

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 5.

Saturday, February 2, 1935.

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

WHAT will come out of the deliberations of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. now in session at Washington? It is difficult to be optimistic. One thing is certain: Labor faces a very grave situation. Its experience with the NRA has been disastrous. Workers in such basic industries as automobile and textile have paid an especially high price for the policies of the official trade union leadership, headed by William Green. President Green now recognizes that "The labor sections of the Automobile Code have been unsatisfactory from the beginning . . . The automobile workers are chafing against a sense of injustice . . ." But why doesn't Green assume some responsibility for this? He put across the infamous pact with Roosevelt, marking one of the blackest betrayals in the annals of American Labor.

We welcome his change of position; even the blindest bat can now see clearly the ravages of the Roosevelt-Green code in the auto industry.

And what about the textile situation? It is high time that Green and his partners in infamy denounce the double-cross administered to Labor by Roosevelt. The trade union movement is fighting for its life. Stealthily and skillfully the Government encroaches on its right to existence. Only stronger and more militant unions, fighting every inch of the way stubbornly and plannfully, can save the situation. At least promises can be expected from the Executive Council sessions. Now it is our job to force the leadership of the trade unions to fight on or get out of the way.

THE eminent British economist, Sir Henry Strakosch, has written an interesting and somewhat constructive manuscript entitled, "The Road to Recovery." At the moment we are not concerned with his examination of the collapse of the gold standard and his views on the prerequisites of exchange stability. What is of vital import to all of us is his conclusion that "A debasement of no less than 12 per cent has taken place in the standard of life of five years ago, in place of an improvement of ten per cent if there had been no depression."

This is enlightening. In reality the situation is infinitely worse. Wage standards in many industries have gone back four or five decades. Sir Henry himself admits that his own calculations indicate an actual decline of "no less than 22 per cent." The law of average is often as treacherous as bad translations. This percentage calculation made by so outstanding an economist is far from flawless. No statistics based on averages or arbitrary yardsticks can disclose with sufficient accuracy the misery inflicted upon the great mass of workers and poorer farmers by the crisis. No doubt, even some of the topmost layers of the ruling class in capitalist countries have had some losses. But there are losses and losses. Compare the losses in the stock market by Rockefeller, Jr., with the loss of a job by the average miner. Even the most erudite of bourgeois professors cannot invent a common denominator or common unit of measurement for weighing or gauging the effects of the crisis on the standards of living of such opposite poles in society. Far more accurate standards are loss of wages, loss of conditions, and irregularity of employment. In these respects, the social and economic consequences of the crisis are infinitely worse than indicated by professor Strakosch.

IN the light of the victory bonfire ordered by Hitler after the Saar plebiscite, the figures for Germany's foreign trade in 1934 appear all the more awesome. Despite countless regulations and currency manipulations fathered by "Der Fuehrer" and furthered by Hjalmar Schacht, Germany's position in the world market is constantly growing worse. The year's record will show an adverse balance of 630 million marks. The loss is even greater than the figures indicate, because of the drastic reduction in Germany's foreign debt service. In the case of U. S. loans this is a complete moratorium, except for the Dawes and Young loans. Regardless of how much boasting Goebbels may resort to, what bonfires Hitler may order, how many circuses and assassinations Goering may organize and inspire, it is indisputable that the economic machine in Germany is in a worse plight than before Hitler took power. In this situation are rooted the opportunities for the rebuilding of the German revolutionary labor movement. Despite increasing ferocity of persecution in recent weeks, it is encouraging to note a growth and improvement in the underground movement against Fascism in the Third Reich.

AUTO MEN RESIST RENEWAL OF PACT

General Strike Sentiment
Spreads as Organization
Drive Spurts Forward

DETROIT, MICH.—In the name of 80 federal locals of automobile workers President Roosevelt was informed that labor withdraws all support of and participation in the Automobile Labor Board. At the same time William Green has announced that organized labor will not tolerate the extension of the present agreement for another three months. Hearings on the automobile industry were to begin on February 3rd but in view of the bombshell thrown by the federal locals the very existence of the labor board as now constituted, is very much in doubt.

Workers Consider Board As Open Enemy

In the ranks of the auto workers there is increasing conviction that the Board is an outright tool of the employers. This became clear especially after its attempt to force "Panel Unionism" upon the auto workers, which would have granted recognition to the company union. The Board continues its cynical anti-labor attitude in a recent statement, in which the board points out that the locals of the A. F. of L. have no justified claim for union recognition because an insignificant percentage of the workers had cast their ballots for the A. F. of L. in a number of factory elections. This has enraged the auto workers even more because it is common knowledge that the A. F. of L. organizations were opposed to the elections altogether and called upon the workers to designate no affiliation.

The sentiment for general strike is growing in the Detroit area. The matter is being seriously discussed at federal local meetings as well as at the meetings of the officers of the federal locals. The conviction is growing that the Labor Board serves only one purpose and that is to paralyze any direct strike action by the workers in the industry.

The growing strike sentiment and the fighting attitude of the locals have caused larger numbers to stream into the federal locals. Within the last number of days the Kelsey-Hayes local has succeeded in organizing the whole factory. Some 1,200 workers were taken into the union, bonus and piece work was abolished and substantial increases in the hourly rate was won. The Motor Metals Local faced a severe test and came out with colors flying. The company had brought in a manager from Briggs with the understanding that he was to wipe out the local. He began by firing 28 active workers. The local immediately threatened to strike unless the 28 were reinstated and the manager fired. This had the desired effect the company rehiring the fired workers and firing the manager.

LABOR UNITES FOR CALIFORNIA FIGHT

United Front Developed to
Free 18 California Victims of
Frame-Up Persecution

SACRAMENTO, California. — Although the cry for the release of Tom Mooney still haunts the authorities of this "sunny state," a new attempt is being made to railroad 18 militant workers into jail for long prison terms. As a result of a number of agricultural strikes these 18 workers were arrested and charged with Criminal Syndicalism. Many of these are members of the Communist Party and of the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union.

This case has aroused widespread interest and has resulted in the establishment of a united front organization to defend these workers. A call for a conference to be held in San Francisco on February 10, is signed by the following organizations: Communist Party, District 13; Socialist Party of California; Workers Party; International Labor Defense; Non-Partisan Defense; Machinist Local 68 A. F. of L.; Shipyard and Allied Workers Industrial Union and Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense announces that Caroline Decker has just been released on \$3,000 bail furnished by them. Two weeks before the same committee had bailed Jack Warnick. In addition two other defendants are out on bail. The remaining 14 are in jail since July 1934 when the arrests occurred.

OUTSTANDING EVENTS at the NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

JENNIE LEE
Former member House of Commons, member
National Committee Independent Labor Party
speaks on

"Dictatorship and Revolution
in Europe"

Friday February 1, 8 P. M.

GEORGE STREATOR

Well known Revolutionary Socialist
speaks on

"Tackling the Race Question"

Sunday February 3, 8 P. M.

ELLEN WILKINSON

Internationally renowned leader of the
British Labor Party
speaks on

"British Labor Prepares for Power"

Friday February 8, 8 P. M.

RIVERA HALL

51 West 14th Street

New York City

WARRING SHOE UNIONS REACH PEACE AGREEMENT FOR ONE ORGANIZATION

Washington Conference Adopts Unanimous Resolution Calling
For Amalgamation of United, Boot and Shoe and Others;
Merged Group Will Represent 125,000

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Events of great significance for the workers in the shoe industry and for the labor movement as a whole are taking place here. Representatives of all shoe workers unions, gathered here in Washington, have found a common basis for the amalgamation of all the existing unions.

Eight Against Code Helps Merger

In the fight for the reopening and the revision of the Shoe Code the unions had

found it necessary to present a common front in the working out of demands to be made upon the NRA Authorities. After the adjournment of the open hearings in Washington, representatives of the various unions met and after discussing the problem of unification of the workers' ranks, the following resolution was approved:

"Whereas, there are several organizations of shoe workers in the United States and Canada and, whereas, they compete with one another and beat down wages and working conditions to inhumanly low levels, now:

"Be it resolved that there should be a single international union in the boot and shoe industry, embracing all shoe workers in the United States."

The resolution was signed by John J. Mara for the Boot and Shoe Workers Union (A. F. of L.); William J. Mackesy for the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union; John D. Nolan for the Shoe Workers Protective Union; Stanley P. Mixon for the American Shoe Workers' Union and John Murphy for the Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen.

Union Representatives Discuss Details

With this resolution as a basis the representatives of the shoe unions met in the morning of January 24th for preliminary discussion of the problems involved in the process of unifying the organizations. A second conference was held the same day at which William Green, President of the A. F. of L., was present. He informed the assembled representatives that the primary consideration for the conference as he saw it, was to discuss informally the possibilities for unifying the ranks of the shoe workers into one organization. In discussing the problem of affiliation Green stated that although it is his hope that such a unified international organization could and should find its place in the American Federation of Labor, the primary problem was that of one union in the industry.

The representatives of the unions discussed the intolerable condition in the industry and emphasized the burning need for one union in order to effectively fight for improved conditions. Among those who spoke for the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union were Mackesy, Wilson, Shore, Bearak and Zimmerman. Zimmerman hailed the conference as a ray of light for the thousands of shoe workers. He stated that the only road was the amalgamation of all unions, including the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, into one international union. He dealt with the deep rooted prejudice among the shoe workers

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N. Y. TEACHERS SCORE JOB VICTORY

Unappointed Teachers Win
Regular Places With Full Pay
Ending City Substitute Racket

The most spectacular victory of years for teachers has been won by the New York Association of Unappointed Teachers. This victory, giving all teachers renewed courage in fighting for further demands, effectively stopped the Board of Education from pursuing its vicious policy of imposing a disguised wage cut of approximately 50% on about 2500 teachers. The subterfuge used by the Board of Education in putting over the wage cut was the illegal classification of new teachers as "substitutes" instead of as "regular" teachers. As "substitutes," although doing exactly the same work as "regular" teachers, they got paid a low per diem wage, got no pay for summer vacation or holidays to which "regular" teachers are entitled, and got no tenure or pension rights due them.

The fight on this front began in 1932 by the N. Y. Ass'n. of Unappointed Teachers. Several legal actions were lost though the rulings on them partially helped lead to ultimate victory. Thru all these years, the unappointed teachers carried on a persistent publicity campaign against the unjust practice. Victory was finally attained in the decision handed down by Commissioner Graves on Jan. 15 in the now famous Vanderwoude Appeal sponsored by the NYAUT. The ruling in this Appeal forbids the Board of Education from using substitutes to fill vacancies, thus forcing regular appointments.

The campaign to win the Vanderwoude Appeal showed the value of effectively

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PROGRESSIVES EXPOSE RACKETEERING; ASSAIL TAILOR'S UNION BUREOCRACY

Charge Amalgamated Leaders Chase Bluebird As Workers
Starve; Union Heads Aid in Smuggling Bundles to Cheap
Markets at Expense of New York Tailors

We print below a statement of the Progressive Circle in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. For a long time it has been known that there are forces at work within the Amalgamated that threaten the very existence of the union as an instrument of the workers. There was no force, however, within the Amalgamated to take up the cudgels against this menace. The Amalgamated Progressive Circle and its membership is to be greeted for the courageous and merciless manner in which they expose the conditions in the Amalgamated. This, we maintain, is the first prerequisite for correcting such evils. The Progressive Circle deserves the full and unstinted support of every worker in the Amalgamated who wants a better and cleaner union to fight the battles of the tailors.—Editor.

That conditions in the trade are extremely bad is a well known fact now.

Even the leaders of the union are now forced to face facts.

For instance, Brother Louis Hollander, general manager of the New York Joint Board made the following statement in the press:

"We did not get much in the code, because we had no definite minimum scales . . . We had nothing so we got nothing."

And in a second statement he declared:

"Would we know that the tailors can make a living in the trade, we would strongly agitate for the tailors bringing their sons into the shops."

Brother Hollander is quite right: In the tailoring trade it is impossible to make a living because, in relation to the code, "we had nothing and we got nothing."

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Our Weekly European Letter

EUROPE TODAY

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

January 9, 1935.

THE FRANCO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT

The Franco-Italian agreement concluded on January 7th in all probability contains some secret points. One of the less sensational but very important provisions is a French loan to Italy. The miserable economic and financial situation of Italy makes such a loan necessary. On the other hand the fact that such a loan is provided for serves as evidence that Italy's foreign policy has suffered a severe blow at the hands of France although France by no means got all she wanted. The imperialist aspirations of Italian fascism were aimed at hegemony over the Mediterranean, after the model of Imperium Romanum. The agreement reached signifies that for the present Italy has given up these plans. The African possessions which she gained are most frugal when compared with the grandiose picture of the reestablishment of the Roman Empire in the Mediterranean.

IMPERIALIST COMPLICATIONS IN ABYSSINIA

The secret provisions obviously include an agreement whereby Italy is given a free hand to conquer Abyssinia. As a matter of fact the colonial war between Italy and Abyssinia is in full swing now. Peace in Europe could only be established by giving Italian imperialism a chance to engage in colonial aggression.

In order to make this possible not

KUIBYSHEV

Valerian Kuibyshev, member of the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and vice chairman of the All-Union Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R., died in Moscow from a heart attack.

Kuibyshev, who was 47 years old, was one of the thinning group of the Bolshevik old guard whose revolutionary activities date back to 1906 when he was first arrested and sent to Siberia.

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Jennie Lee

"DICTATORSHIP AND REVOLUTION IN EUROPE"
Friday Feb. 1, 8 p. m., Rivera Hall, 51 West 14th Street

PROGRESSIVE TAILORS--

Amalgamated Progressives Charge Racketeering In Union

(Continued from Page 1)

But why? Why should we not be able to make a living in such a large and rich industry? Why did we get nothing from the code? Why did other needle trades workers win conditions? To these questions the leadership gives no answer. What is more they cannot give an answer because to answer these questions would be to indict themselves.

Let us speak quite openly. The responsibility for our miserable conditions lies, in large measure, on the methods and policies of our leadership. While other needle trades unions fought on the picket lines, our leading officials were busy in Washington, dragging after the coat-tails of NRA officials and begging for justice from the manufacturers. Sidney Hillman has achievements to record. He has become almost a member of Roosevelt's cabinet but the conditions of the tailors are not one bit better. Enough about what has been. Let us take up what has to be done to improve the conditions of the tailors during the coming season.

1. First of all no wage cuts must be permitted, for altho the wages of the tailors are quite small, the appetite of the manufacturers is quite big. For years at peace with the bosses, it is very difficult for our leaders to refuse a demand of a boss. Only a short time ago a reduction of 6 and 7 percent, was granted to S. D. Jaffe, the president of the union manufacturers. This was a "Clark Gable" reduction. Weeks ago Hollander wrote that Clark Gable, the famous film star, had initiated a new style of coat in which a lot of labor is required. A lot of labor means more workers, more workers means greater costs and that's just what the manufacturers do not want. So they demand reductions. They demand and the leaders grant. We say there must be an end to these wage cuts.

2. One of the worst evils in the New York Amalgamated is the out-of-town question. Thousands of garments are daily being smuggled out of New York into the small surrounding towns. We say smuggled advisedly, for very many more garments are being sent out than the union agreement permits. Especially the knee-pants makers are very hard hit. Thousands of tailors sit in the halls waiting for work while the work is being shipped out of town. Why is it impossible to control this evil? The cutters are organized and even the truck drivers have been recently organized. Why not stop the smuggling?

It is an open secret among the tailors that officials of the out-of-town department canvas the shops in New York for bundles for out of town shops. Needless to say they find them, for the bosses are always willing to send bundles out of town where they are manufactured at less cost. Certain officials in New York are cooperating gladly with the out-of-town officials in this lucrative business. This has developed into a "regular" racket and where there are rackets there are also racketeers. We make the definite charge that a gang of racketeers has wormed its way into the union and is conducting this detestable business at the expense of the New York tailors. Our great leaders—local and national—know about this situation but are silent. We therefore hold them responsible for not driving the racketeers out of the union. In order to partially solve the out-of-town problem the tailors must begin the struggle for the full control of the bundles by the union and this is possible only when the union rids itself of the racketeers.

3. In contrast to the miserable condition of the tailors we see the prosperous

TEACHERS--

Unappointed Win Decision

(Continued from Page 1)

aroused public opinion and strategically applied mass pressure. The N. Y. Ass'n. of Unappointed Teachers was able to rally all the major teacher organizations to publicly endorse the Appeal and to pass resolutions asking for a favorable decision. Special note must be made of the Teachers Union which proved of constant assistance. Public endorsement was obtained from the United Parents Associations, as well as from many of its locals. Support from organized labor was given by the United Hebrew Trades, Joint Board of Dressmakers, Joint Board of Knitgoods Workers Union, Central Trades and Labor Council, and State Federation of Labor. Prominent educators also endorsed the Appeal. The only discordant note was struck by the Unemployed Teachers Ass'n., fostered by the Dual Union tendency in the Labor Movement, which disrupted a conference of organizations supporting the Appeal and attempted to undermine the confidence of teachers by charges of racketeering. These irresponsible actions were effectively exposed. A petition with thousands of signatures asking for a favorable decision was sent to the Commissioner of Education. Only the mass pressure applied in this campaign was able to force a favorable decision from the governmental authorities, thus leading to victory.

condition of the contractors. The union saw to it that they be not imposed upon. They were granted such swollen "overhead" that they have not only a respectable profit for themselves but also enough for a "kick-back" to the manufacturers. This "kick-back" system develops competition among the contractors and the price of the garments is thereby lowered—at the expense of the tailor. We propose drastic cuts in the contractors' "overhead" in order to eliminate the "kick-back" and the competition.

4. The tailors are vitally interested in the revision of the Clothing Code. We are in agreement with Brother Hollander that "the minimum scales for all section work, in all shops thruout the country, is a life and death question" and that the question of minimum scales is the main demand. But how will we get this "life and death" demand? We know from experience that our chief leaders of the union are enthusiastic patriots of the NRA and just dote on the blue eagle. The blue eagle, they believe, will automatically bring all kinds of good things for the tailors; the blue eagle is a sort of new saviour who can solve all our problems.

How our problems were solved heretofore all tailors know. As Hollander says—"we had nothing and we got nothing." But Hollander and Catalanatti hasten to assure the tailors that this time the union means "business" because "the Joint Board has decided to fight hard for its demand for minimum scales at the code hearings and is well prepared for the fight."

And how will this fight be conducted? Will the union perhaps mobilize the organized strength of the union membership behind this fight? Nothing of the sort. The same statement by Hollander says:

"The union is even prepared to propose to the Code Authority the appointment of a commission to investigate the earnings of the tailors in the country, because it (the union) is sure that when the miserable earnings of the tailors are investigated by a commission, it (the union) will win the minimum scale."

There is the "hard fight!" An investigation commission which "the union is sure" will fight for us!

We must have no illusions about these "study commissions." They have done nothing for the textile workers and nothing for workers in other trades. We ourselves are the instruments for improving our conditions. Only thru our organized power and only thru struggle can we win our just demands.

We therefore propose:

- a. An end to dependence on the good-will of the code commissions. The union leadership really prepare the organization for a decisive struggle for our just demand—the minimum scales.
b. The minimum scales be based on a dollar per hour for skilled workers and 70 cents for semi-skilled workers. This would eliminate the frequent regradings which means wage cuts.

5. In conclusion a word about the union's "Labor Bureau" which distributes or is supposed to distribute jobs.

Th Labor Bureau was proposed in order to eliminate Hester Park—the slave market where the manufacturer or contractor would come to choose his worker. But how has it worked? The unemployed lists are not being followed. While the tailors sit in the halls day after day awaiting their next, the shops are filled with learners who are not entitled to these jobs. In other cases tailors from out of town are placed without so much as a card from a business agent.

Such a condition must not continue. The Labor Bureau must be so reorganized as not to serve clique interests. The lists must be strictly adhered to and in order to do so we propose a control board to consist of elected representatives from each local. Only in this manner can we lighten the burden of the tailor.

Brothers and Sisters: We, of the Progressive Circle, are a constructive opposition in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. As such we find it necessary to come out publicly to clarify the problems of our union and to point to remedial measures. This public statement would not be necessary if our union would carry out progressive policies and would conduct itself as befits a trade union. But such is not the case. We therefore appeal to you to help us realize this program; to help us improve our conditions and our union.

AMALGAMATED PROGRESSIVE CIRCLE

MIDWINTER DANCE SATURDAY EVE. FEB. 2 Bermuda Ass'n. Hall 402 West 146th Street Music by Albert Johnson and his playboys ADMISSION 35¢ Auspices: Harlem Section CPO

HOOIGANISM!

Dorothy Dare Tells of C.P. Slugging

"Comrades, let's have order. Do not allow yourselves to be provoked by these disrupters, these agents of the bureaucrats and bosses."

This was the gentle phrase used by Louis Weinstock, AF of L "rank and file" leader in quelling Communist Party members engaged in beating up delegates of the Communist Party (Opposition) at the Washington Congress for Unemployment Insurance.

The "disruptive" tactics of the CPO at the Congress consisted of distributing resolutions to the delegates—a perfectly normal procedure at any conference. One of these resolutions was on the United Front, the other on the Labor Front. Unfortunately for the health of the CPO comrades this resolution was passed out a few hours before Browder made his Labor Party speech—therefore they were renegades, counter-revolutionaries and deserved slugging for advocating such an opportunistic policy.

For the treatment given them on Sunday afternoon we quote from a statement by Dorothy Dare of Baltimore, the chief victim of the attack.

"I stood by the door at the rear of the auditorium giving the resolutions to the other delegates. After a while a group of persons approached me. They were ribbons around their arms, signifying that they were delegates as ushers. They told me I could not hand out the resolutions for a Labor Party I was distributing. I explained I had received permission the day before and that the handing out of resolutions was a perfectly normal procedure at the Congress. They asked me to walk upstairs with them to Room 6. Feeling this was the simplest solution to end the opposition I walked with the committee into the lobby on our way upstairs. In the lobby the ushers tore the leaflets from my hand and began to beat me up. One of them got me by the throat and began to choke me while the others kicked me. The worst kicks were on my knee which has caused me to limp for a week. I was choked until I was unconscious and then carried upstairs and revived about ten minutes later."

Fundamentally this affair was of a piece with the Madison Square Garden battle—the fruit of years of substitution of slugging and slander for political discussion and intelligent argument.

SHOE UNIONS--

(Continued from Page 1)

against the A. F. of L. because of the intolerable practices of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. He also expressed the belief that there is another thing that shoe workers would never tolerate, because of their experiences with the Boot and Shoe, and that is bureaucratic control. With these considerations in mind, he concluded, and with the burning desire and need for one union, he had no doubt whatever that one international union can be built.

Union To Discuss Merger Problems

Just as soon as this sentiment for amalgamation is crystallized into definite plans, these will be submitted to the membership of the various unions for discussion and vote.

The delegations of all the unions were highly satisfied with the progress made and expressed the certainty that when the proposals for complete amalgamation are submitted to the membership they will be overwhelmingly endorsed.

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LENIN AND AMERICA

An Article Written in 1926 Confirms the CPO Line of 1935

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commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find on American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American civil war of 1860-1865."

I venture to answer that we can find a great many such Americans in our party even today.

In the same sense of not holding on to our revolutionary traditions we have let the knowledge of the American origin of May Day almost die out, have not been able to successfully ridicule the contention that "the general strike is un-American," know less about Haymarket than do the Latin workers, and let such outstanding events, so rich in lessons and traditions, as the Seattle Strike and the mutiny of the Detroit regiment in Archangel, sink into immediate oblivion as soon as they are over.

Our "Marxians" can give much information and Marxian interpretations of such religious movements as those of the Anabaptists, The Waldenses and Albigenes, primitive Christianity, the Protestant Reformation, Puritanism and perhaps Mohammedanism. We can explain why the North of Ireland is Protestant, why certain portions of Switzerland are not Calvinistic but Catholic and so on; but none of us can give a Marxian interpretation of such religions as Mormonism, Christian Science, frontier revivalism, fundamentalism (something has been done on this) and other religious movements which bear the impress "Made in America" all over them. There is no history of American religious development as there is none of economic development, adequate to the needs of a Marxist-Leninist party. Or in philosophy we can give a Marxian analysis of Kant and Hegel but we have nothing to say on empiricism and pragmatism, two specifically American philosophies.

The Question Of Stabilization

On the question of capitalist stabilization there are many illusions as to the degree of stability of American capitalism. Yet its stability was less permanent than was England's in the last century, for the United States has established its hegemony in a decadent capitalist world and is linked up by an ever-growing chain of investments and exports with the shaky capitalism of Europe, the growing nationalist unrest of Latin America and the Orient, and is faced with antagonism on many fronts—the challenge of England, the challenge of Japan, the challenge of the debtor nations (which challenge is lessened by their own mutual antagonisms), by the "jumpy" growth of backward nations like China, Canada, Australia, etc., and by the existence of the Soviet Union. In its very strength lies America's weakness as well. The mountain of investments and loans beget the problem of payments, which ultimately must be payment in goods. Such payments menace our own industry, and the countries that

imitate what they understand to be American "rationalization," in order to cheapen and increase their production, compel American capital to imitate their "imitation" in order to successfully compete with them. The mountains of investments beget fresh antagonisms and sharpen imperialist contradictions and war dangers. The ripening and over-ripening of American imperialism begins to reveal and develop antagonisms within the big capitalist sections, between industrial and finance capital (on the tariff, on the world court, on foreign policy, etc.). This tends to cause even a breakdown of that great political safeguard—the two party system. There is a growth of monopoly with its parasitic and decadent aspects, a great growth of bureaucracy and taxes—and so the contradictions multiply. And a Leninist party will know how to utilize these growing contradictions, the opportunities they offer, the allies they provide and the divisions they create.

Towards A Mass Party

It is true that our party is weak in numbers, limited in influence to certain sections of the country, ill-equipped with the necessary body of knowledge, young and inexperienced and poorly organized. It is true also that our class is so backward that "the elementary and fundamental task of the party is to accelerate the class formation of the American working class . . . (aid the working class) to break from the capitalist political parties" and organize a class industrially that is perhaps 85 percent unorganized. It is true also that American capitalism is the most powerful in the world. But our party is offered a revolutionary method which is at once science and guide to action in Marxism-Leninism; a guide in the Communist International; an inspiration in the Soviet Union, and allies in all the internal and external victims of the oppression of American finance capital. Already, in the light of the little progress our party has made and its increased sensitivity to specifically American problems and its increased practical activity in the unions, among the unorganized workers, in connection with the Labor Party, in the beginnings of its attempts to find allies among the farmers, the non-proletarian Negroes, the colonial peoples, etc., we are justified in echoing the sober and yet confident judgement of Lenin and weighing the perspectives of the American labor movement and the difficulties facing it:

"The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us for the civil war against the bourgeoisie. In this conviction I am supported by the entire history of the world and the American Labor movement."

This Lenin wrote in 1918. And if he had written in 1926 he would no doubt have added: "And by the development of the young Communist Party of America."

BRADLEY'S .: CAFETERIA

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debate

"WHICH PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN LABOR?"

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 17, 1935

2.30 P. M.

At IRVING PLAZA AUDITORIUM, 15th St. & Irving Pl. N. Y.

ADMISSION 35c

Secure your tickets from Communist Party (Opposition) 51 West 14th St., or from members of the C.P.O.

JAY LOVESTONE for the COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

A. J. MUSTE for the WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S. A.

HEYWOOD BROUN, Chairman