation of an armed force minor changes and were incorporated of workers and peasants as little formal recognition of liberties (as

a form—already tested by ex- of the first steps to the complete thrown the exploiters, e.g., from not to become conspicuous and not perialism. This was when the perience and advanced by the mass arming of the whole people.

The consolidation and developnomic units (elections by factory ment must consist in the accomplishment (the widest most general and by local peasant and handiand systematic accomplishment) of craft district). Such close contact the tasks which historically fall to makes profound socialist reforms this form of state power, to this possible. new type of state, namely:

8. (Partly, if not entirely, forms part of the previous clause)-1. The union and organization o the toiling and exploited masses makes it possible to eliminate the to the gradual destruction of the resolutely for principle against the oppressed by capitalism—and only of them, i.e., only of the workers the beginning of the realization of this possibility. and poor peasants, the semi-proletarians-with the automatic exclu-

9. Transfer of emphasis in quession of the exploiting classes and tions of democracy from a formal burden of governing the state. the wealthy representatives of the equality of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie.

2. The union of the most energetic, active and class-conscious part of the oppressed classes, their project of the population enjoying freedom projects and the projects vanguard, which must train the (democracy).

whole toiling population to a man | 10. The further development o for independent participation in the the soviet organization of the state program, there was a section on civil administration of the state, not the consist in the fact that every member of a soviet should be a. The abolition of parliamentar
the soviet organization of the state must consist in the fact that every dom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of coalition (labor organization), passed thru a period of complete disintegration. . . , Lenin took by storm new must consist in the fact that every dom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of coalition (labor organization) and political liberties, including free-dom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of coalition (labor organization) and political liberties, including free-dom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of coalition (labor organization) are revolution, passed thru a period of complete disintegration. . . . , Lenin took by storm new must consist in the fact that every dom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of coalition (labor organization) are revolution, passed thru a period of complete disintegration. . . . , Lenin took by storm new must consist in the fact that every dom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of coalition (labor organization) are revolution, passed thru a period of complete disintegration. . . . , Lenin took by storm new must consist in the fact that every dom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of coalition (labor organization) are revolution, passed thru a period of the best elements of the best elements of the best elements of the press, of assembly of coalition (labor organization).

THE celebration of the twentieth at once historically correct and hisanniversary of the Russian torically limited and this contradeclares Leon Trotsky, the most succeeded, after twenty years of Revolution only too often tends to diction frequently leads either to inveterate opponent of the present class struggle, in destroying capassume merely its literal aspect of the denial of socialist economics or Soviet regime, "the experience of italism and in laying the founda-

A Bourgeois Estimate Of The Writing in the New York Times

A federation of nations as a transition to a conscious and closer unity of the toilers who have learnt voluntarily to rise above national

In the political sphere: to dev-

Advantages of the soviets (Pros-

The extension of the soviet con-

resistance of the exploiters ceases,

government of the state.

elop the Soviet Republic.

to the whole population.

tasks demands:

Ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters is essential; the standards of "general" (i.e., bourgeois) democracy must be subordinated to this aim and must tain Eagle." It is perhaps not surpris-

Emphasis to be transferred from in the party program.—The Editor.)

* * *

Consolidation and develop
THE consolidation and d the trades and the producing eco- best printing establishments to the depth of humanity. . . .

workers, etc. program. . . . **

disarming of the bourgeoisie.)

shevik journal, Prosveshchenie. ** In the old social-democratic the party, shattered by the counter- which Lenin took by storm new

have entered history for all time as and peasants overthrew by armed tions of the "democratic" bour-

activities of government and administration. Thus was opened the gime in state and party that is road to socialism! In Germany in 1918, the masses too proceeded to revolutionary measures to end the war and everthrow the old regime. But, duped by their leaders of the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske variety, they permitted the state power of unker-capitalism to remain untouched at bottom. Socialism—the Kaiser-"socialists" promised-was the state, in addition to attending to be gradually achieved thru the twenty years of proletarian dictaprogressive accumulation of re-

Weimar Republic. This "road to in the history of the Soviet Union brought both to take part in soviet socialism", built over the dead and the Bolshevik party. For the bodies of Karl Liebknecht and first time in the thirty-four years Rosa Luxemburg, could lead only of its struggle, the top leadership to the triumph of Hitler, to the of that party is pursuing a course open dictatorship of finance cap- directly in opposition to the histo-The accomplishment of these ital and to the consequent con- rical needs and interests of the solidation of capitalism the world masses. And the present course of over.

Bolshevism thus stands funda-mentally vindicated despite every-and success of its policies of yesveshchenie pp. 13-14) (six points).* thing Stalin has done in recent terday. The terrific drive for heavy stitution, in the measure that the years: it has wrenched a whole industrialization and collectivizasixth of the earth from the grip tion of agriculture, with which of world capitalism. Despite all Stalin has been identified, stands setbacks and defeats, it has opened

the historical epoch of world rev-

The Two Phases Of Stalinism

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that this new society of such ship of the Bolshevik party will the Bolshevik party, the workers world-historical significance, was erected, to a considerable degree, one of the greatest teachings of all force the state power of the employ- at least, thru the driving force ing classes and seized the factories and the political leadership of the of the bourgeoisie and the landed Stalin group. This is not to be estates of the aristocracy. With a denied; Trotsky himself declares total disregard of the exhortations that "it would be criminal to deny of the reformist leaders in the the progressive work accomplished labor movement and the impreca- by the soviet burocracy. . . . Its roots are imbedded in the nationgeoisie, they declared the state alized means of production and it own really democratic councils velop them." But it is equally true (soviets), so formed as to exclude that this progressive mission has all exploitating elements but to been completely exhausted and facilitate the participation of the that, even in accomplishing its sotoiling masses in the everyday cialist work, Stalinism simultaneously consolidated a burocratic redangerously undermining the foundations of the soviet power itself. In the past, its positive and constructive aspects predominated: it was the builder of socialism. Today, it has entered its negative and destructive phase: it is undermining, degrading, endangering its own achievements

It is, then, with the profoundly significant achievements of the torship in Russia in the forefront, forms within the framework of the that we approach the new stage the Stalinist clique assumes its The revolutionary program of reactionary character precisely be-(Continued on Page 5)

Stalin On Lenin

(We publish below some very interesting passages from an article by J. Stalin entitled "Lenin—The Moundissipated and scattered forces of make way for it:

"Liberties" and democracy not for all but for the toiling and exploited masses for the purpose of their emancipation from exploita
"Expendity not surpristing the party with marvellous patience and with unheard of tenacity, fighting against any and every antifound in the Workers Monthly of March 1926. We earnestly recommend movement, defending the party altar of the "Great Leader.

THE EDITOR.)

A brief enumeration of these of our party when the opinion of an increasing number of citizens, he didn't fear in such a case to the direct and daily share of the all the rest, relying on the fact that, as he often expressed it, "the policy of stern adherence to prin-

1. In the period of 1909 to 1911, succumb to the general contagion Marxism.

2. The period from 1914 to 1917.

the period of the heat of the imment of soviet government as ized arming of the people as one toilers and those who have over- remain unnoticed or, at any rate, themselves up to their native imthe recognition of freedom of as- to emphasize his high position— Second International lowered its 6. A fuller democracy as a result sembly to the transfer of all best that this is one of the strongest banner before capitalism, when not movement and the revolutionary struggle—of the dictatorship of the poor peasof election and recall.

6. A fuller democracy as a result sembly to the transfer of all pest halls and premises to the workers; from the recognition of freedom of the new masses, the simple and Kautsky, Guesde and others withthe proof to the transfer of the ordinary masses of the deepest stood the wave of chauvinism. 7. Close (and direct) contact with the press to the transfer of the ordinary masses of the deepest stood the wave of chauvinism. Lenin was then the only one, or There were times in the history nearly the only one, who raised a "liberties" from the old minimum the majority or the momentary in inism and social-pacifism, who exresolute fight against social-chauvterests of the party came into con- posed the treachery of the Guesdes (The arming of the workers and flict with the fundamental interests and Kautskys and who branded the of the proletariat. In such cases, half-heartedness of the wavering Transition thru the soviet state Lenin, without hesitation, stood "revolutionists." Lenin knew well burocracy, to get along without it; state by systematically enlisting majority of the party. Moreover, cant minority behind him but that enough that he had an insignifiwas of no decisive importance to and then all citizens to a man, in come forth literally alone against him for he knew that the only true policy, the only one which could succeed, was the policy of consistent internationalism. He knew that the policy of stern adherence to principle is the truest policy.... "The policy of stern adherence

o principle is the truest policy"this is the formula with the aid of

EIGHT YEARS OF LABOR STRUGGLE IN WORKERS AGE

1929-1930

THAT was the year when the Big Money reached its dizzy climax; fell down, downnn, downnnn to dizzier

, and in Moscow a man named Stalin crashed down his fist and party majority and party policy in America were overturned . . . and so was born

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE Vol. 1, No. 1, Nov. 1, 1929. Issued by The Communist Party, U.S.A. (Majority Group)

to record for the following year the sordid history of the smashing of the American communist movement. Expulsions in: the I.L.D., the T.U.U.L., the N.T.W.U., the N.T.W.I.U., the N.M.U., the Y.C.L., the U.C.W.W., the I.S.W.C., the C.P.U.S.A. . . . As the black pall of Depression settled on the land, as

the breadlines, job-lines, relief-lines lengthened . . . never had American workers so needed the leadership of a sane Communist Party, never had the Communist Party shown so little sanity... been so isolated... so sectarian.

And the "Majority Group"? Groping... painfully, slowly working toward clarity, still enchained by too, too

many of the Comintern falsities. Asking . . .
"WHAT WAS THE CLEVELAND T.U.U.L. CONVEN-

"IS THE VI CONGRESS BEING REVISED?" "HAVE COMMUNISTS THE RIGHT TO THINK?" "WHAT ABOUT THE NEEDLE TRADES?"

REBUILD THE LEFT WING! was the slogan under which the Communist Opposition emerged from isolation; reentered the unions as the spearhead of progressivism. THE TEXTILE WORKERS NEED UNITY!

MARINE WORKERS NEED UNITY THE FURRIERS NEED UNITY MILLINERY WORKERS NEED UNITY LEFT-WING STRUGGLE DEVELOPS IN THE ANTHRACITE
REBUILD THE LEFT WING IN THE

NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS Appeal of the United Progressive League of Needle Workers to the Workers of the Entire Industry And there were victories! MERGE PATERSON

TEXTILE UNIONS Amalgamated Silk and U.T.W. to Fuse As Preparation for Big Drive MARINE WORKERS WIN THRU UNITY! LEFT-PROGRESSIVE BLOCK SWEEPS LOCAL 1 VOTE IN BIGGEST ELECTION EVER HELD! PROGRESSIVES IN

LOCAL 22 WIN! But the headlines told another story, too . . . of a decrepit capitalism shifting its burdens to the workers...
of wage cuts... unemployment... protests... ter-

> HOOVER PREACHES SELF-HELP 340 WAGE-CUTS REPORTED BY LABOR DEPT FOR MARCH JOBLESS PARADE IN NEW YORK BUILDERS TO CUT WAGES BY 25%

HITLER IN POWER—ONLY UNITED FRONT CAN

"Fascist reaction has vaulted into power in Germany . . . "

THE "NEW DEAL" BEGINS The Bank Holiday and the New Banking Laws

strike back with a mighty fist.

GENERAL DRESS STRIKE IN NEW YORK I.L.G.W.U. in Big Struggle For Workers Demands

Sixty thousand dressmakers in a reborn union wrote their code on the picket line while

U.T.W. Leads Workers As Movement Spread ... and in Boston and thruout New England

The Workers Age reflected as it led the rising tide of struggle . . . while the withering T.U.U.L. unions were a cancer that ate deep into the sickly Communist Party.

Important event (in retrospect) in 1934 was the renaissance of Lenin's "Left Communism" in the Workers Bookshop. Jack Stachel and Ben Gold made speeches and the Communist Party moved A. F. of L.-ward . . . slowly

In February there burst

CIVIL WAR IN AUSTRIA bloody Dollfuss government. . . ."

500,000 STRIKE AGAINST AUSTRIAN FASCISM

Militants Capture Party "... the grand battle came over the Declaration of Principles ... The Old Guard fought. It did not surrender but it will now begin to die out . . ."

repudiated it with alacrity and ZIMMERMAN SCORES GREEN FRISCO STRIKE REPUDIATION

And in September . . . U.T.W. CALLS GENERAL COTTON STRIKE Silk and Wool Men To Follow called for Saturday, 11:30 P. M. . . ."

BOSS TERROR IN TEXTILE STRIKE Keller Issues Warning

Out in San Francisco, at the A. F. of L. convention, John L. Lewis introduced a resolution and
A.F.L. MEET ENDORSES VERTICAL UNIONISM

Rivera painted "Portrait of America" in 1933 . . . painted from life a working class emaciated from three years of hunger, bludgeoned by the specter of fascism . . . a working class rising from the blows and beginning to

50,000 SILK WORKERS IN GENERAL STRIKE

AMALGAMATION WINS SHOE UNIONS "December 11, 1933, will be a historic date for the workers in the shoe industry . . . the convention to amalgamate the three unions in the industry into

... slowly.

"For five days the socialist working men of Vienna, arms in hand, waged a heroic battle against the ... and in America

50,000 Demonstrate at Garden—C.P. Disrupts Meeting In June, Jay Lovestone wrote on LEFTWARD WINDS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

San Francisco saw a great general strike, William Green Says "Green Lacks Union Loyalty"

"A general strike in the cotton industry has been Two weeks later .

On Arbitration Pitfalls

... Nobody then took it very, very seriously.

Boy, oh boy! What a year that was! The A. F. of L. met in Atlantic City-the C.I.O. was

The seventh world congress of the Communist International met. The Daily Worker started quoting a famous American progressive, Daniel Webster. Earl Browder debated Thomas at Madison Square Garden and foreshadowed his role of defender of imperialist war and capitalist democracy. The People's Front was born.

THE OLD FEDERATION OF GOMPERS IS GONE! ... announced the Workers Age and it was right. THE COMINTERN IN DANGER OF DEGENERATION! ... announced the Workers Age and it was right ... far, far more right than it knew then . . . only too sadly

1936

SPAIN! SPAIN!

... In February, March, April, May ... the Age demanded

A PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR SPAIN

FORCES MAKING FOR REVOLUTION IN SPAIN Denounced

SPAIN AND THE LIBERAL REGIME

BANKRUPTCY OF PEOPLE'S FRONT IN SPAIN Until in July . PROLONGED CIVIL WAR THREATENS SPAIN Workers Hold Mountain

Passes; Fascists Threaten Siege.

THIS YEAR

Faster, faster, hurried America and the world, hurried labor and fascism, reformism and imperialism. . . . History was telescoped as tho all were rushing to complete the cataclysm. . . .

With the New Year came the auto sit-down . . GENERAL MOTORS BLOCKS NEGOTIATIONS: UNION THREATENS TO SPREAD STRIKES FLINT STRIKERS TELL STORY OF

GM VIOLENCE AUTO WORKERS VICTORY SPURS DRIVE OF C.I.O. IN MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRY! Inspiration flowed from the auto workers thruout the labor movement . . . brought new millions to the C.I.O. . . .

C.I.O. DRIVES SWEEP MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRIES: STEEL OPEN-SHOP ENDED C.I.O. GAINS IN STEEL,

SHOE AND TRANSPORT Reaction marched, too, its hob-nailed boots crushing the dreams of the masses, taking a mighty toll of life . . . ENGLAND, FRANCE TO LET NAZIS, ITALY AID FRANCO UNHINDERED FASCIST POWERS PREPARE NEW

AGGRESSIONS AGAINST SPAIN Italian Blackshirts captured Gijon, the Japanese bombed and slaughtered hundreds of thousands. . . . But strange things were happening and reaction was finding new allies. On August 14, 1937 the Workers Age announced . . .

ANDRE NIN, POUM LEADER, MURDERED WITHOUT TRIAL! Story of Escape Circulated to Cover Month-Old Murder; Hand of C.P. Seen ... This is still an unfinished story ...

U.S.S.R. Twenty Years After the Revolution

of these. The very success of this by an alleged self-interest; Stalinism is at once the product of Perhaps it might be the role of gime no longer necessary or useful; the great economic advances call for corresponding advances in political and social life. But the the way, desperately determined to party, suppressed as it has been by perpetuate itself and preserve intact its special status and privileges, altho all historical justifification for its existence is gone.

In A Blind-Alley Thereby the Stalin regime comes to find means of achievement. into clash with the deepest aspirations of the masses, and so power- The Sources Of Soviet Burocracy | cal excrescence on the body of need of effective safeguards for the soviet masses emerges; it

precisely in this that, thru the

ful and universal is the discontent | The soviet system, with its roots | soviet democracy, not its inner es- | against the burocratic scourge. Per-

thus generated that it has become in the factories and collectives, sence and significance. But how is haps altogether different forms (Continued from Page 4)
historically justified—but its justification lies in the present possibilities it has created for a better sibilities it has created for a more ample freedom, for life, for more ample fr life, for more ample freedom, for broad collective self-activity of the masses unthwarted by burocratic broad collective self-activity of the buro. Utterly panic-stricken, the buro. masses untilwarted by burocratic regime lashes out frantically on fied its democratic functioning, we exhaustion of the masses permitrestrictions, for unrestrained cui-tural and economic development. all sides, determined to wipe out must search not in the soviet sys-ting the triumph of the Thermitural and economic development. all sources of opposition, real or tem as such but rather in the specific and its sources of opposition. Capitalism The period of intense socialist of-The period of intense socialist of potential. But, in its very frenzy, cific conditions in which the Russtrangely enough, did not prevent and pre-capitalism destroyed—the fensive called for many sacrifices it is destroying the foundations of on the part of the masses, and the it is destroying the foundations of a socialist economy on the part of the masses, and the it is a socialist economy on the part of the masses, and the it is a socialist economy on the part of the masses, and the it is a socialist economy of the masses, and the it is a social to the masses and the masses are many to the masses and the masses are many to the masses and the masses are many to the ma on the part of the masses, and the its own power. The party and so-toleration, the acceptance of the sits own power. The party and so-toleration, the acceptance of the sits own power. toleration, the acceptance of the viet officialdom has turned out faced because of the backwardness vent or to cure such crises of the down—the framework of genuine-Stalin regime with all its consequences was among the heaviest to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in a world of imporialism or in the regime, either in the Soviet Union by popular and democratic governments or in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in a world of imporialism or in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in a world of imporialism or in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in a world of imporialism or in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in a world of imporialism or in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in the received to be by no means one solid, of the country and its own isolation in the received to the received to be a solid, of the country and its own isolation in the received to the received reactionary mass, bound together tion in a world of imperialism. or in the revolutions to come.

it has proved to be ultimate- these conditions and an active force the Spanish revolution, if it is not and, in part, even nullified by a ly accessible to the accumulin perpetuating and aggravating stifled by Stalinism and imperialist burocratic regime that persists in lating pressure from below. The their consequences. The partial, reaction, to develop new forms maintaining itself despite the combest hope of the Soviet masses lies | tentative emergency measures of | and features of proletarian dictaformer years, adopted under the torship as a guard against buroinescapable compulsion of events, cratic distortion. The P.O.U.M. conhave been elevated by Stalin into ceives a many-party dictatorship, thru the soviets, paralyzed as they a sacred system, thoroly reaction- based on an alliance of revolutionhave been by burocracy, it is still possible for their discontent to ist development. We cannot overfind expression and leadership and look these manifestations of buro- whether this is the solution or not, the socialist revolution outside! For for their constructive aspirations cratic degeneration nor can we or whether we can offer any so- it is out of the significant successes hide them from the workers; we lution, the fact remains that we of socialist construction that the can show them to be a pathologi- feel more accutely than ever the possibility of a better and freer life

This, then, is the balance-sheet on the twentieth anniversary of the —but all distorted, undermined plete exhaustion of its progressive

What is the way out? Wherein lies the hope of regeneration? In the forces being created by the

(Continued on Page 8)

3. The abolition of parliamentar- obliged to perform some per- tion), etc.

By ROBERT MACKLIN

The appeal of the Workers Age was at first limited to those who were directly interested in the inner controversies of the Communist International and its parties. As the organ of the Communist Party (Opposition)—now the Independent Communist Labor League—its aim was to bring about the unity of the communist movement on the basis of inner-party democracy and a break with sectarianism. The I.C. L.L. then widened its campaign by been moving sharply upwards, and cabled hypodermics from across developing an independent role in the trade unions, battling at first suicidal dual-unionism and later the unprincipled and irresponsibly destructive activities of the Communist Party within the tradeunion movement. Today, our organization plays a completely independent political role all along Communist Labor League, whose also against the vicious campaigns

New layers, hitherto unacquainted with the communist movement. began to read the Workers Age. Nevertheless its circulation showed no substantial gains for some time. This worried us. Discussions struggle against the foe without creases our responsibilities and the administration as being respon- for the creation of unemployment, were engendered on the political character of the Age, on its makeup. Comrades feared that its contents were above the heads of workers. However, no basic changes were made. Popularization schemes, trial centers of the country. Yes, ance. Every worker who is classbased on lowering the political level of our paper, were rejected. every really important city in the historical destiny of his class and It was no basis for growth and cer | world and wields a decided influ- | wishes to do his part, must support tainly not for playing a construc- ence among revolutionaries in Eng the Workers Age in all its strugtive role. It was recognized that land, France, Spain, fascist Ger- gles, by spreading it, by contributhe growth of the Workers Age | many, Czechoslovakia, India, Aus- | ting to it, and by collecting funds depended, first, on the wide awak- tralia and South America. ening consciousness of the working | The number of subscribers has | it, and above all by joining the Inclass and, secondly, on the deep grown almost four times in the last dependent Communist Labor

Greetings to the

Max Moskowitz, President

Albert Rosner, President

Greetings to the

ers Age has grown.

labor-party movements in recent struggles. years. For the last two years, along gle thru America, you would also has taken root. There is no particular spontaneity about all this. and the unprincipled and destruc-

penetration of the I.C.L.L. in the two years. Over three-quarters of League.

Philip Kapp, Sec'y-Treasurer

Louis Nelson, Manager

WORKERS AGE

American labor movement

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS

UNION — I.L.G.W.U.

The

JOINT COUNCIL KNITGOODS WORKERS

UNION

greets the

WORKERS AGE

WORKERS AGE

On the anniversary of its eighth year

DOLL AND TOY WORKERS UNION

on its eighth anniversary of struggle for a powerful

labor movement as a positive, con- | Age readers are workers in mass structive element. These two organizations. The specific gravity factors are today established facts of its growth is moving definitely and that is exactly why the Work- where mass-production industry predominates. It has maintained Were a graph to be drawn of the the closest contact with the needs circulation of the Workers Age, it of the working class and has helpwould remarkably parallel the for- ed to lift the level of its advanced tunes of the trade-union and the sections in preparation for future

When we talk of circulation, we the growth of the labor-party have no sentimental radical rich years. forces the Age circulation has pappas feathering our nest, nor is continuing upward. Were you to that enable some papers to boost note the storm spots of class strug- their circulation to dubious figures, gle thru America, you would also thru free distributions. Our organ-note that that is where the Age ization, the I.C.L.L., has had to struggle against almost insurmountable obstacles, not only There is a good reason for it, and against capitalist reaction, which that is because the Independent all revolutionaries must face, but established itself as a force in these who still carry the official label of movement, contributed to its guid- maintained only thru terrific sacriance, and helped organize the fices. Our widening influence infinancial needs faster than we can Age subscription drive, the \$10,-Today, the Workers Age pene- 000 drive and the membership drive trates most of the important indus- attain important political significit is avidly read in almost conscious enough to understand the from among his fellowworkers for

> Revolutionary Greetings to the Soviet Union and its best defender

TORONTO BRANCH Independent Communist Labor League

Greetings to

WORKERS AGE

Is American Capitalism Facing a New Depression?

with the upsurge of the C.I.O. and mean genuine, paid circulation. We employed in its ranks within six and more rapid crystallization of

Some "Explanations" central organ the Workers Age is, of opportunists and social-patriots quiring customers to provide 55% | The Socialist Call of November movements. The Workers Age an communism whose name they are bought. Also, some of the less far- same prayerful moan. It wails disgracing. Our paper has been sighted captains of industry have against "capitalist sabotage" and sible for the rapidly developing ad- a capitalist class lockout." Far be tive influences and practices within satisfy them. That is where the versities besetting the American it from us to deny that there are

create a temporary boom as well as a temporary panic.... There is ... a great deal of indirect evidence that big capital organized the Marxism and U.S. crash in order to frighten the Roosevelt Administration and force i

And with true rabbinical finality. the Communist Party's "economic theoretician," Alexander Bittelman, tells the world that "a very im- try is so necessary to the victory portant contributing factor to the of socialism on a world scale. The lecline in the stock-market and the final victory in the struggle beuneven recession in various tween world socialism and world branches of industry is this: that capitalism will be decided by the big capital, the reactionary monopolists, may be considered as being on a sort of political strike.

(Continued from Page 1) aged recovery, thereby threatening eighteen months. It is to be the nation's economy; they militate noted that "all component factors against the government's program a powerful People's Front move-

Blessed be the not-so-big-capitalists and the not-so-reactionary There are all kinds of explanations | monopolists! May the wrath of being offered by all kinds of Jehovah visit anyone and every one are howling against the tax rates and may it paralyze the hand that for the higher brackets. Many of seeks to interfere with "the govthe moneyed men have been ernment's program for control of whining over the S.E.C. regulations | the stock-market." Only then will

conomic machine. The official Com- situations in which tampering and a likelihood that the present panic important role. However, it is utterly frivolous to believe that such moves can possibly be the driving force for or the basic cause of a serious economic situation, a grave depression of the kind we now face. (Continued Next Week)

Labor Movement

(Continued from Page 3) ecome the most fruitful in the world. No other country is so highdeveloped economically, whose "pure" capitalism so fully confirms the Marxist analysis; the conversion to socialism of no other counaction of our working class.

A Gigantic Historical Task American Marxists must make the third great contribution to Marxism. The first was made by the German social-democracy; but it eventually became a drag upon further development because of its entanglement with reformism. The second contribution was made by Russian Bolshevism's revolutionary reformation of Marxism; but it, too, has become a drag upon further development because it is now largely mere ideology which masks the Stalinist clique's pursuit of its own purposes and interests. That is the challenge to American Marxism, a challenge that can be answered only by the clear-headed and unafraid application of Marx ism to the concrete conditions of American life and to the problems of the proletarian revolution and

socialist construction. It is a giant historical task that awaits American Marxism. Upon its creative fulfillment depends the future of world socialism. It is not only a question of raising the American labor movement to higher levels of theory and practice for the conquest of power; it is a question of socialist construction on higher levels, made possible by higher American economic and cultural levels and by learning from the experience of the Russian workers what to do and, especially, what not to do.

It is a giant historical task. The task will be fulfilled as American Marxism and American labor come of age together, each fructifying the other because they are one in the struggle against capitalism, for

WORKERS AGE

PHILADELPHIA NEW WORKERS

entering into the making of the for control of the stock-market index have shared in the decline and, in many other ways, are strikand the decline itself has . . . ing against the well-being and grown more precipitate as it prosecurity of the people." (Daily ceeded." Here is the reason for un- Worker, October 28, 1937). It would employment beginning to rise once be unfair to the Political Commitagain in ominous proportions. The tee of the Communist Party and to A. F. of L. has just reported the Bittelman if I were to omit his first increase in the number of un- remedy: "The further promotion

What is happening and why? people. Some of the big financiers "threatening the nation's economy just eased but, until recently, re- there be light for labor! of cash of the cost of securities | 6 editorializes profusely in the worked themselves up into fever speaks of "a strike of capital" and heat over the general policies of "an artificial crisis, a conspiracy munist Party paper, the Freiheit, manipulations by powerful financial declared on October 25: "There is and industrial overlords play an Wall Street has been deliberately organized as a demonstration against the Roosevelt government. . The big 'sharks' of Wall Street manipulate the market. They can

to abandon its program of pro

gressive legislation. What little faith these people have in their new friends and lead-

They have refused to expand, to make new investments; they sabot

ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

BOSTON DISTRICT Independent Communist Labor League FLINT DISTRICT Independent Communist

Labor League DETROIT DISTRICT Independent Communist

Labor League LOS ANGELES DISTRICT

Independent Communist Labor League PHILADELPHIA YOUTH SECTION Independent Communist

Labor League CHICAGO DISTRICT Independent Communist Labor League

OFFICE WORKERS BRANCH Independent Communist Labor League

CLOAKMAKERS BRANCH Independent Communist Labor League

N. Y. DOWNTOWN NO. 1 BRANCH Independent Communist Labor League N. Y. DOWNTOWN NO. 2 BRANCH Independent Communist Labor League

DRESSMAKERS BRANCH Independent Communist Labor League AUTO WORKERS BRANCH Independent Communist Labor League

YOUTH SECTION Independent Communist Labor League TEACHERS BRANCH

Independent Communist Labor League BUFFALO DISTRICT Independent Communist

Labor League ST. LOUIS DISTRICT Independent Communist Labor League

Detroit Elections and People's Front

(Continued from Page 1) lieved it possible for labor alone to cause, under this harmless phrase defeat the big-business crowd. . . Outside of O'Brien, the five candidates for the city council were men completely identified with the labor movement. . . . The appeal has directed almost exclusively to the workers. . . . This shows that, the progressive front." had a proper approach—A PEO-PLE'S FRONT APPROACH—beer followed in Detroit, the progress

sive forces could have won. There were, indeed, many deficiencies and shortcomings in the Detroit campaign which we shall have the opportunity of discussing at length upon another occasion. identified with the labor move But they are not those that the Daily Worker condemns. On the How much better it would have contrary, what the Daily Worker been if at least some of the canfinds so objectionable is precisely didates had been lawyers or insurwhat gave the Detroit campaign its strength and significance—and its ance agents or shyster politicians, anything rather than men "com-

ful, despite the howls of "defeat" labor-slate council ticket, is a and "disaster" in the employingclass and Stalinist press. The Daily the U.A.W. and, as such, virtually Worker tries to play off the A.L.P. a working man therefore obviously and its victory against the Detroit unfit to be a "progressive" canlabor slate and its "defeat." See, didate! the A.L.P. helped the Mayor win, elected so many assemblymen, so hails the fact that most of its own many city councillors-but, in De- | candidates, those who were elected troit, "the entire labor-slate was as well as those who were not defeated." I am quite sure that the were "completely identified with A.L.P. leaders will not thank the labor movement." Isidore Daily Worker for this sort of com- Nagler, who scored 38% of the parison. The A.L.P. achievement vote in the Bronx and ran way was magnificent, as the Workers ahead of LaGuardia on the A.L.P Age emphasized in the last issue; ticket and far above the city-wide but, by the same token, the A.L.P. average of 22%, is "comachievement of the Detroit labor pletely identified with the labor slate was even greater and more movement"; in fact, he is general significant. The A.L.P. polled just manager of the Cloakmakers Joint 22% of the total vote in New Board. So is Nathaniel M. Min-York; the Detroit labor ticket won koff, A.L.P. assemblyman from the the elections in Detroit been con-secretary of Dressmakers Union ducted along the same lines as in Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. And so are New York, by local districts for as- many others-Michael Quill (transsemblymen and by proportional re- port), Andrew Armstrong (printpresentation for the city council, ers), Salvatore Ninfo (I.L.G.W.U.), the labor slate would have elected Louis Hollander (A.C.W.), etc. But its men to office in an even higher what is a source of strength and proportion than did the A.L.P. pride for the A.L.P. is transformed here. But there the elections were by the Daily Worker into a source city-wide in scope and on so thoroly of shame and weakness for the Deundemocratic a basis that the labor troit labor slate. forces might have polled 49% of the vote without electing a single Detroit labor slate was really weak

Stalinist Demagogy

To judge the results of an elec- one of them! tion not by the response of the It is clear. What the Stalinists tendant circumstances—is this not gram and tactics acceptable to the and demoralizing the masses?

for labor alone to defeat the big- of the leading role of the working business crowd. . . . The appeal class in the struggle against capwas directed almost exclusively to italist reaction; it is a repudiation

l against big capital it must become It is a reactionary sophism be the Daily Worker is hiding some thing else-the denial or the leading role of labor in the struggle against reaction, the contention that labor must subordinate itself to the middle classes in program and tactics in order to "broader

Qualifications Of A Labor Party Candidate

That this is really what the Daily Worker means can be seen from the next words: "Outside of O'Brien, the five candidates for the city council were men completely ment." Now isn't that outrageous! pletely identified with the labor lurch. Yes, its success! For the Detroit movement." In point of fact, labor-slate campaign was success- Maurice Sugar, who headed the lawyer; but he is the lawyer for

In New York City, the A.L.P

As a matter of fact, where the man! And this is the situation that was in the selection of Patrick H. arouses the Daily Worker to cheap O'Brien as mayoralty candidate. sneers and shabby sophisms at the Exactly what his qualifications expense of the Detroit labor cam- were to entitle him to head a labor ticket, still remains a mystery; "complete identification with the labor movement" was certainly not

masses, not even by the actual vote | mean by the "independent organcast and its percentage of the ization of labor and progressive total, but solely and exclusively by forces" is the organization of labor the number of candidates returned behind middle-class "progressive" to office without any regard to at- elements, on the basis of a prothe veriest charlatanism, is this not latter, in fact, dictated by them. the most contemptible demagogy, This is the whole meaning of the is this not disorientating, confusing People's Front which, apparently best organize itself politically and its lot with other groups which had "The chief reason (for the defeat successes" in France and Spain, class basis, while, at the same time, community, whereas in Detroit the which was no defeat but a real and the Daily Worker now recommends genuine victory—W. H.) lies in the to Detroit and the United States.

narrow approach . . ." The Detroit | The "People's Front approach" is labor forces "believed it possible a deliberate and calculated denial a labor party; they do not want an ment.' There can be no doubt that the workers." This is, at once, a of the fundamental idea underlying New York, despite all Daily Work- down to the same cheap trick of malicious misrepresentation and a the modern labor movement in all er eulogies of the latter. What they playing off New York against reactionary sophism. It is a deli- its forms—the idea that labor must want is a People's Front parading Detroit? Are not the premises and reactionary sophism. It is a deliberate misrepresentation to say organize independently as a class, as a labor party; what they want is

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organized in the control organized independently as a class, as a labor party; what they want is

organized in the control o that the Detroit campaign leaders believed that labor alone could deits own organized power. The may be mobilized behind New Deal
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its own organized power. feat reaction. On the contrary, it "People's Front approach" is just- Democracy, and the working masses same? was clear to them and they made as | ified on the ground that it will win | utterly subordinated to the leadergenerally clear as they could under the middle classes, but this is the ship of the petty-bourgeois "pro- tical wisdom of the Stalinists! And are active in the labor-party movethe difficult circumstances that, in veriest self-deception. The middle gressive" politicians. Even the unorder to defeat reaction, labor classes are to be won not by spout-certain, hesitant beginnings of polimust rally to its support broad ing vast clouds of phrases about tical class independence making see eye to eye on so important an "labor" liberalism, so thoroly at sections of the "middle" elements "democracy" and "progress" at themselves felt in the labor-party issue. For is not the People's variance with the best interests of the population, whose champion them nor by striving to degrade movement in New York, Detroit Front essentially a mechanism by the working class.

THE WORLD TODAY

(Continued from Page 2)

Socialists and other bourgeois parties, excluding the C.P. This, however, is not an immediate prospect. The atmosphere in working-class circles is tense. The workers demand that wages be raised to offset the rise in the cost of living. State employees have been offered several raises by the government which have been rejected as unsatisfactory.

RECENT announcement, released by the Chautemps government and unanimously approved by the Radical-Socialist and socialist ministers, provides among other things for the following:

No valuta control, which means continued devaluation of the franc and an increase in the cost of iving; modification of the 40-hour week (within the 'framework" of the 40-hour law); prohibition of the stay-in strike; severe measures against anti-fascist migres now living in France; ruthless suppression of the colonial people.

In addition, the French government came out openy for the Anglo-French alliance without, however, so much as mentioning the Franco-Soviet alliance. In other words, the Soviet Union is to be left in the

Neither the communist nor the socialist party in France has made any protest against these antilabor measures. The C.P. is particularly proud of its clever manouver of picking up the reactionary slogans of bourgeois France, such as "France for the French," "Authority, Order, Increased Production," etc. Obviously, such propaganda deceives none but the communist workers and strengthens the influence of reactionaries and fascists, while it weakens and confuses the working class. The deportation of Spanish refugees from France has not evoked the slightest protest from the C.P. or S.P. Marx Dornoy, socialist Minister of the Interior, is supervising the deportations, to the satisfaction of reactionary France and to the everlasting shame of the People's Front parties.

TERRORISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

tail, but to lead it!

The Role Of The Labor Party

THE terrorist regime of Stalin, thru its mass ar-I rests and replacement of countless leaders of collective farms, tractor stations, etc., has had a more than 36% of the total. Had 5th A. D. Bronx; he is executive disastrous effect on this year's harvest. This is only natural in a situation where the economic life of a farm is continually disrupted by the demotion of experienced leaders familiar with the particular locality and their replacement by new people. The Stalin regime has sought to solve this problem with

tion of the country alone. It is safe to assume that the number of executions is much greater than the figure officially released. By such methods, Stalin is hastening the day when the soviet masses will destroy his bloody regime which continues to disrupt all branches of soviet economy and is killing all initiative of the rank-and-file without which socialist economy is doomed. Bela Kun's arrest has now been officially confirmed. The magazine, the Communist International, states that the present central committee of the C.P. of Hungary, under the leadership of Bela Kun. is

paper report, 275 persons were shot in the course

of two weeks for sabotaging the harvest in one sec-

guilty of "Trotskyism" because it ignored the People's Front and the defense of bourgeois democracy. Bela Kun has been a member of the C.P.S.U. for many years. If it is true that Bela Kun is opposed to the People's Front, it is certain that there is considerable opposition to the People's Front in the C.P.S.U. itself.

Approximately 40 trade-union conventions have taken place recently in the Soviet Union. Their purpose was to replace the unpopular burocracy with new and younger forces who are 100% for Stalin. The party press comments (Deutsche Zentralzeitung, October 12, 1937): "Bolshevist criticism and selfcriticism have exposed these scoundrels who had proven that they were incapable of advancing the cause of labor." Their places are being taken by "the Stalin generation of capable youths." The "enemy' had suppressed these youths and had "attracted demoralized, anti-socialist elements." The personnel of the Soviet trade union has been changed at least 90%. Only 30% of the presidents of trade unions have kept their posts. As an example of the type of people who are being groomed for leadership, we refer to a certain Leontiev, now president of the Central Committee of the graphic-arts union, born 1908, member of the party since 1931, formerly factory worker, more recently secretary of the party fraction in the Volodarski printing plant in Leningrad. This example shows that the selection of new representatives is made not by the trade union membership but by the party burocracy which is attempting to divert the hatred of the people for the old trade-union burocracy and is anxious for a breathing-spell. Needless to say, the old burocracy was not chosen by Trotsky or Bukharin or Rykov but by the very same Stalin who is throwing it on the junk-heap today.

the labor movement to their level. | and elsewhere, they view with in- | means of which political attitudes Such tactics will only demoralize tense suspicion and distrust. Such and ideas in harmony with the inand disorganize the labor move- manifestations of working-class in- terests of the employing class are ment, while breeding nothing but dependence are a menace to the transmitted to the working masses? contempt for the working class and People's Front and they must lack of confidence in it among the therefore be discouraged and sup-The Stalinist Danger In The petty bourgeoisie. To win the pressed. This is the true meaning Labor-Party Movement middle classes, it is necessary for of the Daily Worker editorial! In the labor-party movement, the

The reactionary tendency of the labor to be militant, aggressive, Stalinist labor-party line is obself-reliant so as to convince these elements by deeds that it really can vious; no less clear is the source of win for them a measure of security its inspiration. Let the reader comand relief-that, with conditions as pare the excerpt from the Daily Worker editorial of November 5 they are, only the working class given above with the following can lead society out of the endless sentences from the leading editorial misery of capitalist decay. It is necessary not to kowtow before the in the New York Times of Novempetty bourgeoisie, or to drag at its | ber 4:

"The essential difference between labor's experiment in politics in New York and labor's experi-In present-day America, the road ment in politics in Detroit is that, along which the working class may in this city, labor chose to throw in on the strength of its brilliant unite its ranks on an independent at heart the interests of the whole rallying the middle-class elements experiment was rather in the directo its support, is the labor party. tion of an attempt to establish a independent working-class political the New York plan . . . is the betmovement of the type that is mak- ter of the two.'

ing its appearance in Detroit or in Are not the sentiments identical,

Such is the source of the poli-

Stalinists form a center of dangerous political infection—a rallying center, too, for all non-labor elements striving to drag the movement off its class rails and shunt on to the tracks of "labor" liberalism. Their frantic efforts to hamper the first hesitant steps of the A.L.P. in the direction of class ndependence are notorious. The damage they did to the Detroit campaign with the constant inproach" is known to all who had a part in the movement. Today, with their propaganda of "defeat" and their agitation for a "People's Front approach," they constitute an even graver menace to the development of a sound labor-party movement in Michigan. Whatever moods of demoralization and disappointment there may be among the more backward and inexperienced sections of the workers, whatever confusion and uncertainty there may be in the ranks as to the

The class- conscious workers who

Harry Esposito, Manager

Emanuel Diana, President

SURVEY REVEALS BIG VALUE OF C.I.O. PACTS

The National Industrial Confer- | famous company-union agreement ence Board, employers' statistical public a study of the types of contracts signed by the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. in the past year, revealing sharp differences in services rendered to labor by the new and the old organizations.

Out of the 38 A. F. of L. and 52 C.I.O. contracts, 31.5% of the Federation's agreements call for the closed shop, while only 9.6% of the C.I.O.'s agreement have this clause. It is not necessary to look beyond the N.I.C.B.'s report itself to see the reality behind these curious figures. Declares the report:

"One is led to wonder how much this result is due to success and irresistible pressure from the A. F. of L. unions and how much is caused by a relatively willing compliance on the part of management -a willingness springing from the hope that a closed A. F. of L. shop will serve as a bulwark against the C.I.O. invasion."

That this is the underlying reason for the friendliness of employers towards the A. F. of L. is further substantiated by the relative increases achieved in the living standards of the workers of the two organizations. Here is the very crux of unionism; the workers who have been rushing into the unions in recent years, judge their organizations primarily on the basis of the material gains made.

Wage increases were provided in 73% of the C.I.O.'s contracts as against only 50% of the A. F. of L.'s. Minimum wage scales were included in about 60% of the agreements of both. Where the A. F. of L. got time-and-a-half for overtime in 50% of the contracts, the C.I.O. won this provision in 75% of theirs. Further, while both make the 40-hour week and 8-hour day the standard, the A. F. of L. contracts had far many more loopholes permitting excess work-time during peak production periods. The importance of this is more far-reaching than the immediate circumstances it affects, for the C.I.O. agreements, by insisting on maintaining the contractual standard, tend to distribute work and lessen the distress caused by sharp seasonal fluctuation of employ-

The very real superiority of the C.I.O. contracts, compared to the usually very dubious gains of A. F. of L. type of closed shop, becomes even clearer when the industries covered by these contracts are examined.

The A. F. of L. contracts covered public utilities (such as the in- for every knitgoods worker.

L. Muchnik

H. Chartin

Kaplowitz

Schneider

Littman

M. Kay

S. Raffkin

R. Siegel

E. Lind

N. Godovnick

S. Rosenstein

C. Spindler

A. Teitleman

GREETINGS FROM KNITGOODS WORKERS

GREETINGS FROM TEACHERS

GREETINGS FROM

Schleifer

Colenberg

Copperman

S. Goldstein

L. Marrimore

Ann Ramsay

Victor Cibulsky

Intrator

S. Gross

M. Tatz

G. Wilen

Kass

in Consolidated Edison in New service organization, has made York), paper manufacturing, food products, electrical manufacturing and metal working—the last two named being two old craft strongholds of the Federation. That is, where the contracts were not merely anti-C.I.O. insurance for the employers, they were consummated in the old crafts with a tradition of collective bargaining.

> The C.I.O. contracts, on the other hand, not only made real wage and hour gains for the workers covered. but brought unionism to many of them for the first time. The contracts studied in the report were those of the auto-workers, steel workers, textile workers, rubber workers and men's clothing workers-exclusive of the last named, involving those millions of mass production workers that have only been, and could only have been, organized by the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Knitgoods Drive On Sweatshops

Over a thousand members of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union stopped work during the afternoon of Armistice Day to demonstrate against the sweatshop conditions in the Ridgewood area of Brooklyn. The demonstration was also aimed against actions of District Attorney Geoghan's office which has sent union members and organizers to jail, while permitting scabs who had assaulted union members to go scot-free. At a meeting after the parade, Manager Nelson warned the District Attorney's office to stop acting as an agency for the sweatshop bosses and the Brooklyn Chamber of Com-

In addition to the two shops on strike in the Ridgewood district, the Scharff and Bright and the Friendly Knitting Mills at 35 Meadows Street, the union is also conducting strikes in other parts of the city.

The union by its successful mass demonstration has served notice on the employers that the decision to carry out the organization drive will be carried through, that these mass demonstrations, if necessary, will be repeated again and again until all the shops settle with the union. The enthusiastic parade clearly demonstrated the union's determination that the industry shall provide a decent livelihood

M. Feldman

Keizer

Komarov

A. Gorok

S. Landau

L. Cantone

C. De Macio

Florence Smith

H. Orlove

A Friend

Leopold

B. Antonoff

S. BARON JAILED IN SPAIN

CCORDING to reports in the New York Times and confirmed by the Socialist Call, Sam Baron, American socialist leader, has been arrested by Stalinist police somewhere in loyalist Spain.

This action against Sam Baron is believed to have been taken because of his articles, under his own name and jointly with Liston M. Oak, in the American socialist press severely criticizing the reactionary policy of the Stalinist-Negrin regime. The report of his arrest came to this country thru Paris with which Baron had communicated by means of a code.

A movement has been started in New York to rally labor organizations to demand that the loyalist government release Sam Baron without delay.

Twenty Years

(Continued from Page 5)

is from here, too, that they draw their strength to fight to liberate themselves from the crushing burden of the Stalinist regime. And it is the international socialist revolution alone that can break the fatal isolation of the Soviet Republic in the world of imperialism, to which so much of what is unhealthy within may be traced. The international proletarian movement, which Stalinism has done so much to weaken and demoralize, may yet become a decisive factor in helping the Soviet masses rid themselves of an obsolete and oppressive regime that is holding back the forces of socialist ad-

On this twentieth anniversary of the November Revolution, we celebrate the magnificent accomplishments of the Soviet masses in constructing a new social order which, with all its shortcomings, constitutes an achievement of vast world-historical significance. the twentieth anniversary of the November Revolution, we also greet the forces arising to sweep away the present obstacles to further socialist advance, to the progressive development of Bol-

NAVY HEADS ATTACK WAGE-HOUR BILL

The whole idea of wage-hour legislation was threatened last week by Secretary of the Navy Swanson's blunt declaration that to the rearmament program con-

templated by the administration. The attack, made public in statement on November 7, was so sharp that the possibility was suggested that a different set of rules may be established in the wage-hour bill to apply to concerns handling material for the army and navy armament programs. This would seriously cripple the effectiveness of the bill.

Greeting from

LOUIS (LINN) RESTAÙRANŤ 207 E. 14th Street New York City

ADVANCES REPORTED BY MEXICAN GROUP

(We publish below a brief report too soon. We talked too much and of the recent activities of the Marxito widely and we tried to hurry ist Workers Block of Mexico, a revolutionary socialist tendency adhering to the general line of the Interna-tional Communist Opposition.—THE

October 18, 1937.

Dear Comrades: We have not written you sooner because we waited to see what the final results would be in our plans of unification with some of the socialist groupings of the C.T.M. (Mexican Confederation of Labor). Now we know the results. Unification is not possible at this time because of the work of sabotage carried on by Rodrigo Garcia Trevino. We were also hindered by the fear of the reformist and Stalinist trade union leaders. They do not want to let us come any closer to the working masses.

We also made a mistake in tactics. We put our cards on the table

Soviet Union After | Hyphenate Danger In the Freiheit

"How would it be if we were to declare: The National-Socialists (Nazis) and, let us say, the socialists are two tendencies of one and the same philosophy? That would be dangerous tomfoolery."

These words appeared in an article by Wm. Abrams in the September 12 issue of the Freiheit, Jewish organ of the Communist Party. Apparently, they have escaped the vigilance of the loyal Stalinist censors—yet it should not be difficult to detect what Wm. Abrams is really implying!

For who is identified with the doctrine that fascism and socialdemocracy are "two tendencies of one and the same philosophy"? Who championed this doctrine as the purest "Marxism-Leninism? Who heralded it thruout the world under the name of "social-fascism"? Why, who else but Stalir. and the official spokesmen of the Stalinist Comintern? examples of the hundreds that may be piled up:

"Fascism is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie dependent on the active support of the social-democracy. Objectively, social-democracy is the moderate wing of fascism. They are not antipodes but twins" (J. Stalin, September 1924).

"Social-democracy is evolving thru social-imperialism to fascism, or rather, to social-fascism" (E.C.C.I. report at the tenth plenum, July 1929). Is it not plain what Abrams's

the situation. Nevertheless, after the defeat of our efforts at unification, our retreat was successful, because we were able to continue the relationships we had established and we were able to build up a favorable ·atmosphere. We were also able to give the lie completely to the false rumors which the Stalinists tried to spread everywhere about our group.

Another important fact which I ought to relate is the following: Since the formation of our group. the Trotskyites have continued losing ground. Their mistakes become clearer every day. Many people who were developing in their direction have stopped to examine our position and are being drawn towards us. This has given us new confidence. At the beginning, the Trotskyites treated us in a most hostile manner; today, after a series of mistakes which have resulted in losses for them in the trade unions, they treat us with a certain amount of deference.

Our influence in the trade unions remains firm in the positions we had already taken and increases considerably in the unions of state employees.

With fraternal greetings, Gustavo de Anda

little game is? He is probably a hidden "hyphenate"—a disguised Trotskyist-Bukharinist-Nazi-Japanese-wrecker-diversionist-Gestapo agent and bandit. Unable to come right out and call Stalin a "fool" directly, he does it by means of a transparent subterfuge—and in the sacred columns of the Freiheit too! This is intolerable! We are compelled to ask: Who are the "hyphenates" on the Freiheit staff who turn their heads away and pretend not to be looking while Abrams carries on his dirty work unmolested?

OPEN MEETING

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

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