A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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At First **GLANCE**

By JAY LOVESTONE

NO amount of rationalizing can efface the seriousness of the opportunist deviations now being made by the Comintern sections in their panicky flight from ultra-left sectarianism.

We have at hand two pieces of campaign literature portraying the policies of the Canadian and American Communist Parties in their respective election campaigns. Merely to cite the type of propaganda resorted to by our comrades in arms is sufficient for a scathing indict-

In Canada, our comrades have unfortunately come forward with this sort of an appeal: "To all progressive elements, who truly love their country and who wish to save her from falling into the abyss . . ." And "This circular is graciously offered to our Candidate . . . by a group of friends and defenders of in-dividual liberty." True Jacobins—but of more than a century before yesterday! Certainly not of today.

Now to Paterson, New Jersey. Here Now to Paterson, New Jersey. Here a leaflet issued by the local Communist Party organization boastfully explains why the C.P. indirectly supports some candidates on the Republican ticket: "In the statement of the Labor Party Executive Board is revealed the fact that the Labor Party slate of candidates in the caping election will not oppose those the coming election will not oppose those Labor men running on the Republican and Democratic tickets and soliciting labor's votes. At the same time it does not endorse them because they are not running on the Labor Party program or ticket. This decision proves the skill and ability of the Labor Party to take away the grounds for conflict in the ranks of labor . . .'

What a nice how do you do! The Paterson Labor Party is nothing but an anaemic creature of the local C.P. That is why the latter entered no candidates in the local elections. Thru the Labor Party in Paterson the C.P. withdrew its candidates in favor of so-called labor men on the Republican and Democratic tickets. And all in the name of labor unity! We venture to say that such tactics are as helpful towards achieving labor unity today as the C.P.'s tactics of union-splitting were yesterday.

Neither strategy has any place in a Communist Party.

(Continued on Page 4)

WHERE DO THE SP MILITANTS STAND?

An Analysis of their Latest Program

By WILL HERBERG

The "The Draft Program for the Socialist Party of the United States", presented to the recent Socialist Call Institute (September 6, 7, 1935) "as a basis for discussion at the Institute and thruout the party", is easily the most serious document issued by the Militant faction of the S.P. in the nearly five years of its existence. This time it is no "mere" factional platform or even declaration of principles on disputed questions; it is a basic program for the whole party, for the whole movement, at a time when programmatic questions are precisely the questions at issue. Since it aspires to such scope and authority, the document naturally falls subject to a more fundamental and more critical scrutiny than would otherwise be the case. It is in this spirit of comradely criticism and in the hope of contributing something towards helping along the process of revo-lutionary self-clarification going on in Militant ranks, that I write the following paragraphs. While the document may be presented, in form, as a draft program for the S.P., in fact, however, it represents essentially the viewpoint of the more advanced elements in the Militant leadership.

Whatever may be thought of the practical advisability of attempting to draft a program for the S.P. at the present stage of its inner political development, the mere fact that Militant leaders undertook the effort is of some significance for it means, in effect, that this group is making, a demonstrative bid for ideological independence and leadership, claiming the right to recast the whole party politically in its own image. This is considerable progress for those who, at the beginning, refused to formulate anything more than a "program of action" and have tended all along to look with more than indifference upon a thorogoing discussion of the theoretical foundations of the Socialist movement. It is welcome, indeed, as indicating a deepening of theoretical consciousnes in the most decisive Militant circles.

LACK OF ANALYSIS

Looking at the matter in this light, will not attempt to deal with ques tions as to form and content which would certainly be in order were this document to be regarded primarily as a draft program for a revolutionary Marxist party rather than as the Militant statement of principles which it is. It is

ters of importance. The schematic description of capitalism, its contradictions and its decay, itself not altogether free from errors and crudities, is not followed by any real analysis of American economic or social Very little is said on this head and that little is open to serious objection. When, for example, we are told that: "Just as American capitalism was, for a time, the outstanding representative of capitalist development and the model which all others desired to imitate, it is now the outstanding representative of capitalist decline." (Emphasis mine thruout—W.H.), what are we to conclude? If these remarks are to be taken in any concrete sense at all, they are not only false in fact but they lead directly to the most ultra-leftist consequences, for our tactics must surely be adapted to the extremely advanced stage of capitalist decay alleged to exist in this country. That the Militants do not indeed draw such conclusions may be a credit to their tactical common sense but it certainly does not reflect favorably upon the soundness of the estimation of American capitalism contained in

INACCURACIES ON FASCISM

the Draft Program.

Even more defective is the analysis of Fascism contained in the document. certainly escapes the crude blunders of the right-wing Social-Democrats who tend to make of Fascism either a superavoiding these errors, the drafters of the program manage to fall into pitfalls of another kind. They seem to miss altogether the fundamental fact that, altho Fascism is certainly an open, naked dictatorship, it is nevertheless an indirect dictatorship on the part of monopoly capital which functions not thru its own raditional organizations but thru Fascism, a predominantly petty bourgeois mass movement, as its political trustee. Without this clue it is impossible to understand the social role of Fascism or to grasp the real meaning of the most important developments in Italy or Germany. The conception contained in the Draft Program tends to obliterate the

in passing on a number of general mat- ism in the crisis of decay; nor does it differentiate it sufficiently from other forms of capitalist dictatorship.

It would be esay to extend this critical cism of the section on Fascism much further, to show that there is no attempt at examining the objective situation out of which Fascism arises, no mention of the collapse of the customary political regime of the bourgeoisie (parliamentary democracy) without which it is impossi ble, no indication of the profound fermentation, the spontaneous upheaval in the depths of the petty bourgeoisie, or which it is nourished. Again, the only reason that this whole confused and inadequate analysis does not lead to dangerous tactical conclusions is that, like so much of the general section of the program, it is not put to any practical use as far as policy or tactics are con-

ABSTRACTIONS ON LABOR MOVEMENT

The sections concerned with the New Deal and the American labor movement suffer from a number of similar shortcomings. The failure of the New Deal is attributed, among other factors, "particularly to the active opposition of some of the most important sections of big capital," but no hint is given that it was precisely these elements (U. S. Chamer of Commerce, Gerald Swope, etc.) who, back in 1932 and 1933, brought forward and championed the most characteristic features of the New Deal, such class force or else a really independent as the NRA. By offering no indication petty bourgeois movement. But, in as to this shift of sentiment or its reasons, by failing to call attention to the fundamentally different attitudes of various sections of the capitalist class towards the New Deal, the distinct impression is left that Roosevelt rose to power and launched his policies in the teeth of the big capitalist opposition. It is obvious that the Militants do not believe this typical Cahan myth; but the unclarity of their thought betrays them into this false position.

"The American labor movement, in view of its general backwardness, will very likely pass thru a period of reformism" is certainly true enough and can be challenged only by the hopeless dogmatists of the Trotskyite school. But nevertheless impossible to proceed to the main issues without some comment manifestation of contemporary capital- of a concrete analysis of recent trends (Continued on Page 3)

in the labor movement or an explanation of the specific forces at work, instead of a clear picture of what is new in the situation, we are presented with some sketchy generalizations, such as that "the class struggle will grow more in-tense..." The few words on American imperialism are of the same vague and general nature and could, with appropriate changes, be applied to almost any imperialist power or to the U.S.A. at any time in the last two decades or so

Taken all in all, the opening sections of the Draft Program suffer from a general inability to come to grips with the concrete facts of American reality, to isolate and bring to the fore those differentiating features of American economic, social and political life that are so essential to a revolutionary Marxist analysis. As a consequence, it all remains abstract and sterile, with no compelling implications for the "practical" part of the program.

THE CENTRAL ISSUES

We come to the essence of the document when we reach the paragraphs deal ing with the nature of the state, with the road of the proletariat to power, with the attitude towards war. are the questions that serve as a touch-stone to distinguish the fundamental tendencies in the labor movement from each other; by its answers to these questions can we judge the stage which the Militant movement has reached in its political development. That this section is intended by the authors of the program to be a presentation of the revolutionary Marxist position, there is certainly no reason to doubt; that it does indeed openly break with some of the gross reformist perversions of official Social Democracy is also obvious. Unfortunately, however, the formulations of the Draft Program on these questions contain so many serious shortcomings and errors in principle that the intentions are frequently nullified by the re-

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The whole discussion of the nature of the bourgeois democratic state suffers from a thoroly false point of departure. Instead of subjecting this institution to analysis in its concrete form as parliamentary democracy, the authors of the program fall into the reformist trap and speak generally of "democracy". The result is that their criticism of bourgeois democracy, while certainly sharp enough,

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM ORGANIZED; ETHIOPIANS STILL DODGE OPEN BATTLE; ELECTIONS SHOW ROOSEVELT'S HOLD ON VOTERS IS LOOSENING

A. F. of L. Opposition Organizes Itself For |SovietsInDanger| Italian Troops Take Undefended Cities; Still National Fight For Industrial Unionism

UCH sooner than many expected pendent unions (inclusive of Father the opposition at the fifty-fifth convention of the A. F. of L. has taken steps to organize itself nationally in the strug-gle for industrial unionism. A conference of supporters of industrial unionism was attended by representatives of al Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Refinery Workers, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

A statement issued by this conference says that it will work in accordance with the "principles enunciated by these organizations at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of La bor." The statement goes on to say that The statement goes on to say that its functions will be educational and

The conference, organizing itself a the "Committee for Industrial Organization" elected John Brophy, of the Miners as Director, John L. Lewis, of the Miners as President and Charles P. Howard of the Typographers as Secretary. In addition to these the commit tee consists of Sidney Hillman (ACW) David Dubinsky (ILGWU), Thomas E. McMahon (UTW), Harvey C. Freming (Oil Workers), M. Zaritsky (Cap and Millinery) and Thomas E. Brown (Metal Miners).

DRAFT THE

AUTO MERGER

As if to emphasize the importance of such a center for industrial union agitation and advice comes the news from Detroit that during the course of last the Republican column.

Coughlin's union) have agreed to a merger of their organizations. A referendum to the various organization is about to be issued.

That this represents a positive menace the following organizations: United Mine Yet it must be said that the failure of Workers, Typographical Union, Amal-gamated Clothing Workers, Internation-organization early in the organization the A. F. of L. to set up an industrial drive was mainly responsible for this United Textile Workers, Oil Field, Gas condition. Altho the unions now merging profess no opposition to the A. F. of L. yet the very situation will force them into the anti-A. F of L stand The work ers in such organizations as the Mechanics Educational Society and others must fight against this merger with organizations whose connections with the employers is more than mere suspicion.

ELECTIONS A PUZZLE TO DEMOCRATIC LEADERS

The recent elections are the source of considerable worry among the leaders of our Democracy and of solid cheer to the hungry camp followers of the lean elephant. Farley can and does point to Kentucky, where normally Republican counties were swept into the columns of the Democratic majorities, as a sign that Roosevelt is holding his own. But Chair-linterference (aid would be better) now man Fletcher of the Republican Party gives facts and figures indicating that more than its share of WPA and other funds were allocated to Kentucky to insure this victory. Also he points to surprising Republican strength in Ohio, an increased hold in Jersey, a majority in dorsed the New Deal in a poll now pro-the assembly of New York and the re-ceeding. These changes have been return of many cities of Massachusetts to

week representatives of various inde- It is our opinion that the Republican to endanger Roosevelt's re-election in ican workers.

As Laval Plans Pact With Nazis

and French representatives are hard at work to knife the Soviet Union.

The French press is on edge over the deliberate attempt of Laval to break the Franco-Soviet pact preliminary to an agreement with Germany which would endorse a war of Germany and probably also Poland and Japan against the Soviet Union. Thus would Laval keen the wolf from French doors by having it feed on Russia.

A storm of protest has broken out against this proposal and it is doubtful whether it will be put over. Edouard Herriot, Cabinet member and leader of the Radicals, has come out sharply

gument. The recent elections do indicate a change of sentiment on the part of sections of our population. This was foreshadowed by the growing opposition to the New Deal. The very forces which in 1929 and 1930 cried for governmental declare they have had enough. They are back upon their feet or think they are and will brook no more interference. Hence the refusal of industry after industry to agree to voluntary codes. Hence only 2 of 28 Chambers of Commerce enflected in a shift of votes.

Whether this change is general enough remains the burning need of the Amer

Look for Decisive Victories

against such plans; Pertinax (Andre Geraud) famous Nationalist journalist UROPEAN diplomacy has once again from Count Wladmir d'Ormesson, contidered one of the ablest students of sidered one of the ablest students of German politics. Writing in "Le Figaro"

The only new factor in the situation is the contemplated advance of the Italian army into the Lake Tana region—

This is it will ultimately result in disaster for "Having installed her preponderant influence from the North Sea to the Black Sea," he says, "Germany then would turn on us and demand, at the

least, a division of our colonial empire." Incidentally it should be noted that in his mind the Franco-Soviet pact becomes therefore an instrument for maintaining undivided the French colonial empire. It proves what we have contended that for France that pact represents imperialist aims and it proves equally well the false and dangerous notions about the progressiveness of French im-

Party must get the decision on this ar- 1936 is doubtful. We believe that tho the race may not be a runaway, Roosevelt will still have sufficient resources left to bring him back into the Presidency.

As for the working class vote. little if any progress has been made. Bridgeport and Reading (outposts of extreme reformism) are more opposition votes than socialist. In New York City the Communist vote showed a slight increase (from 42,000 to 51,000) while the Socialist vote showed a sharp decline (from 90,000 to 60,000). A ridiculously poor showing was made by such C.P.-controlled Labor Parties as the one in Pater son. The question of a real labor party

THE war in Ethiopia continues to drag along with the Italian army

a British sphere of influence. This is the region of the source of the Blue Nile. Also it is the region where Great Britain contemplated the construction of a gigantic dam to control the waters of the Nile. It is to be expected that Great Britain will strike back against this menace when the Italians pass over from talk to action.

In the meanwhile the League of Nations committees are still finding things to talk about. Altho the original proposals for sanctions are not to begin until November 18 still, new ones have been brought up. However the new proposals calling for an embargo on oil, coal, iron and steel, is conditioned on Germany and the United States agreeing to join. This is not likely to occur especially on the part of the U.S.A. According to the report of the New Oreans customs district reports, exports to Italy during August and September have been 384,437 barrels of refined oil as compared with 65,478 in the same period of 1934. Crude oil shipments were 150,-364 barrels against none in the same period of 1934.

Neutrality seem to be good business as well as good politics.

Build the Weekly "Workers Age"

Quotation

Situation in France Nearing Open Clash

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

October 23, 1935 received a strong impetus as a result of the 7th World Congress of the CI for the Ethiopian conflict. Every fascist or the organization of an anti-fascist mass near-fascist in France sides with Musso-self defense body. lini and abuses the genuine and deep yearning for peace of the French people the most recent fascist maneuvers of the most recent fascist maneuvers of the croix de Feu in the Red Belt Humanite said the croix de Feu in the Red Belt Humanite said the following in its issue of October 22, 1935:

"It is not a question of organizing an armed workers' militia, or of 'ca-

demagogy but actually help determine French policy know full well that a policy in complete sympathy for Mussolini would be ridiculous from the military point of view alone. Leading military circles in France saw to it that Laval did not give a negative answer when asked whether or not France would come to the defense of the English navy in the Mediterranean in case of an Italian attack. They act upon the realization that as long as Italy is engaged in Ethiopia her value as a military power in Europe decreases more and more.

French fascists and reactionaries, however, are not concerned with such realizations. Their aims are two-fold: First the direction of the people's desire for peace into fascist channels; secondly, they are concerned with saving the Italian fascist regime at all cost, realizing that the overthrow of the fascist regime in Italy as a result of a defeat in Ethiopia would also be a heavy blow to the cist attacks. (Incidentally, this right is development of fascist forces in France. being disputed.) It is sufficient to ask

COUP D'ETAT

The fascists do not confine themselves to propaganda. Lately, there have been pened in many cases? What if the citi nt threats of civil war and civil zens, the police and the army simply war drills of fascist leagues, notably of the Croix de Feu headed by Colonel de La Rocque. The military plans of the Croix de Feu to be applied for a coup d'etat against the Republic were pubin great detail. The Croix de Feu did not protest their authenticity; evidently, de la Rocque considers such exposes good propaganda. These plans provide for the concentration of fascist forces against the main centers of the working class movement in the provinces, the "neu-" seeme receration of the SP of France has openly come out for the formation of organizations of the working class for drills with the authorities and gives the latter the right to prohibit such military actions. No mention is made of a dissorties. The draft of this deeper was placed and other countries. Draft theses of Party district definition of organization of an anti-fascist mass self defense body is evidently closely related to the state of drills with the authorities and gives the latter the right to prohibit such military actions. No mention is made of a dissorties. Oraft theses of Party district of the defense against fascist attacks.

At the request of the Radical Socialist ministers in Laval's cabinet a decree is being prepared which merely orders the lagues. The draft of this decree was placed for the organization of an anti-fascist mass self defense body is evidently closely related to the state of dently closely related to the state of actions. No mention is made of a dissorties. Draft these of the United States and other countries. Draft theses of Party district of the defense are provided. And, of course, so it must be described actions. And the United States and other countries. Draft these of derills with the authorities and gives the defense body is evidently closely related to the state of the United States and other countries. Draft these of the United States and other countries. Draft these of the United States and other countries. Draft these of the United States and other countries. Draft these of the United States and other countries. Draft these of the United States and other countries. Draft these of the United States and other countries. Draft the United States and other countries. lished in the left press a few days ago tralization" of the so-called red belt of Paris thru the concentration of fascist forces in the outskirts of Paris. The main blow will be delivered in the city

of Paris itself. Only recently the Croix de Feu staged suburb during which several bridges were seized, passengers were delayed for hours, telephone wires of the Red municipalities were cut, etc. Laval's government with the left Radical Socialist Paganon as Minister of the Interior did ernment with the left Radical Socialist Paganon as Minister of the Interior did not interfere in the least. Colonel de La Rocque boasts that he is in constant touch with Laval. Leaders of the Croix de Feu have declared that they would use violence if an attempt were made to replace Laval by a left government.

After many days of arguing with H. Zukowsky, a leading comrade of the merely put forward my proposals on the more organization. The program for the inner organization and discrimination in any downward my proposals on the merely put forward my proposals on the more organization. The program for the inner organization and discrimination in any discrimination in any downward my proposals on the merely put forward my proposals on the more organization. The program for the inner organization and discrimination in any discrimination in any downward my proposals on the more organization. The program for the inner organization and discrimination in any downward my proposals on the more organization. The program for the inner organization and discrimination in any downward my proposals on the more organization. The program for the union must be: (1) To extra the stablish regular monthly union meet-stablish regular monthly union replace Laval by a left government.

France are already sufficiently strong to stage a successful putsch within the next Rank and File Group as a group because "Cooperation of all left wing and probase is not broad enough. If, however, these civil war acts against the working class and against the Republic continue unhampered, they will be of significance not only for the military preparation of the fascist coup d'etat but of even greater political importance for the strengthening of the forces of fascism. The Republican petty bourgeoisie will lose its faith in the ability of the Republic to fight fascism. They will become accustomate a member now of their group.

This was agreed upon but no sooner was his statement in the hands of the hands of the spicable tactics."

The insistence of Comrade Zukowsky that the composition of the Communist Party trade and its groups continues to use such despicable tactics."

The insistence of Comrade Zukowsky the life and struggles of the millinery workers in the life and struggles of the millinery union and in that way open a new page on support of those who stand upon his to the effect that Zukowsky has endorsed the Rank and File Group. To make matters worse they included his name among a list of Rank and File candidates giving the impression that he was a member now of their group.

This was agreed upon but no sooner to the catics."

The insistence of Comrade Zukowsky the support of those who stand upon his name armong an intendent a full discrimination in handing out jobs. To draw in all discrimination in handing out jobs. The insistence of Comrade Zukowsky the spicable tactics."

The insistence of Comrade Zukowsky the life and struggles of the millinery workers in the life and struggles of the millinery workers in the life and struggles of the union. (4) To do away with and its groups continues to use such despicable tactics."

The insistence of Comrade Zukowsky the life for the union. (4) To do away with and its groups continues to use such despicable tactics."

The insistence of Comrade Zukowsky the life of the union. (4) To do away with and its groups continues to use such despicable tactics."

The insistence of Comrade Zukowsky the life of the union. (4) To do fight fascism. They will become accus- was a member now of their group. ed to fascist violence and to the fact that no one offers any resistance.

WHAT ARE WORKERS DOING?

What is the working class doing in this dangerous situation?
One would think that this presents very opportune moment for the CP to lead in the organization of mass self de-

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With this item we begin to print perti | fense bodies against fascist attacks, civil nent quotations from decisions of the Com-

dre maneuvers' or of frequent 'alarm

drills', as some people demand. On

the contrary, we are of the opinion that such military drills at present

would greatly harm the real struggle

against fascism because at the very

moment when the Peoples Front is

demanding the dissolution of the arm-

ed and military (fascist) leagues by

giving very good reasons for it, these

'cadre maneuvers' organized in certain

sections would permit the Laval gov-

ernment to say-incorrectly, of course

-that there are military organiza-

tions on both sides, on the right and

on the left, and that therefore there

could not be a dissolution of either.'

Instead the author of the article tells

the workers that the mayors of the red

nunicipalities can on the basis of exist-

what about those workers who don't live

in red communities? What about thos

will be withdrawn, as has already hap

don't respond

GROUPS

Red mayors whose control of the police

The left Social Democrats of the Pari

district are not of the same opinion. The

ever, could not possibly endorse the dishonest manner.

Zukowsky Answers Freiheit,

WORKERS AGE

has been a real teacher and leader

during these six years of ultra-left

Our Greeting To It On Its

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

BOSTON UNIT C.P.O.

Greets The

VORKERS AGE

on the occasion of its

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

May the Workers Age continue the

good work until Communist unity is

BALTIMORE UNIT

COMMUNIST OPPOSITIO

war drills and preparations. One would think that the CP of France would atmunist International and the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on such questions tempt to realize in action the slogan of as war, pacifism, etc. which agitate the working class everywhere. We appeal to our readers to assist by sending in such quotations as they think This however is not the case. Apropos would help to clarify these and related

OPPORTUNISM OF THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS an armed workers' militia, or of 'ca-

DIGHT wing mistakes of a very rude character were committed by Communists in many countries recently in applying the tactics of the united front. Here is an example from France. An anti-Fascist meeting held in the town of Troyes on April 15. demning propaganda which—I am quoting word for word—"is being carried on in the country in various forms against democratic institutions against social and labor legislation, and against all that which is the attribute of a free republic created and nsolidated at the price of the revolutions of 1789, 1848, 1871, against institutions which every citizen should rotest and perfect and not destroy." At this meeting a number of our omrades spoke in the fine company representatives of the Radical Soalist Party, and of other parties and yet a resolution was unanimous adopted to the effect that it was essary to protect the existing ourgeois institutions of France, apparently to the assumption that since there have been three revolutions in France already a fourth must be pre-

From O. Kuusinen's Report at the THIRTEENTH PLENUM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL December 1933

being prepared which merely orders the leagues. The draft of this decree was ples Front.

which Zukowsky ran in the election:

to force the union to submit to their demands. (3) The bosses are carrying

on a destructive competition at the ex-

The collective agreement with the employers expires in January; they have actually broken the agreement already in order to force the union to sign a

ollective agreement in the slack period

thinking that in this way they would be

able to force worse conditions on the

millinery workers. In view of this it is

my opinion that the union must immediately adopt a program of action which will mobilize all millinery workers for a

successful struggle against the employ-

ers. This can be done only if complete democracy is established in the union.

The program of immediate action for the union must be: (1) Stop the moving

of shops out-of-town thru militan

strikes against these bosses. (2) Thru immediate mobilization of all millinery

workers against the threat of the em

ployers to close shops. (3) The union should immediately force individual

manufacturers to settle on the basis of

the union's demands in case of a lock-out. (4) To put forward the following demands: Thirty-hour week, week work

all branches of the trade, unemploy-

pense of the millinery workers.

"Eyes Right" Order **Causes Confusion**

By JACK HERRING

the C.P.U.S.A. had commenced the Ah! How I wish we had led them!" undercover retreat from their dual union AND NOW! Waterloo. Unions of the T.U.U.L. were of the change in policy were offered; been a dual union policy. Denials, even as the dual unions were being dissolved. Party comrades who had been for years schooled in Red Unionism, comrades in bosses," and were told: "these are not unions of the bosses; nobody ever said they were unions of the bosses; eyes! . .

right! . . . forward! . . . march!" Without the understanding of these problems, the understanding which distinguishes the Communist from his brother workers, the Party comrade night, 1934, in reply to a question, Party District Organizer from Chicago shouted in Detroit: "We never had dual unionism!" . . . and, ten minutes later,

evidently designed to appease the Radical Socialist Party conference.

TO COMMUNISTS

The most recent elections to the Sen- organization was at all intended; the ate held in the Seine department throw leading Comrade shakes his head slowa good deal of light on the relation of ly. "Pual unions are a dangerous the Radical Socialists to the Communists thing," he says dimly. No one seems to —both partners of the Peoples Front. be able to describe a progressive group According to Leon Blum at least 100 which would be otherwise than the one votes of the Peoples Front went to Laval which the Comrade has outlined. The and not to Cachin. Humanite blames meeting finds itself with nothing to Doriot, the ex-Communist mayor of St. do, hesitatingly arranges for a meet-Denis exclusively. But after all Doriot ing in the future, and disperses. only controls 45 votes; the rest were evidently Radical Socialists about whom

question of the organization of an anti-

SOME C.P. TRICKERY IN MILLINERY UNION The Rank and File Group in the Mil- ever, instead of printing my statement ment insurance, and an increased mini-

statement giving his program (printed below) and if the Rank and File group feels that it can endorse him on that seems he hed no chiestians. He had no chiestians and are still working in a sectarianism and are still working in a sectarianism and are still working in a sectarianism and are still working in a sectarianism. feels that it can endorse him on that score he had no objections. He, howscore he had no objections. workers. (3) To abolish "temporary France are already suniciently strong ever, could not possibly endorse the stage a successful putsch within the next Rank and File Group as a group because of his opposition to their actions, tachase is not broad enough. If, however, tics and program.

"Cooperation of all left wing and progressive forces is imperative but it will not be realized if the Communist Party ber of the union. (4) To do away with out honest criticism or discussion from

defeated the proposals of the leading this program and for the above-men-people of their group and approved pro-

posals approximating those incorporat- with all millinery workers. ed in the statement of Comrade Zukow- I call upon all millinery workers to Zukowsky issued the following statelowing rank and file workers: I. Musin, Millinery Union Local 24, held Wednesday and Thursday, November 6 and 7, Liganed a attacoment of the manner of the P. Radosh, R. Shulman, P. Weisman, and I issued a statement on the present sit- uation in the trade. (1) A number of tesman, who in my opinion will together uation in the industry and the tasks of employers are moving their factories out- help to carry thru this program if electthe union. This statement was sent to of-town. (2) The bosses' association the press—the Freiheit included. How-

PITTSBURGH C.P.O.

Best Wishes to

Greets WORKERS AGE

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OSCAR SCHLEIFER

MOST REASONABLE PRICES

when the subject had changed, he said It was winter, 1934. The leaders of sorrowfully, "The Progressive Miners?

But now it is September 1935. The being liquidated. No true explanations official Communist Party has at the same time renounced its "traditional sectariansaid what he said about breaking up the A. F. of L., denials that there ever had been a dual union solver. The said about breaking up the period of dual unionism. Orders have gone down the line to consider the said about breaking up the period of dual unionism. gone down the line to organize "broad progressive groups," thruout the Auto, Rubber, and Steel industries. On this September evening, in Auto center X, a Comrade of the Party addresses the textiles, kicked over the traces when initial meeting of a newly planned procommanded to join the "unions of the gressive force—and this is what he says:

> gressive club will find plenty of work to do. It can take in men from the plants who will not join the unions; it can take in men who have been expelled from the unions for progressiv activities; it can do work which the unions are sure to fail to do; and if that isn't enough to keep us busy why! . . . there are always unorgan

A comrade of the C.P.O. takes the floor and points out the main characteristics of the dual union, which are contained in the words of the Comrade. He indicates the inevitable path of destruction which such an organization would be following.

There is a moment of consternation various comrades swear that no dual

Humanite says nothing.

The peculiar attitude of the CP on the discoluted And of course are being has sold its birth-right for "unity." No longer are the Comrades allowed to build fractions which can plan, discuss, act, and speak as one. This time they have been commanded to lie down; and, faithfully, they do so.

As we work to build progressive forces we find the Party Comrade sit-

These are some of the actualities re-

WORKERS AGE

AGE

Organ of the National Committee
COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION)
51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

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MOST LIBERAL PORTIONS

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An Analysis of their Recently Published Program

WHERE DO THE SOCIALIST MILITANTS STAND?

(Continued from Page 1)
the reformists. "This formal equality (of bourgeois democracy)" we are told, "is, however, entirely offset by the glan ing economic and material inequality uine democracy of the working class." Of course, this is true but Louis Waldexists but whether the parliamentary come the instrument thru which the profectly, ideally. To these people its famnature, to a new social order. And the in themselves in even crasser form? Militants-what do they think? How-

the unfortunately their theoretical clarty does not keep pace!

As a consequence of their utter failure to draw the immediate consequences of "How to Achieve a Workers and Farm-"

The sections, "Transition from Capital and the form of the wind and the form of the propaganda manual but a scientific form- ary socialism. That "dictatorship" is an or workers and farmers government"? But would it be equivalent to the proletarian dictatorship? The fact that one term can be used to cover the document and appropriate the document and supposed to be an agitation leaflet or a government"? But would it be equivalent to the proletarian dictatorship? The fact that one term can be used to cover the document and propaganda manual but a scientific form- ally but that is an alternative which at best is unlikely." A bold, forthright statement, indeed! With what contempt be, unfortunately their theoretical clarto draw the immediate consequences of the historical nature of bourgeois democracy, the authors of the Draft Program seem to miss one of the most sig-"I AM SHOCKED BY SUCH AN ATTITUDE" nificant trends of present-day political

life, intimately related to the problem of the state. With the decay of capitalism parliamentary democracy itself breaks down and profound anti-parliamentarist moods begin to spread among the massFor years we, in the Young Coma reason for the advocacy of a Labor that Communists do not abandon their moods begin to spread among the masses of the people who instinctively identify parliamentarism with the whole

World Congress of the
people who instinctively idenawaiting the 7th World Congress of the
unions. At a recent meeting when Comthe class struggle against the bourBut the authors of the hated system. This situation, character- CI. Important and historic events have rade Browder was asked why the CP has geoisie has to be carried on under all hated system. This situation, characteristic of one European country after another, is the very soil in which Fascism but bourthrives, for what is Fascism but bourthrives, for what is Fascism but bourgeois anti-parliamentarism, the ultimate geois anti-parliamentarism, the ultimate responsible to the state of the system of answer of big capital to the collapse of was smashed to pieces. Here in Amer- the CP had to change. It became clear the "progressiveness" of a mixed war. parliamentary democracy? How shall ica, our Communist Party owing to its to me that this formulation of "changed I am really shocked by such an attitude revolutionary socialism meet this situasectarian tactics, has multiplied divition? By identifying its cause with the

situation of changed in the party shocked by such an attitude conditions" is an excuse for honest selfin our YCL and in the Party. Everyone
criticism and is due to the absence of a thinks alike. Such an attitude can only discredited political system of parliamentary democracy, as the reformists six years of crisis when the conditions would like, and thereby sinking into were most favorable for spreading Instead of democratic centralism we A revolutionary party needs scientific

A striking example of the confusion to which the Militant position here leads to which the Militant position here which the Militant position here. the section headed "Capitalist Democratic from below. The Social Democratic calls for a Farmer-Labor party, the labor struggles. What we need now is an our Party Draft Program are brought of the labor struggles. What we need now is an our party of the labor struggles. What we need now is an our party of the labor struggles. What we need now is an our party of the labor struggles. What we need now is an our party of the labor struggles. What we need now is an our party of the labor struggles. What we need now is an our party of the labor struggles. cy and the State." It reads: "Democracy, therefore, is not a gift as Comrade Pieck admitted at the 7th the new slogan."

from the capitalists to the workers. It is a concession wrung from them over long periods of struggle. Under no circumstances can the working class permit any one to deprive it of

workers are supposed to have wrested Does the CI put the responsibility for What is this "democracy" which the from the capitalists? In this general ary democratic system—and then, of to the individual sections or does it evade form, it can only mean the parliament-

HAMILTON UNIT C.P.O. Greets the SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

of the

WORKERS AGE

between the classes. So long as capi- course, this statement is not true for ers Government", really constitute the unpopular word in "democratic Amer-

of course, this is true but Louis Waldburgeoisie as in the struggle of the deman would be the first to endorse the sentiment and Harry Elmer Barnes along with him. The question at issue is not with him and the properties of the propertie bourgeoisie as in the struggle of the de-sharpest expression. in mind something else entirely—the political rights of the workers under the ship of the proletariat", is certainly a more "harmless". Is the Militant logic parliamentary system, the so-called destriking feat of political acrobatics. It so very different? system in which bourgeois democracy mocratic rights of the workers. These is surely no more oversight! To ignor were indeed won by the proletariat as this fundamental conception, in which concessions from the bourgeoisie; of Marx once said the very essence of his letariat can win and exercise political power. The reformists have nothing fun- last. But they can hardly be identified served as the historical watchword of damental against parliamentary democracy; do away with economic inequaliis the grave opportunist error the Comis the damental against parliamentary demois the grave opportunist error the Comcades, is more than a mere act of omisjected. In place of proletarian dictatortries, they say, and it will function perties, they say, and it will function perfectly, ideally. To these people its familiar institutions seem eternal principles,
in general, which, of course, lutionary tradition behind it!

Is the grave opportunist error the Comcades, is more than a mere act of omisjetted. In place of proletarian dictatorshop, it is a virtual repudiation of the
shop reverse and farmers government.

"workers and farmers government"
when we approach the question of the
when we approach the question of the
when we approach the question of the iliar institutions seem eternal principles, rights", in general, which, of course, the "natural" way for mankind to govern itself. The Marxists, on the other hand, regard parliamentary democracy the democratic rights of the toilers. The Marxists of the toilers banned from what aims to be the platement of the missing them are the missing the missing the missing them are the missing iliar institutions seem eternal principles, rights", in general, which, of course, lutionary tradition behind it!

ever revolutionary their sentiment may ROAD TO POWER

struggle of the proletariat against the ings of the Militant position emerge to actly the same argument is often made

as strictly conditioned and limited historically, something specific to bourgeois

The gemocratic rights of the toners of the toners of the committen committed the mistake, the Militant theoreticians see it is merely conditioned and limited his torically, something specific to bourgeois

That it is a "hard" word, a Latin ty, the formation of which we all favor, the existing regime, thru armed insursociety and utterly unsuited in its very readily enough; why cannot they see it phrase, unintelligible to the great masswere to come into power in the United rection, in fact. But how about the

between the classes. So long as capital course, this statement is not true for the foundations of the parliamentary the fo

SOMETHING "JUST AS GOOD" The fact is that it is no literary ques-

name of the Socialist Party to something expression, allegedly equivalent, such as workers democracy" and now "workers and farmers government", inevitably implies an effort to reject its political substance, to deny the basic teachings of Marxism on the state. All this is tion at stake here but a basic political sign must be all our conclu-The consequences of this ambiguous

authors of the Draft Program prefer

cepts of Marxism is a sure sign of their

own political vagueness and ambiguity

Whatever may be the value of this road to power. The concept of prole phrase, unintelligible to the great mass-es of the people? But so are many ex-pressions in the Draft Program, as they need must be for the document is not need must be for the document is not does Engels refer to the "sighs and groans" with which Eugen Duehring "admits the possibility that force will of the economic system of exploitation .. And now Comrade Browder speaks about of a mixed war was brought up every and spiritual impetus which has result-And this in spite of the immense moral "changed conditions" and gives this as member in the unit believed and agreed ed from every victorious revolution!

But the authors of the Draft Program what they apparently regard as revolu tionary militancy, they declare:
"It (the Socialist Party) will avoid

mentarism alone is the road to pow

ed as one of many possible roads to would like, and thereby sinking into hopeless discard along with it? Or by flinging forth the challenge of proletarian anti-parliamentarism, the challenge of revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, as the Marxists propose. The way in which the problem of democracy is posed in the Draft Program and in complete isolation from tends to make it very difficult even to face this question clearly, not to speak of solving it!

Instead of democratic centralism we have centralism we have centralism without democracy which incapacitates the membership for thought. Everyone accepts the resolutions with the labor organizations, nections with the labor organizations, in thoughtfulness and initiative is of prime importance. What we need in our Party and in the YCL is a healthy inner life in which every comrade will think thru the years the Party has been guided by Lozovsky's formulation of "breaking of solving it!

DEMOCRACY AND STATE

Instead of democratic centralism we Communist influence among the work-incapacitates the membership for thoughtfulness and initiative is of prime importance. What we need in our Party and in the YCL is a healthy inner life in which every comrade will think thru the party and every YCLer was against a Labor Party every member in the Party and every YCLer was against a Labor Party every member in the Party and flexibility. It needs scientific clarity and flexibility. It needs alert-incapacitates the membership for thought. Everyone accepts the resolutions prove. What we need in our Party and initiative is of prime importance. What we need in our Party and initiative is of prime importance. What we need in our Party and initiative is of prime importance. What we need in our Party and initiative is of prime importance. What we need in our Party and initiative is of prime importance. What we need in our Party and flexibility. It needs aler

right Fascist organization." Our party again the whole membership reverses its bewilderment and parrot-like attitude proletarian dictatorship take its implacable revenge! In spite of all their revo-Draft Program are brought back to the

from below. The Social Democratic calls for a rarmer-Labor party, the labor struggles. What we need not be paragraphs dealing with the future those same of the workers state, on the other hand, order to avoid in the future those same represent a distinct advance in the direction of revolutionary Marxism. All The I am still a member of the YCL the more, however, does the essential signed I led several discussions in my I am fighting together with the CPO for unit (Young Communist League) on the restoration of the CP and the CI to power stand out in crass contrast.

(In the next article, Will Herberg will ex amine the attitude of the Draft Program on war, the trade union movement, the united front, etc., and will conclude with an estimate of the present position and the pros-pects of the Militant movement.)

Greetings from

On Sixth Anniversary

WORKERS AGE

DO YOU NEED?

A dress, sweater, knitted dress, infants wear, shirts, ties, dolls, toys, ladies hats, fur collars, cuffs, muffs, paintings, pictures, sketches, household goods?

Congress.

THE PRESENT LINE

These suicidal tactical errors have now

been rejected by the Seventh Congress. But does the Comintern tell us that the

of those who handed down those policies

tell us what Stalin did in 1929 when the

lecisions of the Strassburg conference

(where dual-unionist tactics were out

Comrade Pieck explained the turn from

the ultra-left by "changed conditions.

ined) were adopted.

old formulations and tactics were wrong

THEN COME TO **NEW WORKERS SCHOOL**

(AND BUY AT SUBSTANTIAL SAVINGS)

Saturday Afternoon and Evening, Nov. 30, 1935

IRVING PLAZA 15th Street & Irving Place

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At Door 45c

these questions? A reading of the important speeches and the resolutions of the Congress will convince any one that every delegate was careful not to criticize the responsible leaders. If there was any criticism of wrong tactics it was put only at the door of the different sections. It is interesting to notice that Pieck and Dimitroff give quotations of what Stalin said in 1925 about dual unions but do not Dimitroff give quotations of what Stalling general progressive position taken by the said in 1925 about dual unions but do not delegates

Charity Begins at Home

It also specifically cites President Hill- and the other leaders of our union wil man's speech on the auto industry in which he called for struggle against the Amalgamated itself; such reforms as employers and asks whether it would not will breath a new life and spirit, so also apply in the men's clothing indus- much needed in our organization." try where Mr. Charles D. Jaffe, President of the New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, declared that the relations between them and the A.C.W. are unshakable and that no strike has

INDIVIDUAL GREETINGS

Pauline Morgenstein B. Bacchu T. Cohen Nina Leighton Bessie Etkin R. William Sarah Snyder E. Goldberg S. Dukin Arthur Orville Celia Davidow Liberman Rose Stein A. Esposito Ralph Iannanı mo A. Ravitch

ccurred during the 24 seasons. The

LENINISM AND WAR

Before the Franco-Soviet pact was

Leninism and War. When the problem the path of Leninism.

WHAT? Party, Dance & Musical WHEN? Saturday Nov. 16, 8 P. M. WHERE? Rivera Hall, 51 W. 14 St.

DON'T MISS

WHO? Everybody, and welcome. Keep the Date Open!

in the Federation. We also hope that Brother Hillman, Brother Schlossber

GREETINGS

anti-Leninist blunders.

WORKERS AGE ON ITS SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

SOVIET UNION ON ITS EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY DETROIT UNIT COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

ON THE OCCASION OF THE

Sixth Anniversary of WORKERS AGE

WE PLEDGE TO CONTINUE THE FIGHT FOR A HEALTHY AND UNIFIED COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

> HARTFORD UNIT COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

CIUSTI'S

Social Security For Whom?

By SAUL HELD

Three vital aspects of the "social seclear cut commentary in these columns when the omnibus federal "Social Security" Bill was under consideration. These three were: 1) the bills are to be directed against trade unionism; 2.) an attack on wage standards; 3.) the burdening of the working class with the entire fi-nancial cost of "social security".

This analysis is now being vindicated to the very hilt in the preparations of the various employers' organizations throughout the nation to discover how to "legally" carry out their objectives. In this they are aided not only by the Chamber of Commerce and scores of ex-

perts, but by the government itself.

Let us go behind the scenes and listen in on a discussion that is highly illuminating. On Sept 30, 1935, Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., Solicitor, United States Department of Labor, delivered an address at the Fortieth Quarterly Meeting of the New England Council, at Crawford Notch, New Hampshire, on "Unford Notch, New Hamps employment Compensation Under The Social Security Act."

Gathered at this conclave were all the industrial monarchs of New England Walter S. Wyman, President, New England Public Service Company; Rich-W. Sulloway, Treasurer, Sulloway Mills; Benjamin Williams, Vermont Marble Company; John F. Rolfe, Publisher, Hartford Times; Henry D. Sharpe, President, Brown and Sharpe Manufacturing Company, and many others.

At the conclusion of the main address

a discussion took place. We quote the discussion in part:

Workers Must Accept "Suitable Employment"

Mr. Henry D. Sharpe: I have enjoyed the exposition of this law, and I readily appreciate that Mr. Wyzanski, who has so well described it, cannot be made to take the burden of the wisdom of the law. In considering this matter, I have worried a good deal as to the administration of the law, and I would like to ask first, if there is anything in the na tional law, the national provisions, which forces a man to work if there is work. Can he refuse work in order to draw compensation? Is there any provision which will back the state in saying to him, "Here is a chance for employment if you will take it." Or can he take 16 weeks of compensation because the spring fishing happens to arrive at the time he becomes unemployed? How is the state going to keep him from taking a vacation at the expense of the

treasury of the state?

Mr. Wyzanski: The federal law re-

and Toy Co. had a stoppage for time

have been working as high as ten and

twelve hours a week overtime and as the

Ideal is a union shop, we tried to obtain the wages stipulated in the union agree-

Although the workers could make more

money working overtime for straight

pay than not working at all, and

although the workers needed the added

money to add to the meager wages they

were getting, they held out solid for a

tion, the workers weakened and again

Before the Union organized the Ideal,

these contractors operated in the shop at

a huge profit, some making as high as

\$300.00 a week. They made this by ex-

ploiting the unskilled workers by paying

them as little as \$9.00 per week. The

Doll and Toy Workers Union, after a

out the majority of these contractors.

There are still a few of these contractors

left. Due to the fact that these few are

still allowed to operate, they succeeded

started working for straight time.

and a half for overtime.

DOLL WORKERS UNION

lic employment offices. statute which I have seen requires that curity" bills now being passed or planned in these United States have received any benefits upon application to the public employment office, should register as willing and available for work. In he is unwilling to accept suitable employment offered to him, he may not draw a benefit.

Mr. Lawrence: Who decides this? Mr. Wyzanski: It is to be determined, of course, under the various state laws. I think I am accurate in stating that the deputy commissioner determines this in New Hampshire, although on that point

would ask Dr. Feldman. Dr. Herman Feldman: The adminis

trator of the organization. President Winthrop L. Carter: Well, isn't it true that if he is a union man he can refuse to take a job in an open Aren't there special privileges shop?

that apply to union men? Mr. Wyzanski: It is not true that he can refuse to take a job in an open shop. It is true he can refuse to take a job if the job is offered to him on condition that he join a company union. Now that

is a very different thing, of course.

President Carter: I thought the law said that benefits would not be paid except in certain cases; and then it went on to say that union men had the right to refuse any job to which the union objected.

Mr. Wyzanski: No. I will read the exact wording in order that there may be no misunderstanding: "Section 903 (a). The Social Security Board shall approve any state law submitted to it within 30 days of such submission, which it finds provides that (b) compensation shall not he denied in such state to any otherwise eligible individual for refusing to accept new work under any of the following conditions: (c) if as a condition of being employed the individual would be required to join a company union or to resign from or refrain from joining any bona fide labor organization." In other words, if the company will take him on an open shop basis, he has no reason to refuse. If he does refuse, he is cut off from benefits.

No comment is needed here.

Perhaps the most enjoyable bit of frankness was the free advice given by the trade journal, Hide & Leather, Sept. 28th, to shoe manufacturers, on how to palm off their financial obligations for

"social security":

"Make sure that the purchaser will be the one to pay any assessments af-fecting your production costs, by in-cluding the amount of the assessment in your costs."

First the worker pays his assessment by a reduction in pay; secondly, he pays the employer's assessment in the highquires that every state stipulate that the contribution shall be paid through pubmodities! Verily, it's a great system!

fluencing some of the workers, brought

What we workers must do is abolish

the contracting system completely. Only through our organized strength, and

through our active participation in the

we ever hope to abolish this system and

still further gain a better standard of

wages. Only by participating in the D. &

T. W. U. activities, and supporting all

the programs of the union will we be

able to do this. The Union has shown by

activities to strengthen our organiza-

Our Union is not only confronted with

the problem of keeping the New York

shops living up to union agreements, but

is also carrying on a constant struggle

in shops out of town, which is very im-

portant. These out of town shops, which are unorganized, furnish competition to

mine the strength of our Union. As we

all know, by report from brother members, the union has done good work in Clinton, Mass. by starting organiza-

tional work in Ralf A. Freundlich's. In

order to raise funds for this out-of town work the union has arranged a first An-

nual Ball. This Ball will be the first get-

together the Union has had the oppor-

tunity to have since the short time it

has been organized. It is the duty of

every loyal member of the D. and T.

W. U. to support the affair and help to

make this first get-together a success.

By doing this we will also build the Doll

about the end of the stoppage.

TO CELEBRATE GAINS

About a month ago the Ideal Novelty in weakinging the struggle, and by in-

whole week, despite the threats on the part of the bosses. This solidarity, con-

sidering the opposition forces of the few alone. This is our Union, and we must

contractors remaining in the Ideal, was strive to work in harmony with our very good. But because of this opposition union leaders, and ourselves carry on

consistent struggle, succeeded in wiping unionized shops in this city and under-

tion.

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

Cronin. Little, Brown and Co., Boston. 626 pages. \$2.50.

(Reviewed by DAVID SCHEYER)

It is something much better than that a good novel, a novel about people in love, at work, in politics, in war and

You may accuse Cronin of a certain defeatism in this book. His title gives a suggestion of the utter futility of all this human scrambling—a suggestion which is carried out by the rounding of the cycle in the lives the characters. Most of them end up, either dead, or just where they started, completely routed. These are not the conclusions a Marxist would draw from the struggles in "The Stars Look Down." But Cronin, purporting to be a reporter of fact, can find plenty of factual material in hoggish war-profiteers, in Ramsay MacDonald's betrayal, in starvation meekly accepted, to give color to defeatism.

Tied to the life of the Scotch mining town which is the scene of "The Stars Look Down," is all of England. From this village goes Joe Gowlan to a life of adultery and war profits, goes Arthur Barras to a passive resisters prison cell, goes David Fénwick to the shameful Labor Parliament which saw Mac-Donald's apostasy, from it go hundreds of boys, named and nameless, to the holocaust of France. To the village come strikes, unemployment, starvation, a terof boys, named and nameless, to the holocaust of France. To the village come

THE STARS LOOK DOWN: By A. J., rific mine disaster, killing a hundred men, brought on by the greed of the owner who dug too close to an abandoned working. It is this disaster that Dr. Cronin's enormous new book is not a "proletarian" novel in the sense that the little red art reviews use the term. of the many the little red art reviews use the term. lends color to the whole book and gives it one unforgettable scene-the picture ing to death in a blocked shaft. There is no open conflict in this scene, there is no sermonizing on why these men must die, but there is, quietly and completely, an indictment of the whole system that

kills for profit.

All of this makes a very big book. It is written in snatches with various sets of characters given a few pages here and there. This is a method that doesn't lend itself readily to full length portraiture. This, plus a little over-reliance on coincidence, leaves Dr. Cronin's characters a little flat like cardboard cutouts moving against an economic history of England in the twentieth century.

Despite these criticisms Dr. Croning has written with so honest an effort to win a serious attention to the problem he poses that "The Stars Look Down" must rank as by far one of the best social novels that has come from England in a long time.

PORTRAIT OF AMERICA, by Diego Rivera with 60 illustrations. Text by Bertram D. Wolfe. Only a few copies of this book are left and no immediate reprint is expected. If you do not have it

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

The organization of a "Committee for Industrial Unionism" with the participation of the leaders of many international unions, such as Lewis, Hillman, Howard, Dubinsky, McMahon, is without parallel in the history of the labor move-This step tends to indicate that the battle begun at the Atlantic City convention is not to remain within the confines of the convention hall but is to be brought to the mass of the workers themselves. It indicates further that the leaders for industrial unionism have decided to take the offensive.

There did exist in 1923-24 a movement aiming at the reorganization of the American trade unions along industrial lines—the famous Amalgamation movement. However, it was a rank and file movement receiving widespread sup-None of the national or international unions were involved in the struggle. Another difference is that the Amalgamation movement aimed at reorganizing the existing unions while the present movement aims at the organization of the unorganized mass production industries along other than craft

However, the difference is not as great as may appear at first sight. Just as the original Amalgamation movement would ultimately have led to the organization also of the unorganized industries along industrial lines, so is it impossible to imagine the organization of the mass production industries along industrial lines without a similar solution for the industries now organized fully or par-

If anyone doubts this conclusion let him reread the speeches especially of John L. Lewis and Dan Tobin. Approaching the question from opposite points of view both recognize clearly that the de-cision in a final analysis will apply to the A. F. of L. as a whole.

The Amalgamation movement of 1923 could be and indeed was howled down as the work of reds and agitators. It is unnecessary to prove that he who would today raise the cry of reds and agitators against this organization would become the laughing stock of the labor movement. In this lies the strength and future of the movement.

If the progressives in the trade unions will get behind this drive it will become a living issue in every local union thru-out the land. And this it must become before the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In case you are interested in discov-

ering how a burocracy works at an A.

F. of L. convention we gladly provide

the following example, one of many, put

over successfully at the Atlantic City

It seems that Delegate Tom Finne-

gan of Federal Labor Union No. 18651,

Canton, Ohio, was not satisfied with the

way organization work was proceeding

back in the home town so he introduced a resolution (No. 109) which after the

usual number of whereases reaches the "RESOLVED, that a Special Com-mittee be appointed by the President

of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention

of the American Federation of Labor,

to confer with the Canton delegates

on the situation in Canton; and be it

"RESOLVED, That if the Commit-

tee finds the facts as set forth above,

they shall report and recommend to

the convention that a full time A. F.

of L. organizer, who shall be of prov-

en ability, progressive in ideas, and

have had experience in organizing of

Industrial Unions, shall be sent to Canton to assist existing unions, re-

And how do you think the Resolutions Committee handled it? Very simply.

"YOUR COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE FIRST RESOLVE BE STRICKEN OUT AS
THERE IS NO NECESSITY OF A
SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

OMMENDS THAT THE LAST RESOLVE BE STRICKEN OUT . . . "

Thus leaving three very informative

whereases with absolutely no proposals

to do anything. If Tom Finnegan knows

what's good for the Canton unions he'll

go back there and organize a powerful

progressive movement. Power is the only thing these fat boys respect.

WORLD LABOR

at the

CROSSROADS

on this subject

George F. Miles

Editor Workers Age

will speak on

AMBASSADOR HALL

3875 Third Avenue, Bronx

Aupices: BRONX SECTION

Communist Party (Opposition)

ADMISSION

Friday, November 15

YOUR COMMITTEE ALSO REC-

organize weak unions.

BUROCRATIC METHODS

IN ONE EASY LESSON

convention.

AT FIRST GLANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

on the public and the Government, that they seem less concerned with what science is able to do to uplift the whole standard of life than with its uses in maintaining the existing state of things." Why such consternation, Mr. Nobel Prize Winner? There is no mystery to the ghastliness which you condemn. Socially and economically speaking, the

the expense of all society.

character of good-sized wars.

Specifically, we have in mind the trend toward accidents on the highways in the United States, the world's most motorized and efficient capitalist country. In the last fifteen years the number of men, women, and children killed on the highways by motor vehicles totaled nearly 400,000—to be exact, 389,000. This exceeds by nearly 150,000 the number of Americans killed in action or died of wounds in all the wars waged by the U.S.—right straight clear down from the Revolutionary War thru the Great World War! The toll of workers killed in the factories, while on the job grind-ing out profits and dividends, is even

THE noted Professor Frederick Sod dy, winner of the Nobel Prize in chemistry seems to be much perturbed over the destructive role science is now playing. Recently Professor Soddy fumed: "It is a ghastly reflection both

entire system under which five-sixths of the world are still living is most unscientific. In fact our whole socio-economic order of capitalism is today, a fetter on all progress in science. For the same reason, we find so much of science devoted, first of all, to outright destructive purposes. Moreover, whatever scientific achievements are not credited to the outright destructive side of the ledger of social accounts are used for private, for capitalist, enhancement at

N our present social and economic order wars are no accidents but accidents are often wars. Judging by casualties entailed in the factories and on the highways, one would have to maintain that accidents in the big cap-italist countries often tend to assume the

more appalling.

To the superficial observer these phenomena may appear to be mere accidents having nothing to do organically with the social and economic relations Such a viewpoint is fallacious, as a more serious analysis will reveal. The very fact that safety measures (which cost money when taken) serve to reduce these casualties instantly reveals the disastrous effects of private profits here. When we say this we do not, in the least, deny the element of accident as such playing its part in the factories as well as on the highways. Yet, in countless ways, the quest for profits is decisive here thru speed-up, faulty material, and overworked individuals.

To Start In Afternoon of Nov. 30 In response to many requests, the listed here will be on sale at ridiculous-New Workers School Bazaar Commit- ly low prices. They have been contribut-

New Workers School Bazaar

of the Bazaar to Saturday afternoon in lace of Saturday evening.

Silk dresses, cotton dresses, sweaters, knitted dresses, infants wear, dolls, toys, many other articles too numerous to be and Irving Place.

tee, has decided to advance the opening of the Bazaar to Saturday afternoon in working in these industries.

The New Workers School advises its friends to hold off buying until they have looked over our stock at the Baladies hats, shirts, ties, Russian art zaar on the afternoon of Saturday Nov-goods, fur collars, cuffs, muffs and ember 30 at Irving Plaza, 15th Street

A very inspiring General Membership Meeting of the Doll and Toy Workers Union took place Tuesday, Oct. 29th, at which a number of important decisions were made.

One of these decisions was the comolete approval of the \$2.00 tax which the Union has put upon the membership in order to carry on organizational work in New York and out of town.

Another important decision was made when the membership voted to amend the Constitution, so that the present administration will remain in office for two years, which also means that elections will be held every two years instead of every year. This question was discussed thoroughly and the result was only 13 votes against. This insignificant opposiion came from the so-called rank and file, and the only reason they gave for voting against the amendment was, 'They don't want Roosevelt to be in office for life, and therefore they don't union, which initiated this struggle, can want the administration of the Union to be in office for life either." This argument was so strong and appealing to the membership, that only 13 voted with the Rank and File.

The support that the membership has given to the administration, expressed particularily in these two questions, shows that the progressive administration has gained the confidence of the entire membership, and, on the other hand, the "Rank and File" is becoming hand, the "Rank more and more isolated from the rest of the union members.

-H. E.

Two Meetings Arranged by HARLEM SECTION C.P.O. at 207 WEST 137th STREET

ADMISSION FREE Thursday, Nov. 14, 8:30 p.m.

> B. HERMAN speaks on Is Fascism Inevitable?

WILL HERBERG speaks on Will the War in Ethiopia Lead to World War?

Thursday, Nov. 21, 8:30 p.m.

BOTH MEETINGS AT 207 WEST 137th STREET

COLLAPSE OF THE

SECOND INTERNATIONAL

BERT WOLFE

lectures on

A discussion of the revolutionary struggle against war, dealing also with pacifism and chauvinism.

> Friday, November 15 8 p. m.

> > RIVERA HALL 51 West 14 Street

and Toy Workers Union. **GREETINGS TO**

> WORKERS AGE ON ITS SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Especially on the trade union field it taught us to be militant and constructive fighters.

> ANTHRACITE MINERS UNIT COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)