

# WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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## UTW Calls General Cotton Strike

### Silk and Wool Men to Follow

### Sinclair Wins Primary

The political lineups of 1936 are entrenched in the California of 1934.

With the nomination of Upton Sinclair, erstwhile Socialist and author of the EPIC plan, as Democratic candidate against Republican reactionary Frank Merriam, the vague outlines of two new political machines may be seen. Sinclair's victory is especially significant coming only a few days after the formation of the ultra-conservative American Liberty League.

On the one side are the blind reactionaries—the Merriams, the Rossis, the Al Smiths, the Hamilton Fishes. On the other side are the "liberals," the men who stand for the "square deal," the "new deal"—the Roosevelts, the Hopkins, the Sinclairs. It is on this basis that American parliamentarianism will run for the next few years.

Sinclair won the nomination by gaining thousands of new Democratic votes, many of them from the ranks of Socialists and radicals. These people believed in his EPIC plan to "end poverty in California," and in Sinclair as the instrument of radical change. But the EPIC plan on analysis presents many old familiar features. It is, in its fundamentals, the stand of right wing Socialism lacking only the lip service right-wing Socialism gives to the Marxian doctrine of class-struggle. EPIC has other familiar features from a much more unpleasant source however.

There is a vague reminiscence of Hitler's work camps in Sinclair's program of putting the unemployed to work on the land and in the factories so they may be removed from relief rolls and lighten the burdens on the taxpayers.

Sinclair's statements show the confusion, the misinterpretation of class forces characterizing the liberal position. After re-affirming his fundamental faith in democracy he says: "There are 1,250,000 persons in our state out of work. They cannot be permitted to starve, they are being supported by public charities, and the burden of that is driving the state to bankruptcy and the taxpayers to ruin." Further, he assures the business men that they need not worry about competition from the goods fabricated by the unemployed because these articles will not come onto the market. Of the installation of EPIC, Sinclair states: "We have made it as simple as possible, as easy to understand. We have made it so gradual so as to be painless."

### SHOPMEN DEFEAT COMPANY UNIONS

Washington, D. C.

The company union has been defeated in a poll conducted among the shop men in the Illinois Central Railroad.

The machinists voted for the legitimate union, 1,184 against 298; the boilermakers 337 against 84; the carmen 2,771 against 746 and the firemen and oilers voted 810 to 183.

All other crafts cast majorities against the company unions.

This is the position, not only of EPIC, but of the New Deal. Roosevelt can and will support Sinclair, if not openly, at least with a deftly concealed influence, because there is no conflict between EPIC and NRA. They're both letters out of the same type case.

California is a state of extremes. The contest for governor will be bitterly waged this fall with the possibilities that Sinclair will win. One clear gain will come from his victory—the freedom of Mooney and Billings. But beyond that we may expect to see Sinclair engulfed in the morass of his own contradictions just as the liberals of the New Deal have been engulfed. In turn the workers will learn that a new society cannot be achieved by methods "so gradual as to be painless"—that such changes must come, not through manipulating a Democratic political regime but through a class, set into motion to achieve power by the destruction of its enemies.

### AL SCHAAP

As we go to press, we are informed of the death of Comrade Al Schaap, formerly member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League. Comrade Schaap was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) and its organizer in Los Angeles, California. Comrade Schaap had taken a leading role in the fight of the CPO for the reunification of the communist movement and in the struggle for a correct Leninist line.

The death of Comrade Schaap at the age of 32 is a great loss for the CPO especially at a time when its influence is beginning to penetrate large sections of the American labor movement.

We urge upon our California comrades to redouble their communist work so that movement for which we all fight may go forward.

## Richberg Reorganizes NRA

Big Business, lustful for still greater profits, is further strengthening the deadly hold of the trade associations over the economic life of the nation, by a reorganization or a further organization of NRA. The enormous profits reaped by corporations under the NRA is spurring the organization of NRA into a more permanent form—the cartelization of industries.

A new classification of codes into twenty-two groups is to be inaugurated. A typical example of such a classification is Division No. 10 under which will come all Textile, Apparel, Leather and Fur Codes, over 100 codes in all. This vertical organization of industry is nothing but an accelerated development of giant cartels, the basis of which has long existed. The tendency toward vertical organization of industry is inherent in capitalism; the new devices of NRA will serve to automatically remove many barriers standing in the way of a hastened realization of these greater Frankenshtains. With all governmental power being exerted to facilitate this process, the death knell for many small businesses already tolls.

The two great obstacles confronting Big Business are naturally enough its inevitable opponents, small business and labor.

That the coming reorganization is directed against the code "chislers" (small business) is openly acknowledged. Thus The Journal of Commerce with disarming candor declares the objective:

"The new groupings give industries better competitive positions to establish uniform la-

bor provisions. In some cases, the group might adopt the highest minimum wage and the lowest working hours provided for all their codes."

Even the pretense of "cracking down" on the big boys has now been abandoned by the New Dealers, and the little fish are to be trapped in a much finer net and their life extinguished in a fashion so efficient that Frederick Taylor, the father of Scientific Management will probably applaud from his grave.

More highly organized these associations can spell nothing for labor but more ruthless attempts to undermine and destroy unionism. The recent strike wave, San Francisco, Minneapolis, etc., has struck terror into the hearts of the Robber Barons. So the anti-labor machinery is being over-hauled; new instruments are being created, their terror is translating itself into more efficient preparations for the greater battles impending.

Under the new dispensation the restrictions and outlawing of new machinery installation shall go the way of all flesh. Industry will reach still higher productive levels.

The self-acknowledged author of Theodore Roosevelt's campaign speeches, Donald Richberg, is an old hand at the sunshine business. He wrote the rah-rah songs for the University of Chicago, became enmeshed in the net of progressivism, turned sour and pessimistic; then came Roosevelt to lift him from his mellow twilight into the bright sun of national fame, an office-boy for Wall Street's wolves.

Washington, D. C.

A general strike in the cotton industry has been called for Saturday 11.30 P. M. The following call was issued by Francis J. Gorman, Chairman, Special Strike Committee, United Textile Workers of America:—

"To All Locals:  
"Strike of all cotton textile workers will begin at 11.30 o'clock your time Saturday night. Put all previous instructions into effect. Wool, silk and rayon and synthetic yarn membership stand by for further orders. Victory thru solidarity."

This strike call comes after many days were lost in futile and servile bargaining on the part of the U. T. W. leaders, who sought by all possible means to call off the strike. Bound by a convention decision and arrogantly spurned by the Cotton Textile Institute, they were finally forced to resort to a strike of 500,000 cotton workers.

The strike call has aroused tremendous enthusiasm in the ranks of the textile workers. Also other

sections of the industry are ready and awaiting the call to walk out. In a statement from Paterson, Eli Keller, progressive leader of the silk workers, and Yanarelli of the dyers, have announced that their membership is prepared to strike and are awaiting a strike call.

A stirring call for a complete general strike has been issued by the Progressive Group of the U. T. W. In this call an appeal is also made to all trade unions to give their moral and financial assistance to the strike.

That the textile barons intend to use the most violent means of suppression became apparent when strike headquarters announced that it has learned that many mills have secured large orders of tear gas bombs, arms, and ammunition. At the same time it has become known that the Department of Justice has been asked to send agents into the strike area.

Numerous telegrams from local unions, pledging assistance to the strike have been received at strike headquarters. Among these were telegrams from the Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union and from Charles S. Zimmerman, pledging moral and financial assistance from 30,000 workers in the dressmakers union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. Also William Green, President of the A. F. of L. has announced his endorsement of the strike.

### Detroit Workers Score Green

The rank and file opposition to the strike breaking role of Green, in the San Francisco strike, is growing. Another indication of that is a resolution adopted by the Kelsey Hayes federal union of automobile workers, with a membership of 2,000, in which Green's action is scored as being in "violation of the ethics and traditions of the trade union movement." The following is the resolution in full:

WHEREAS, the A. F. of L. Unions of San Francisco, unanimously displayed a spirit of cooperation toward the longshoremens, by going out on strike in an effort to compel the reactionary Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, and its affiliated organizations to recognize the Longshoremens Union.

WHEREAS, these 50,000 or more workers would have achieved their aim, had not William Green of the A. F. of L. denounced these efforts to achieve victory for the Longshoremens.

WHEREAS, William Green, by his acts has created dissension among all trade union members and assisted in retarding the growth of the American Labor movement, thereby giving aid and comfort to the enemies of Labor.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, at a regular meeting of Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Corporation, Local No. 18677, United Automobile of America, that we formally go on record  
(Continued on Page 6)

## The NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

REGISTRATION OPENS SEPT. 10

51 WEST 14th ST., N. Y. C.

'Arbeiter Kampf' to Appear

Beginning this month, the "Arbeiter Kampf," Jewish organ of our group will again resume publication. Due to financial difficulties the group was forced to suspend the publication of this important organ for several months. Arrangements are now being made to have the publication appear regularly every month.

Dubinsky Demands Paddock Removal

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has sent a message to President Roosevelt calling for the removal of Col. R. B. Paddock from his position as executive director of the Cotton Garment Code Authority.

STEEL COMPANIES SLASH WAGES

Under the guise of eliminating Saturday work the United States Steel Corporation has announced a 10% cut affecting 20,000 white collar workers.

THE CANADIAN TOILER Published Monthly by the Workers League of Canada Subscriptions: 35c a year Single copies or subs can be secured thru WORKERS AGE 51 West 14th St. New York, N. Y.

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL OPENS

With the opening of the Fall Term on September 24, the New Workers School enters upon its sixth year. Indicative of its growth and development is the unprecedented number of students (over 2,500, who attended classes during the past year.

Lovestone To Give New Course To our New York friends who have gained so much from and are looking forward with so much eagerness to the resumption of the Current Events lecture series given by Jay Lovestone who, as has been so aptly put, "catches history on the wing" and in whose lectures "the methods of Marxism are brilliantly applied to illuminate history in the making," we have a very important announcement to make.

The Foundations of Marxism

A study of the ideological development of Marxism from its beginnings to the death of Marx will be conducted in "The Foundations of Marxism" by Will Herberg, Educational Director of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., who has made some very important original contributions to Marxist thought.

Cork On American History

We have already commented upon the significance of the course to be given by Jim Cork, "A Marxian Interpretation of American History." The remarkable frescoes painted on the walls of the New Workers School by the great revolutionary artist, Diego Rivera, as his gift to the workers of New York, serve to illustrate this course in American history.

Registration Opens September 15

Classes are conducted evenings from 7 to 8:30 and from 8:40 to 10:10 P. M. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. Registration begins the week of September 10. The fee for a 12 session course is \$2.50, for an 8 session course, \$2.00, unless otherwise stated. The fee for "Marxist Classics" is \$5.00, to be paid on day of registration.

Under the leadership of the radical youth organizations, fighting in disciplined and strategic fashion, the majority of genuine youth organizations captured the First American Youth Congress and administered a smashing blow at the attempt to convert the First Congress of America's youth into a docile receptacle of the Roosevelt plans.

Starvation, Ornaments, and Beauty

What the character of the Congress might have been was clearly revealed in the speeches opening the Congress. A. A. Bennett waxed pessimistic over the economic outlook and proposed this as a solution to the unemployed youth: In a certain town several unemployed youngsters secured an old toy and proceeded to make metal ornaments; they made a fairly good living. (We would happily, should several million youngsters do likewise?) This is the kind of brain trust that comes from the more "liberal" of the Brain-Trust.

LEFT COMMUNISM

AN INFANTILE DISORDER An Attempt at a Popular Presentation of Marxist Strategy and Tactics By N. LENIN

A new edition of Lenin's classic on the tactics of Communism, published by the Communist Party (Opposition) with an introduction by Bertram D. Wolfe, will appear on September 15 as a 132 page volume priced at 25 cents.

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FIRST YOUTH CONGRESS IN REVIEW

Under the leadership of the radical youth organizations, fighting in disciplined and strategic fashion, the majority of genuine youth organizations captured the First American Youth Congress and administered a smashing blow at the attempt to convert the First Congress of America's youth into a docile receptacle of the Roosevelt plans.

The Congress listened to Earl Browder, Alfred Bingham, Norman Thomas and others. Browder with all his deficiencies fairly radiated militant struggle in comparison to the pinks that preceded him.

Resolutions were adopted after a hurried and inadequate discussion on Education, War and Fascism, Youth In Industry, etc. The radical viewpoint was making heavy inroads amongst many delegates never before in the range of the radicals. The outstanding feature of the Congress was the unanimous rejection of the Roosevelt plans for youth. The resolutions failed, however, to incisively analyze these plans and methods to combat them.

What the character of the Congress might have been was clearly revealed in the speeches opening the Congress. A. A. Bennett waxed pessimistic over the economic outlook and proposed this as a solution to the unemployed youth: In a certain town several unemployed youngsters secured an old toy and proceeded to make metal ornaments; they made a fairly good living.

Speeches concluded, Miss Ilma proceeded to make some announcements, but was interrupted by a vigorous critic for the election of a chairman. Flustered at this "uncouth" demonstration of her "guests" she summarily declared the session adjourned.

At the round table session that very afternoon, four of the hand-picked chairmen were ousted by the delegates when they refused to permit democratic election of chairmen. Even Mr. Plunkert of the Transient Camps was ousted. But the real battle was staged that evening in a small room of the building, where the Executive Board was to meet.

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The Congress At Work A grave error was committed on the second day when the steering committee agreed to a mediation of differences! This was particularly disgraceful on the part of the Y.C.L. which had even prior to the Congress denounced Ilma & Co. as "Fascists."

by Saul Held

C.C.C. Boys Protective League; 1 Farmer Labor Federation; and 1 Shipping Clerks Union. A projected conference was set for the first week in January in Washington, D. C.

Y.C.L. Runs True To Form

That the Young Communist League directed the Congress and made possible this victory cannot be denied. We have nothing but admiration for their leadership in the fight against the Ilma clique. But, when the continuation committee was elected, the League succeeded in narrowing it down to fifteen so as to exclude such organizations as Spartacus Youth and C.P.O. Youth.

by Economist

Note the tremendous increase in the companies' earnings as compared to the relatively minute wage increase. The disproportion becomes still more acute if one takes into account the terrific speed-up which has increased labor's productivity much beyond the small pay increase.

Business Blues Become Black

Business is definitely in the doldrums. After the very low level reached in December, 1933, the business index registered monthly increases up to June which almost regains the entire loss. At present, the Annalist reports that the index for July (72.4 as against 77.0 for June) reached its lowest level since Dec. 1933.

Down, Down The Toboggan

In relation to the economic crisis and particularly its present stage, Ayres makes the following devastating indictment: "At the present time both the durable goods and consumer goods are at levels below normal about equal to those they reached at the extreme lows of the severe depression of 1921."

Status Of Six Vital Industries

Analyzing what he terms the six essential points of recovery, Ayres discovers that, except for the Auto industry which "is doing well," in building the "volume is low and its gains of last autumn and of last month are mostly due to the expenditure of public funds. Private building remains quiescent."

Drouth Strikes Workers Troops

The catastrophic nature of the drouth has tended to add to the already mounting cost of living that the New Deal has so effectively forced upon the masses.

R. R. Workers Hard Hit By Crisis

A very interesting example of

the Congress base—attracting numerous other organizations of youth.

When Gil Green attacked J. Carter because he expressed a difference of opinion on a formula concerning the war question, as a "splitter" only the Communist Youth Opposition demanded a retraction and apology.

What Was The Congress?

It was not a defeat of "Fascism" as the Y.C.L. proclaims, and that inevitable yes-man, the NEW MASSES, echoes, Theodore Draper in the NEW MASSES gives us this characterization of Ilma's program: "By adopting precisely those points on which the program which are most plainly fascist, Ilma was able to tie her kite to Roosevelt and Hitler, both at the same time!"

What next? Can the Continuation Committee broaden itself to include any and every organization in agreement with its program? Shall the splendid beginning be dissipated in the strangling clutch of the Y.C.L.? Will the Young Peoples Socialist League fight for that kind of genuine united front which it has clamored for, and refuse to knuckle down under the Y.C.L. lash?

A great deal depends on how these questions are answered. And to the Y.C.L. our message is: "We accept Browder's declaration that the Communist Party has always and is today willing to form a united front with every labor organization in America and ask you in the interests of America's toiling youth, to make good this declaration in practice or acknowledge your deceit to the entire American labor movement!"

RICHBERG AND NRA

(Continued From Page 1) from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. But Donald's desire (read, Big Business) has been, and is, to make these "mechanisms" the sole instruments for "collective bargaining."

Only when the accounting of corporation profits is reached does Richberg wax ecstatic. "See," he tells his masters, "how the profit curve has soared under the Blue Eagle." There is no suppressing his jubilation in those two paragraphs. The rest is a dull recital of New Deal agencies and appropriations made to each.

Whatever gains labor has made in the past period has been solely thru those unions which fought and tore concessions from the employers. These struggles were successful precisely to the degree that they were strong enough, not only to fight the employers, but also the Regional Labor Boards and the other agencies for the enfeebling and destruction of labor.

Why The Codes Were Born

"Commerce And Finance" informed the world on August 8th that, "It was predicted when the NRA was formed that the establishment of maximum working hours and minimum wage rates would tend eventually to make minimum rates the maximum. Economics Statistics, Inc., now states that this is taking place in many industries."

Portrait of America

By Diego Rivera Text by Bert Wolfe

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# Estimating the U. T. W. Convention

## Progressives Show Great Strength

by A Delegate

The Biennial Convention of the United Textile Workers of America, held August 13-18, 1934, in town hall, New York, was of outstanding significance, not only for the textile workers, but for the entire labor movement. The effective night put up by the progressives for a militant policy and for a general strike of a million textile workers, and their condemnation of the reactionary policies pursued by the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, was an inspiration to all progressive forces in the labor movement, even though they failed to oust the McMahon leadership at this Convention. McMahon's victory, however, was a Pyrrhic one. No machine can survive such victories very long. The seemingly impregnable leadership, with all its resources and multiplicity of organizers was tottering, through the Convention, on the verge of complete rout by the opposition until the very last moment when Rieve the candidate for President against McMahon, capitulated. The Convention has presented the leadership with tasks which they cannot and will not fulfill. The result can only be the further and more conscious development of the progressive and opposition forces in the United Textile Workers.

**Largest Convention**  
The Convention reflected the huge influx of 230,000 textile workers into the Union during the last year and a half. A total of 400 delegates was present, including

a large group from the newly organized South. The absence of Negro delegates, however, was a distinct shortcoming of the Convention for which the entire reactionary bureaucracy must be held to blame. The number of locals represented had increased five fold since the last Convention.  
A new spirit was immediately discernible. The contrast with the previous Conventions of the United Textile Workers, when 75 to 100 elderly delegates, most of them from "down East," and many of the strikes and its utter incompetence, demanding a "new deal" and change of leadership in the Union. This Opposition together with the Progressive represented a majority of the Convention in its first stage. Having no crystallized organization or program, it rallied all elements opposed to the McMahon administration, including even certain reactionaries with whom Rieve was only too glad to give way to a struggle for new policies at every point in the Convention. It is no wonder, therefore, that the "old timers" speak with utter amazement of the remarkable change and progress manifested at the 1934 Convention.

**The Contending Forces**  
There were three major forces in the Convention: the Reactionary, "no strike" McMahon administration, supported by the official family of approximately 100

organizers, by the craft locals, by part of the Southern delegates and certain other new forces whose only contacts in the Union have been with the present leadership; 2. The Opposition led by Emil Rieve, President of the Federation of Hosiery Workers, a Socialist, less reactionary than the union leadership in some respects, critical (in private) of the McMahon machine for its ruinous disruption of strikes and its utter incompetence, demanding a "new deal" and change of leadership in the Union. This Opposition together with the Progressive represented a majority of the Convention in its first stage. Having no crystallized organization or program, it rallied all elements opposed to the McMahon administration, including even certain reactionaries with whom Rieve was only too glad to give way to a struggle for new policies at every point in the Convention. It is no wonder, therefore, that the "old timers" speak with utter amazement of the remarkable change and progress manifested at the 1934 Convention.

was ready to work with Rieve for only one common objective—organizationally, to oust the old reactionary leadership and lay the basis for a new and more progressive course in the future, by their unwavering, principled, courageous fight from one beginning to the end of the Convention, the Progressives grew in strength continuously, and became the leaders of the majority of the delegates in the Opposition bloc after the capitulation of Rieve. The Rieve forces of the right and those denounced by the capitulation went over to the Administration. The more progressive sections of the Rieve forces went to the Progressives, a development that normally would take years was compressed within a few days.

**Another C.P. Fiasco**  
A fourth tendency was also present, although not a contending force. The three delegates sympathetic to the U.T.W. industrial unions and expressing the standpoint of the official Communist Party presented a deplorable spectacle. Their major contribution was a resolution of greetings to the knitwear strikers in New York in which the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union was endorsed. The resolution was carried, with all references to the N.T.W.I.U. stricken out. Not a single one of the delegates of the Official C.P. line got up to defend their resolution. Secondly, no other resolution presented by them was rejected without any struggle. When berated for not putting up any fight for their own position or any progressive measures, whatsoever, the answer was, "We couldn't get the floor." The temper of the Convention was such, however, that there was no difficulty in getting the floor on most occasions, if one wanted to. Especially was this so in the case of the mover of a resolution. When Rubenstein, for example, appealed from the decision of McMahon on not granting him the floor after discussion on a certain question had been closed, it was only by a narrow margin that McMahon was sustained. But there was one question on which McMahon's militant supporters of the U.T.W. unions could get the floor without asking the permission of McMahon, that is, on the occasion of the vote against McMahon as President of the U.T.W. But these delegates failed to get up to vote against McMahon. The capitulation of Rieve was matched on a petty scale by the action of the ultra-left. They gained no supporters, but gained the overwhelming contempt of all workers.

**The NRA Discussion**  
A sharp discussion occurred on Herman's resolution with its trenchant criticism of the NRA as an agent of the big employers, demanding the withdrawal of union representatives from the Code Authorities and demanding that the unions rely on militant strike action instead of arbitration by NRA and so-called "impartial" Boards. Here again Rieve was the leading defender of the conservative position. In his anxiety to differentiate himself from the Progressives, he went to the crassest extreme of NRA worship. "The NRA," he said, "has given us new life, new courage, new hope. It is the leading advocate of the Labor Party. This morning are those who now tell us to keep away from Government agencies, (which goes to show how little is understood concerning the Labor Party, whose purpose is political action of the workers organizations, independently of the employers and the parties of Wall Street)." "If the hosiery workers have gained substantial improvements in their conditions, it is due to the fact that we have two union representatives in the Hosiery Code Authority. What we want is not the withdrawal of our representatives, but equal representation with the employers on the various Code Authorities." Herman of New York showed how independent union action and hard-fought strikes in the hosiery industry had been the cause of the advances made by the hosiery workers, not the placement of two representatives on the Code Authority. Rubenstein, of the Dyers, pointed out how reliance on the War Labor Board in 1918 had had a similar detrimental effect on the trade union movement as the present reliance of the trade union leaders on the NRA. Unfortunately, the argument for equal representation still bears great weight among trade unionists, even in the C.P. Red Unions, who fail to see

**Progressive Initiative**  
A marked feature was the consistent offensive carried on by the Progressives. It was they who raised issue after issue: General strike in the entire industry for a 30-hour week, increased pay and reduction in machine load, reorganization of the union on industrial lines with the establishment of federations, enlarging of the Executive Council, criticism of the NRA, attack on the anti-strike policy of the union leadership, and the attack on Bill Green for his action on the San Francisco General Strike.

**McMahon's Report**  
The McMahon bureaucracy was in full retreat at the beginning of the Convention. From the outset it felt its if in an extremely precarious position. The report of President

**dependence of the trade unions.**  
**3. Police terror against the strikers.**  
**4. Compulsory arbitration.**  
This is "Nordic Socialism".

The reformist traditions are firmly rooted in the Danish working class, and the policy of the government has not yet weakened the basis of the Social Democracy among the working class.

McMahon was received with an icy silence showing the widespread hostility to the ruling machine. The delegation was willing to give an ovation to the president of every union but their own! McMahon's report only accentuated the antagonism. In it McMahon claimed that the NRA, which had given the textile workers miserable wages of \$12 a week and then cut even that by 25 per cent "was intended to be a real protector of the workers against the entrenched forces of capital." He blustered against the organization of federations, warning that they "will lead to destruction and chaos." He gloated over the huge success of the U.T.W. in suppressing strikes. "Many serious industrial flare-ups have been avoided because of the coordinated effort among officers of local unions and representatives of this International." And to cap the climax, McMahon proposed to reward the International officials for their great services by exacting an increase of 10c per month in per capita dues as the guise of creating a "strike fund."

**Rieve's Role**  
The role of Rieve was that of a good fighter—but not against McMahon! From the very beginning Rieve opened fire against the Progressives on the question of instructing the delegation to the A. F. of L. Convention to fight for industrial unionism. He attacked delegate Herman's position on the question, and pooh-poohed the idea that the discussion was necessary at all in the U.T.W., which is for industrial unionism. It is in such manner that this trade union leader handled a major problem before the labor movement of this country. Eli Keller of Paterson answered Rieve and showed that in the U.T.W. where "industrial unionism is a settled question" craft locals have received charters readily and are still being organized. The resolution for industrial unionism was carried overwhelmingly, only a half dozen craft unionists led by Batty, of New Bedford, voting against.

"The question was: Should the old unions be split or captured? To leave unions and to set up small independent unions is an evidence of despair and, furthermore, shows a lack of confidence in the working class. . . . Our motto is: Not the destruction but the winning of the trade unions."

It is clear that the original program of the R.I.L.U. was quite in harmony with the viewpoint of Lenin as expressed in his pamphlet on "Leftism" but was altogether opposed to the present tactical course of the Communist International and the R.I.L.U.

But from the very beginning there were dual unionist possibilities in the R.I.L.U. which, in time, became so pronounced that, by 1924 there was already serious talk in leading Communist circles about dissolving it. Indeed, this was the dominant view for some time, and had the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions shown the slightest willingness to go even part of the way in this direction, the R.I.L.U. would have been a thing of the past. Meanwhile, however, ultra-leftist tendencies began to grow more pronounced in C.I. circles and it did not take very long before the R.I.L.U. was completely transformed into the very engine of dual unionism as it is today.

**This is the first of two articles on the U.T.W. convention. In the next issue A Delegate takes up the resolutions adopted, the election and the balance sheet to be drawn for the progressive forces in the union.**

# A Few Pages from Comintern History

## Some Important Questions Answered

by Will Herberg

let was written (1919-1920)? This is a totally fantastic contention. In the first place, if it is maintained that Lenin's pamphlet was written in a period when the workers were rushing into the conservative unions and is valid only for such a period, then it should be noted that we are now passing thru precisely such a period again, (at least in the United States), so that the arguments against dual unions should be all the more striking. But this is altogether beside the whole point. Lenin repeatedly emphasizes that his trade union tactics and his opposition to dual unionism are the result of the experiences of the Russian and European labor movements over several decades of development under all sorts of economic and political conditions. The most superficial reading of the pamphlet, the *Infantile Sickness of Leftism* in Communism, will show one how worthless the Stalinist argument is.

**3. Was it the purpose of the so-called Red unions to organize the unorganized?** The answer is there on the face of it. Where were the dual unions formed in this country? In the needle, textile and mining industries where they were organized not out of previously unorganized workers but out of split-off sections of the A. F. of L. unions. In 1925 and 1926, the Communist Party really did make a serious and successful attempt to organize the unorganized textile workers in Passaic. But did it organize them into a Red dual union. Just the opposite; it carried on a long and hard fight to secure the affiliation of the Passaic union to the United Textile Workers, to the A. F. of L. The trade union policy of the Communist Party must certainly be in a fine fix if it has to depend for support upon such obvious distortions of notorious facts!

**4. Did Lenin tell the comrades to form Red unions?** Only unscrupulous demagogues would venture to assert this. On December 15, 1921 the Communist International issued these on the "untied front of labor," carefully approved if not written by Lenin. What do these things say about the situation in the French trade union movement?  
"The revolutionary part of the French trade unionists is quite right in fighting against the splitting of the trade unions. . . . The policy of the reformists and the centrists is now threatening the unity of the trade union movement. The slogan of unity is the best way of upsetting these plans for a split of 600 people who are on strike. They were, with few exceptions, between the ages of 16 and 28. 98% of them had never been in any economic organization in their lives and knew little or nothing of organized activity."

The Communist Party leadership, which came into power in the local in January of this year, had full control and in many cases resorted to dictatorial powers. It had the support of the conservatives and liberals as well as its own party members. The conservatives and liberals gave their support and went along, because they wanted to see the bakers' union grow and regain the power lost in 1921. So they unreluctingly bowed to the leadership of the C.P. officials.

A city-wide campaign was made with great success and the Schultz and Livingston bakeries were organized almost to a man. About 600 people went on strike. They were, with few exceptions, between the ages of 16 and 28. 98% of them had never been in any economic organization in their lives and knew little or nothing of organized activity.

The Communist Party officialdom of the local placed these people out on the street with very little preparation on their part. There were not even enough picket signs on hand when the strike was called. No preparations were made for funds to keep up the strike and, worst of all, the strikers were given no educational training as to how to conduct the strike. The strike was called and the strikers were left to the mercy of the bosses, police, thugs, and racketeers as far as the officials of the local were concerned. Had it not been for the fact that sincere members of the local, not the C.P., gave up opportunities to take jobs in small bakeries, went hungry and without sleep, were constantly on the picket line with the strikers, encouraging them, telling them how to fight, and how to conduct themselves, the strike would have been lost the first week.

While the fight was going on, the officials were making long-winded speeches of what they were going to do to the bosses. They made long-winded speeches condemning the bakery wagon drivers' strike (the fight for unity and against dual unionism) does not only apply to countries where the overwhelming majority of revolutionary workers belong to reformist trade unions but also to countries with parallel reformist and revolutionary

part of the supporters of the RILU if, by falling victim to provocation, they were to abandon the trade union movement and confine themselves in tiny revolutionary unions. "The workers expelled from the unions should not be dispersed. They must remain organized on the same plane as they were before the expulsion, acting always as a definite, legal part of the union which had expelled them."

Again and again was this sentiment repeated and emphasized by responsible bodies of the Communist International. It is all summed up in Lenin's famous maxim: "If you are thrown out of the door, come in thru the window!" And if the window is locked behind you, jimmy it open! The main thing is to stay in the mass unions—to get back into them at all costs!

**6. Did Foster come out against dual unionism?** Of course he is well known that Foster fought valiantly against dual unionism as represented by the IWW and by the Communist movement in this country. It was in this period that Foster rendered his greatest services to the labor and Communist movements. The first signs of sharp change in trade union tactics on the part of the Communist International occurred at the famous ninth plenary session of the ex-

ecutive of the C.I., in February 1925. A month or so later took place the fourth congress of the RILU where Lozovsky launched the dual unionist line fairly openly. Especially did Lozovsky, as near as the RILU, attack, most viciously and unscrupulously, the American Communist Party for "nauseating quadrilles around the A. F. of L.," that is for insisting on remaining inside the A. F. of L. at all costs. In May 1928 there took place a plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPUSA, the trade union course came up for some sharp discussion, in the form of a report of the fourth congress of the RILU. At this plenum Lovestone, as general secretary of the Communist Party, strongly resisted the attempts of Lozovsky to revise Leninist trade union tactics. And vigorously supporting Lovestone against Lozovsky was William Z. Foster! Lozovsky's chief defender at this plenum, the chief defender of dual unionism was—James P. Cannon, now titular head of the American Trotsky group.

But in the months that followed, factional considerations and the pressure of the Communist International leadership, caused Foster to cave in, swallow his principles, deny his past and become the loudest speaker for the new course. Since then Foster has carefully hewed to the line of dual unionism. What his personal feelings may be, it is impossible to say. His actions count.

# The Chicago Bakers' Strike

by Henry Oppen

One more series of errors can be "credited" to the Communist Party in the case of the Chicago bakers. The strike of the Livingstone (Continental) bakeries and the Nafzinger (Schultz) bakeries is complicated in detail, but the outstanding features of the strike are plain and easily explained.

The Communist Party leadership, which came into power in the local in January of this year, had full control and in many cases resorted to dictatorial powers. It had the support of the conservatives and liberals as well as its own party members. The conservatives and liberals gave their support and went along, because they wanted to see the bakers' union grow and regain the power lost in 1921. So they unreluctingly bowed to the leadership of the C.P. officials.

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the police force, the bakers' union would call of the "Doctor" to get him out. Then, in the evening broadcast, Dr. Springer would praise the police department for giving him such splendid co-operation in letting out the strikers. In this way the strikers were always the object of the police favor, would they not be flattered over the radio by the "Doctor!" For the marvelous support the hysther doctor gave the local, he was made an honorary member and official of the bakers' union by the officialdom of the local. This was done so that he might sit in conference with the employers and do the bakers' union additional harm.

Among many other blunders, too numerous to mention in this article, made by the officials was the scheme of enlisting the Progressive Grocers' Association, which had double-crossed the bakers' union numerous times before. The officials, like a bunch of saps, fell for their line when it was quite obvious they wanted an increase in the price of bread and to chain stores. For the P.G.A.'s benefit, the officials called out the bakers of Kroger-Consumers, which is a chain store bakery. As usual, when the P.G.A. received its increase in the price of bread, it sold the strikers out and sent letters to each grocer telling them the strike was over and the strikers went back to work.

After eight weeks, the strikers began losing confidence in the leadership of the local and began to return to work. The local leadership called in the general organizer, Zampport, so that they might save their own necks and be able to put the blame for the loss of the strike on some one else. The organizer was called in by the local officials and instructed to make any kind of settlement possible. A settlement was made whereby the strikers received their jobs back without discrimination and an agreement was drawn up governing certain working conditions. The right of the local union to represent the strikers was also granted, but no closed shop contract was signed.

After the strike had been misled from the beginning, no one could be blamed for such a compromising settlement but the ones who had conducted and planned the whole strike.



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## General Strike in Textiles

**D**ESPITE the combined efforts of the conservative union officials and the boss-controlled government agencies to prevent a strike, which may well develop into a mighty onslaught of a million textile workers against the textile barons, the rising tide of discontent among the workers is driving relentlessly toward strike action.

In June it was possible for MacMahon and Gorman to prevent action of the cotton workers by accepting an NRA arbitration board to determine, by investigation, whether or not the cut of 25% should be rescinded. The bitter fruit of reliance upon NRA, rather than the organized power of the workers, was harvested in the form of an "impartial" decision confirming the wage cut and defending the upward revision of the present 40 hour code provision.

While the bureaucracy of the U.T.W. preached class peace and throttled strike action, the employers proceeded to exterminate unionism in the south. Despite the boasted right of the workers to unions "of their choice" 1500 members of the U.T.W. were fired out of Alabama mills for union membership. The NRA turned a deaf ear to this action and the Alabama cotton workers struck 20,000 strong. Alone and single handed conducting a battle against the bosses without the slightest effort on the part of the U.T.W. leaders to check this union smashing drive by calling for general strike.

It is difficult to find an industry in which NRA has so arrogantly exposed itself as an instrument of the bosses, yet MacMahon and Gorman still place their sole hope upon it or the President. Even after the convention of the U.T.W. ran roughshod over the bureaucracy and ordered the general strike by the beginning of September, MacMahon still declared: "President Roosevelt is the only man on God's green earth who can prevent this strike." And echoing him Gorman said: "If President Roosevelt were only aware of the real conditions in the cotton industry, these things would not take place." They are actually praying for such strike-breaking Presidential intervention as occurred in the Automobile and Steel industries. They are being forced to go into battle, by the great masses of textile workers, but they are doing so on bended knees.

The bosses announce thru Mr. Sloan, who is both President of the Cotton Textile Institute and Chairman of the Cotton Code Authority, that they cannot submit to a change in the Cotton Code, "now the law of the land," by threat of "force". When the textile barons so desired, the Code Authority immediately cut down the measly \$12 minimum by 25%! Now that the workers make demands the code becomes an unalterable law!

Against such a ruthless enemy there must be hurled the full power of the united ranks, not only of the cotton workers but also the silk, rayon and woolen workers. All suffer the same intolerable condition and all have common demands—30 hour week, higher minimum wage and reduction of machine load. The very interlocking nature of the textile industry demands the joint action of all sections of the workers, if the strike is to succeed.

The militants and progressives have a particular task and responsibility. It was primarily due to their efforts at the U.T.W. convention that a strike decision was forced upon the leadership. It now becomes their duty to guard against compromise and betrayal.

The battle, of which the lines are now forming, will have far reaching results. Never since the inception of NRA has so large an army of labor been mobilized for struggle—almost a million—against the open shop. If the textile workers are successful they will have struck a blow not only for themselves but for the whole labor movement, for they will have defeated the broadest open shop drive yet faced by American labor, in any industry.

Every trade union, every workers organization, every friend of labor must rally to the support of the textile workers.

## Anarchism and Reaction

That Anarchism, in its essential philosophy and outlook, is a thoroughly petty bourgeois doctrine, that it is, in fact, "rugged individualism run mad," has long been a familiar idea to all Marxists. It is rare, however, to find Anarchists themselves openly parading their fundamental agreement with the most reactionary trends in bourgeois political thought. For this reason the editorial comment of the Jewish Anarchist weekly, Freie Arbeiter Stimme, on the recent deliverances of Professor Robert A. Millikan, is especially significant.

Professor Millikan, an outstanding physicist, is notorious for his thoroughly reactionary outlook in philosophy and religion, in economics and politics. He has, in fact, been held up as a sort of "horrible example" of how a first-rate scientist can be most completely unscientific, most thoroughly benighted, on every question outside his specialty. A few weeks ago this Professor Millikan, acting quite in character, decided to come to the assistance of the Old Guard Republicans against the Roosevelt "New Deal." He therefore delivered a perfectly Rotarian homily on the virtues of individual initiative and the wickedness of governmental "interference" or "control"—

"statism," as he elegantly called it. All of the die-hard Republican papers dutifully applauded the worthy scientist's little sermon; all of the liberal or pro-Administration papers just as promptly condemned it as painfully reactionary and absurdly out-of-date. Now comes the Freie Arbeiter Stimme (August 17, 1934) and welcomes Professor Millikan's Hooverian bromides with open arms—as a confirmation of Anarchism!

"One of the greatest scholars, not only of America but also of the whole world, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, president of the California Institute of Technology, recently delivered a remarkable address which surely deserves to be reprinted in the F.A.S., even tho we cannot agree with Professor Millikan in everything he says. Since this (to reprint the address) is impossible at the present moment, we will give a small extract from this speech which will not only give the reader an idea of the character of the whole speech but will also show, by the way, that the idea of statelessness can find a place in one of the greatest minds of the day." Comment is surely unnecessary!

## Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

**TUUL Splits Knitgoods Strike — C.P. Fiasco at U.T.W. Convention — Lost—A National Shoe Conference. Finder Return To Biedenkapp — Stachel Looses His Footing — We Join The Gold-Chanin Debate**

THE general strike of Knitgoods workers having been settled, the CP press is shouting sell-out, as usual. This revolutionary indignation is particularly reprehensible when we recall that it was the CP controlled Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, which first opened up the strike front.

Whatever few shops the Knitgoods section of that union controlled were sent back to work after the first couple of days, on an agreement which stipulated that conditions in these shops shall be subject to the general provisions of the general settlement in the industry.

If this were done by a conservative union in an industry in which the TUUL controlled the majority of the strikers, the cry of outright scabbery would resound thruout the country, but since it is done by a very revolutionary TUUL union it immediately becomes the highest type of revolutionary strike strategy. Fortunately the only effect that this scabbery had upon the strike was to still further discredit the already badly tainted Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. From the standpoint of the number of workers involved the TUUL was too weak to affect the issue one way or another.

THE recently closed U.T.W. convention was of tremendous significance for the trade union movement at large (see estimate of convention elsewhere in this issue). What concerns us at the moment is the sorry role played by the Communist Party.

We look thru the files of the Daily Worker and are very much pleased, for despite the deliberate distortions of the dull Karl Reeve, it still is apparent that whatever militant struggle was made at that convention was due to the very Lovestoneites, who, as the Daily Worker will tell you, are part of the MacMahon machine.

After reading all the slurs and slanders against the Lovestoneite leaders in the convention, we are justified in asking—where were the C.P. delegates? Where was this powerful C.P. with its TUUL and its rank and file committees? There were 2 or 3 members of the TUUL in the convention. What a miserable, gutless, spineless crew they were. In all they brought in 2 or 3 resolutions but did not even have the courage to defend them. So weak kneed were they that they did not even rise to vote against

MacMahon. It is a sad commentary on the trade union work of the C.P. when Karl Reeve can write "with one truly militant (read C. P.) floor leader the complexion of the convention might have been changed."

As long as the C.P. continues to play with rag dolls, labelled TUUL unions, just so long will it continue to be as insignificant as it is, in the conservative unions.

WE have been so busy handling other trade union matters that an event of considerable import, has been allowed to go by unmentioned. We refer to the national conference called by the New York District of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union. This was to have been a coup d'etat in which the national officials were to be overthrown and the New York crew was to take over the union. July 15 was set as the time for this coup.

The plan was very simple. The New York organization (TUUL supporters) was to adopt a resolution which was immediately to be submitted to all the locals for approval. The resolution called for the election of delegates to the conference to be held in Boston.

However things went all wrong. The highly colored reports from New England failed to materialize and when July 15 rolled around New York could lay claim to only 4 local endorsements out of a possible 40, and the conference was just forgotten in the shuffle.

If the General Executive Board had been formal it could very easily have ruled out the whole matter. The local organization here, in its haste, failed even to submit a copy of its resolution to the G.E.B. for the purpose of having it sent to the locals. Instead it sent the resolution direct to the locals. Another little matter which the GEB did not pick up is the fact that local New York was not then and is not now in good standing.

The CP members claim the endorsements of Local 23 (New York), Local 18 (Chelsea), Local 9 (Haverhill) and the Mixed Local of Lynn, Local 23 of New York never did endorse this resolution. It was endorsed by one of the numerous top committees of the local. In Chelsea the CP members talked into the wee hours of the morning and finally when most of the workers had left, carried their resolution. This action Local No. 18 reconsidered at its very next

meeting and has not changed its position at this writing. Local 9 of Haverhill never took up this communication at all and could not act either for or against. And as for the Mixed Local of Lynn, well here just ain't any mixed local in Lynn, and therefore there could be no endorsement.

It is rumored that the July 15 conference was to have resulted in the organization of a new union controlled by the CP. The discouraging results of their referendum may have a sobering effect upon the TUUL crowd, at least temporarily.

THE CP has suddenly become extremely "Left Communist" conscious. Jack Stachel was rushed forward recently to "interpret" Lenin and incidentally to make up for the failure to print an introduction to the same pamphlet published by the CP. We are not now concerned with the painful antics of Stachel in his attempt to torture Lenin into the devious twists and turns of the present trade union line of the CP. What does concern us deeply is that Stachel seems to be slipping. With not one word did he so much as tip his hat to the Independent Federation of Labor. Has he forgotten so soon the Theses and Resolutions of the Eighth C.P. convention, in which it is distinctly ordered that the building of the Independent Federation of Labor is the main task of the party. Coming as it does, from the nominal head of the TUUL, such lapses of memory are absolutely inexcusable. What a nice pickle Jack would be in if someone should happen to mention it to Browder or Lozowsky.

Ben Gold and H. Chanin have been polemizing the question of whether the Joint Council or the Fur Department of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union are using gangsters in the struggle between the two unions. We would hesitate to enter into this controversy were it not for the fact that Ben Gold has drawn upon the Lovestoneites to prove a number of his contentions. If we are to be a witness we first of all insist on being quoted correctly and secondly we reserve our right to speak on other questions.

Says Gold: "We would like to refer Chanin to a circular issued by the Lovestoneite leaders in the Joint Council. The circular openly admits that the 'so-called organization committees' hold sway by corruption and gangsterism". Quite right, and as union members we have fought against this condition in the Joint Council, but we are fighting with equal vigor against the thuggery and gangsterism, against a veritable reign of terror let loose upon the fur market on Ben Gold's orders. The gangster attack upon the NTWIU offices some two years ago has been more than matched by the persistent slugging and crippling of workers over a period of months. Gangsterism is just that regardless of whether Ureman or Gold does the paying.

Says Gold again: "Actually there were 48 furriers that took part in those elections. The Lovestoneites who claimed that they were cheated by the other officials, say that 100 votes were cast. . . ." This statement is a deliberate lie on the part of Gold. Where, in what statement did the Lovestoneites say that 100 votes were cast? The progressives, or the Lovestoneites, as Gold prefers to call them, secured 200 votes, some candidates running even higher. This 200 odd votes constituted some 30% of the total vote, so how could there have been 48 votes cast as Gold insists or 100 votes as Gold would have us say? The answer is that it is a simple fabrication for gullible fur workers.

Whatever irregularities there may have been, there were many hundreds of workers participating in the elections, yes many more hundreds than participated in the election of delegates to the national conference of the NTWIU, held during the I.L.G.W.U. convention. When it comes to question of union democracy we would seriously advise Gold to "skip it" because there are no worse bureaucratically ridden and mechanically controlled unions than the industrial unions of the TUUL.

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