

# WORKERS' AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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## COAL STRIKE ON DECLINE

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

The United Anthracite Miners Union voted unanimously, at its convention, for a proposal of Father Curran, to call off the strike in District One if President Roosevelt will appoint a commission to investigate the situation here. At the same time an attempt will be made to spread the strike to District Seven and Nine.

It is already known that Rinaldo Cappellini, former corrupt president of District 1, U.M.W.A., organized the United Anthracite Miners of Penna. They at first spoke of mine grievances in order to fool the miners into joining the new union. They also praised the NRA in the hope of receiving recognition from the operators through it. After pleading with Wagner and begging at the door of the NRA they discovered that Lewis was on the Federal Labor Board and has something to say on recognizing a new union in the Anthracite. They, therefore, now demand the removal of Lewis.

The strike arose out of the special convention held on January 13. The new union draws most of its strength from the unemployed. In the Glen Alden it controls half of the men. In other operations

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## 40 Join C. P. O. At Convention

During the sessions of the National Conference, to which a number of leading, sympathetic workers from various industries were admitted, forty joined the C.P.O.

Among these are to be found active and leading workers from such industries as mining, shoe, textile and needle trades.

## Silk Workers In Nat'l Convention

New York City.

The American Federation of Silk Workers affiliated to the A. F. of L. thru the U.T.W., will meet in national convention on Saturday and Sunday January 27 and 28, at the Hotel McAlpin.

The recent national strike, involving some 100,000 silk workers and the tremendous influx into the union, makes this convention of outstanding importance.

Lessons of the recent strike point to the necessity of establishing a closely knit federation of all sections of the silk industry. The dyers must be drawn into closer working relations with the other sections of the silk industry. The problem of organizing the unorganized fields is one of the primary questions that face the convention.

## HOTEL STRIKE IS CALLED

New York City.

A general strike of all hotel and restaurant workers has been called by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, for Saturday January 27th at 6 o'clock.

The detailed demands have not yet been announced but it is known that they will center around recognition of the union, wage increases and improvement of conditions. The general strike will involve about 100,000 workers in the industry.

The Waldorf Astoria Hotel was struck Jan. 23, some 600 workers walking out and tying up the hotel completely. The strike occurred because of the efforts of the management to force union members to become members of a company union. Several workers had been fired for union work. After negotiations with the management had failed the workers were ordered to strike and responded to a man.

Picket lines were thrown around the hotel immediately and the hard-boiled Waldorf Astoria management is due for a tough battle.

## Shoe Union Merger Drives Forward

Newburyport, Mass.

The recent convention of shoe workers in which various unions met to carry thru amalgamation, indicated clearly that the bureaucrats would not yield their positions without a bitter fight. The post convention period indicates that this was true and that the bureaucracy was being defeated all along the line. The General Coordinating Committee, elected by the convention, is welding the various sections together and is receiving excellent support from the mass of the workers.

Haverhill, Mass.

At a big mass meeting, called by the Coordinating Committee, Dennis Kelleher, District Agent, attempted to keep the Coordinating Committee speakers out of the hall. In this he was defeated, the workers voting to admit the delegation headed by Secretary Zimmerman. The meeting went on record recognizing the Coordinating Committee.

Charges were preferred against Kelleher by a number of local unions and Kelleher was removed from office by the District Council. The Coordinating Committee recognizes the District Council and Haverhill continues as a part of the United Shoe.

President Nolan of the Protective sent Fitzgerald as his commissioner to examine the books of the local here. The local refused to recognize him and placed a motion on the books to disregard all communications from the Protective, recognizing only those communications received from the Coordinating Committee.

Lowell, Mass. Learning that our local had swung into the United Shoe, President Nolan sent Fitzgerald to take over the property of the local. We refused to recognize him. A strong delegation of workers from the shops are occupying our union premises to guard against any tricks from the discredited bureaucrats.

Boston, Mass.

All the locals here have swung into the amalgamated union—the United Shoe—without any opposition whatever. Our big troubles are the bad economic conditions and the recent decisions of the State Board which meant an actual wage cut. Steps are being taken to resist this new offensive against us.

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# SOS- from Underground Germany

The National Bureau of the C. P. O. submits to you the stirring appeal for help coming from our embattled comrades in Hitler's hell.

Within the last few months we have transmitted many hundreds of dollars to assist our comrades in rebuilding the shattered ranks of the revolutionary movement; to aid in building, thru inter-party cooperation, a new illegal trade union movement, to strengthen the proletarian core for the struggle against fascism.

This we have done at the expense of our own developing requirements. But even that has not been enough.

We must now appeal to every friend and sympathizer of our movement, to every one who desires to strike an effective blow against the Nazi brown plague, to rush funds immediately. No contribution is too large considering the task. No contribution too small considering mass unemployment.

Address all contributions to Jay Lovestone, 51 West 14th St., New York, N. Y.

## NATIONAL BUREAU COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

Paris, Dec. 21, 1933.

Dear Comrades:

It is in desperation that we inform you of the situation in which the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) now finds itself. It is now ten months that our group has been in illegal struggle. Our political consistency, clarity and firmness made it possible for our group to attain considerable political and organizational results. Our tireless struggle against the ultra-left line of the Communist International has brought us into the closest contact with the most important sections of the membership of the Communist Party of Germany, whom the defeat has encouraged to think.

We are initiating and accelerating the movement of many social-democratic workers toward communism and have been able to enlist in our organization social-democratic workers in every district. The C.P.G.O. is the initiator in the building of class struggle trade unions and has already achieved important results in the most important industrial regions.

This work, however, must be carried on at tremendous cost. Since the beginning of the fascist dictatorship about 280 comrades of the C.P.G.O. have been arrested. Some of these comrades have been arrested two or three times. At the moment there are still over 100 comrades in the concentration camps and prisons; among them are 35 who have been imprisoned since the very beginning of the fascist dictatorship. Over 50 comrades are abroad. In eight districts the political leaders and the secretary of the district organization have been arrested, and many comrades have been terribly maltreated. Since the November 12 elections the group has retained intact its important leadership in only three districts. In one district the entire district leadership, including the technical staff, were arrested, two weeks ago, and the organization disrupted. A member

of the national leadership of the C.P.G.O. was taken to a concentration camp, at the same time. A large number of functionaries has been condemned to long terms in prison. Among others a Leipzig comrade who has been sentenced to a year in prison and a Thuringian comrades who received a two year sentence.

A majority of the comrades are out of work and the district leaders have an illegal status, which means that they can not even get a few crumbs thru unemployment relief. Without a permanent residence constantly followed by the spies of the Storm Troops, relying upon the heroic support of hungry members and sympathizers, they continue their illegal work with stubborn fighting spirit. The national leadership also consists en-

tirely of unemployed comrades receiving no unemployment relief. Under the most miserable living conditions they carry on the dangerous and difficult national work of the group.

For the maintenance of the necessary illegal apparatus and for its political and organizational tasks, nationally, 875 Marks a month are needed.

The work of the National leadership has to a large extent been made possible by the donations from the C.P.O. of the U.S.A. despite the great unemployment in its own ranks. This money intended for the Foreign Committee and the I. C. O. had to be turned over to the national leadership in order to make possible the continuation of illegal activity. The political and organizational tasks of the Foreign Committee have thereby been made much more difficult.

The successful work of the C.P.G.O. is especially reflected in the regular appearance of its literature. While in the legal period Arbeiter Politik appeared weekly, with a circulation of 15 to 20 thousand copies, and Gegen den Strom appeared monthly, with a circulation of 3,500. The C.P.G.O. now publishes a larger amount of newspaper literature. In reading the figures below it must be kept in mind that every copy of an illegal newspaper is read by at least 10 to 12 workers. The following publications appear:

1. Juniusbrief—8 page bi-weekly.
2. Korrespondent—6 page bi-weekly.

3. Rundbriefe—monthly.
4. Rundschreiben of the Foreign Committee—monthly.
5. Arbeiterstimme, Berlin—bi-weekly. Circulation 700.
6. Einheit—Leipzig, bi-weekly. Circulation 600.
7. Der Kampf—Thuringia, tri-weekly. Circulation 400.
8. Einheit—Frankfurt a. M., tri-weekly. Circulation 400.
9. Arbeiterstimme—Stuttgart, bi-weekly. Circulation 700.
10. Der Neue Weg—West Germany, tri-weekly. Circulation 500.
11. Neue Zeitung—Erzgebirge, monthly. Circulation 600.
12. Kampftruf—Breslau, bi-weekly. Circulation 500.
13. Kampftruf—Hamburg, bi-weekly. Circulation 500.

## Trade Union Newspapers

14. Der Metallarbeiter—Berlin tri-weekly. Circulation 600.
  15. Der Buchdrucker—Berlin, printed. Circulation 400.
  16. Klassenkampf—Solingen, tri-weekly. Circulation 600.
  17. Klassenkaempfer—Stuttgart, bi-weekly. Circulation 800.
  18. Betrieb und Gewerkschaft—Leipzig, bi-weekly. Circulation 600.
- The circulation of Juniusbrief is between 1,500 and 2,000 per issue. The greater part of the papers appear photographed in vest pocket size. In addition to the above, various regional groups publish local publications. From time to time the district and local groups issue leaflets and small pamphlet. From 1,500 to 2,000 copies of every issue of the printed publication, Gegen den Strom, are sold. In addition there are shipped into Germany printed pamphlets and the news service of the I. C. O.

The comrades of Germany, who  
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## IN THE NEXT ISSUE JAY LOVESTONE

Begins a series of three articles on the  
**THE ECONOMICS OF THE  
ROOSEVELT PROGRAM**

They will appear in the following order.

1. The Economic Program of the New Deal.
2. Economic Consequences and Fallacies of the NRA.
3. Perspectives of the New Deal.

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# What Must We Learn from Lenin?

We are so accustomed to saying that, the dead, Lenin lives in his work and teachings, that we are in danger of allowing this profound idea to be degraded into a trite commonplace, mechanically repeated by rote. Yet never did this phrase represent a more vital and significant truth than today. Today, ten years after the death of V. I. Lenin, the revolutionary labor movement of the world has more to learn from the experiences and teachings of this great Marxist than perhaps at any time in its history; certainly it is in more acute need of clear and effective guidance than ever before. Today, if ever, let us learn from Lenin!

## "Lenin, The Scourge Of The Opportunists"

The political axis of Lenin's life was the struggle for the ideological and organizational independence of revolutionary Marxism, for its ultimate and final separation from reformist Socialism of every stripe. It is only necessary to recall Lenin's unremitting and successful fight against Economism and Menshevism in the Russian labor movement. It is only necessary to recall the period of Lenin's most intense political activity, the years of war and revolution. It is only necessary to recall Lenin's early years in the Communist International, particularly his programmatic appearances at the second and third congresses. "Lenin, the scourge of the opportunists!"—none other than Paul Levi is responsible for this thoroly apt characterization.

In his unwearied battle against the poison of reformism in the labor movement, Lenin faced the problem of centrism at every point. In characteristic form, "reformism in left guise," as he dubbed it, reappeared at various stages in the history of the Russian movement—as early Menshevism, as Trotskyism, as the Martov tendency. But it was during the days of war and revolution that the problem of centrism became particularly central and acute and that Lenin's political attitude to it assumed its classical aspect.

## The General Features Of Centrism

What are the general features of Lenin's estimate of centrism? With unexcelled Marxist acuteness, he probed the social processes basic to the realignment in the labor movement. The forces of radicalization, unleashed by the events of the war and after, were naturally reflected in the Social-democratic organizations, producing a profound dissatisfaction with the utterly shameless political treason of the official labor leaders. Millions were drawn into this forward movement, which soon broke the bounds of formal Social-democratic organization. Two tendencies appeared. The most advanced and politically clear elements pursued their course to its logical conclusion and laid the foundations of the world Communist movement. But more numerous were those who could not effect their full emancipation from reformism, who proved unable to complete their organizational break with the Social-democracy by an even more thoroughgoing ideological break. They remained stranded in an "in-between" position, the truest reflection of their political immaturity. At the head of this centrist tendency appeared leaders who were "in-betweeners" by profession, who systematically tried to "combine" principles mutually exclusive—chauvinistic Socialism and revolutionary internationalism, bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship! Their centrism did not represent an arrested stage of development towards Communism but rather a congealed and fixed dogma, pretending to be "something different" from both Social-democracy and Communism.

## Centrism As Reformism In "Left" Form

Centrism, Lenin always insisted, is reformism in a characteristic "left" form. It preserves the essential point of view and doctrines of reformism, no matter what the form or the secondary modifica-

tions may be. It is not so much a half-way house to Communism as a dam, a barrier, to the unhampered development of the leftward moving masses. If centrist organizations and ideologies are allowed to crystallize, they inevitably become the vehicles by which the rebellious masses are led back to the bosom of Social-democracy. In order to liberate these masses from such barriers, in order to make possible their systematic development to revolutionary Communism, the centrist organizations and the centrist ideology must be destroyed: Lenin was never tired of reiterating this fundamental truth. The road to Communism lies over the corpse of centrism.

Lenin placed the greatest emphasis upon ridding the young Communist movements of every remnant of reformism and centrism. The whole second congress of the Communist International was conducted under this sign. The famous "twenty-one points" (conditions for admittance to the Communist International) were framed and did serve to detect and to reject every form of centrist influence. Again and again Lenin emphasized that any effective and fruitful united front work with the reformist and centrist organizations was absolutely conditioned upon a clear and unequivocal political differentiation from them.

## The Revival Of "New" Centrism

Can any one fail to see the living significance of these principles today? Under entirely different circumstances, there is taking place today another revival of centrism, on a much more restricted scale, it is true. Today, too, there are

## On Centrism and Sectarianism Today

by Will Herberg

those who are unable to penetrate to the reformist essence of centrism and who therefore virtually capitulate to it; indeed, there are those—the Trotskyites and others—who even look upon the new centrism as the basis for the creation of a "new labor movement"! The entire struggle of the Communist Opposition against these forces of ideological demoralization in our movement has been based on the fundamental principles laid down by Lenin as to the relations between the Communist party and the other tendencies in the labor movement.

## A Leninist Groundwork For Communist Parties

The rooting of the movement in the tried and tested principles of revolutionary Marxism (Communism), untainted by any reformist influence, is basic but no one realized better than Lenin that mere firmness in principle was far from being enough to guarantee the development of an effective revolutionary mass organization, especially on a world scale. More than once, Lenin laid down in unmistakable form, what he conceived these prerequisites to be.

1. Marxist realism in analysis and the ruthless rejection of every form of "wishful thinking", of romantic phrase-mongering, were unceasingly emphasized by Lenin as vital necessities. Revolutionary tactics, he pointed out, are to be framed on the basis of a specific examination of the class forces and other factors involved and not in compliance with certain alleged

uniform and unchangeable dogmas.

2. In each country, revolutionary tactics must be rooted in the specific and characteristic features of the social-historical structure of that land and not in those more general, and therefore more abstract, features common to all countries. Lenin was the arch-"exceptionalist", to use the current political slang. With withering contempt, did he annihilate those who keep on repeating their principles in religious fashion but are completely incapable of finding the road to the realization of these principles in their own lands. "The revolution will proceed along a different road and at a different tempo in America than in Russia," he instructed us but this very fundamental truth is even more unintelligible today to the bulk of American Communists than it ever was.

3. It goes without saying that Lenin vigorously opposed the conception of a Communist International as the tail-end of the Russian Communist Party, either in open form or hidden behind the screen of a dummy international apparatus. A genuine International must be a federation of parties standing on the basis of real equality, each guaranteed its proper sphere of political autonomy so necessary to it if it is ever to become the actual vanguard of the working masses. Lenin never tolerated the mechanical transference of tactics and methods from the Russian party to the Communist parties in the capitalist world, working and fighting under such totally different conditions. Still less did he allow the demoralizing artificial introduction of disputes

and factional fights in the Russian party into the Communist International and its parties. The sharp struggle against the so-called "Workers Opposition" in 1920 and against the Trotsky-Bukharin misconceptions on the trade union question in 1920-1921 went by without any attempt to stimulate factions in other parties or to throw the whole C. I. into hysteria and panic. So it was in Lenin's days...

4. It is surely unnecessary to recall Lenin's unremitting struggle against sectarianism and for those effective revolutionary tactics that have come to bear his name. The classical pamphlet on "The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism" will always remain the indispensable manual of every Communist revolutionist. The whole subsequent development of the labor movement has served only to confirm most strikingly the basic principles of strategy and tactics formulated and championed by Lenin.

5. Centralism and party democracy were always emphasized by Lenin as the two foundation pillars of party organization. Without the former, the latter is bound to lead to anarchistic paralysis; without the latter, the former is bound to degenerate into arbitrary bureaucracy. But organically combined, they guarantee both the united fighting power and the democratic self-determination of the party organization; not only that but that they provide the mechanism whereby the party can learn from its own experience, obviate disruptive factional struggle, exercise genuine self-criticism and mature politically into a real vanguard organization enjoying the support and confidence of masses of workers.

## For An Understanding Of Leninism

The vital relevance of all of these fundamental conceptions today is too obvious to require argument. The official Communist movement, in this country and internationally, stands defeated, in ruins organizationally, discredited and impotent politically, precisely because of its criminal violation of these principles. The whole struggle of the International Communist Opposition is essentially aimed at securing the recognition of these conceptions in practise on the part of the official Communist movement, whose gross disregard of them is rendered the more odious by the formal, purely ritual respect for Lenin's memory.

What we need is not this brand of hollow religious worship, which characteristically combines the mouthing of hallowed phrases with an almost contemptuous disregard of their practical meaning. What we need, what is today virtually a life-and-death necessity for the world Communist movement, is a genuine understanding of the principles of Leninism and a conscientious and single-minded application of these principles to the great problems of the contemporary labor movement. This, in brief, is the program of the International Communist Opposition.

of the steel workers, the miners or the textile workers?

The midwest farmer may totally lack a Marxian-Leninist theoretical understanding. This weakness is partly due to the fact that the midwest farmer has had no chance to see anything but the capitalists' propaganda. The few American Marxists have been too dogmatic in classing the tractor-age American farmer with the wooden-plow-age-European peasant. They have considered the American farmer as an unimportant element.

Considering the revolutionary movement in America as a whole we find that the industrial element of the working class has yet just very small numbers under communist leadership. And is this leadership free from gross misunderstanding and gross misapplication of Marxian-Leninist principles to American problems? With the midwest farmer so far advanced in a militant way, is it not sensible to admit that the mid-

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## The Farm Revolt And The Communist Movement

# HOW SHALL WE APPROACH THE AMERICAN FARMER?

by E. B.

Omaha, Neb.

The Iowa Cow War of 1931 was an incident that marked the end of a twelve year period of discontented muttering and the beginning of widespread action amongst the farm masses of the United States, particularly those of the midwest. So we see that the farm revolt was born no later than the summer of 1919 and that it is not a movement inaugurated by any special group or party, but it is a general reaction that grew out of economic conditions alone. Long periods of ever increasing oppression and misery are resented first in words then in deeds.

The farm revolt has been growing in volume and strength since its birth. The period of "Coolidge Prosperity" did not check or delay its growth. A majority of midwest farmers found themselves deeper in debt than ever at the end of that period in spite of nearly seven years of frugality and self denial carried on in an effort "to pay off the mortgage and other debts while times are good." "Coolidge prosperity" was never anything but a couple of mythical words to the farm masses of the midwest and it did not take four years of Hoover administration to demonstrate to midwest farmers that "good times" were apparently as far away as ever.

The Iowa Cow War was the first impressive demonstration of action. To those not familiar with the farm movement, the farm revolt begins with the Iowa Cow War. The first farm strike (1932) followed. Next came the First Farmers National Relief Conference in Washington, D. C.

Many different bodies (radical and conservative) are inclined to credit their separate organization with much of what the farmers, as a general mass, have done for themselves. Such a mistake amongst the radical element comes from the fact that these radicals did not (and do not now) realize how far the farmer had advanced

in a purely militant way. While practically all of the fighting against foreclosures, sheriffs sales, etc., took place after the Washington conference, it was not due to the "fact" that the farm delegates had gone to Washington and learned how to fight from a few groups of communists who were there to "instruct" them. The farmers march to Washington was a general move. It arose out of discontent. It was a demonstration of discontent and it was not a demonstration of (or controlled by) any party or organization. The farmers had been fed up on Hoover promises. They wanted a show down. They got it. They met the capitalist government face to face and they learned before they left Washington that they would get nothing. The farmers were bright enough to see the situation without having any special group or organization point out what had happened to them. The midwest farmers came back silent and determined. They knew that there was nothing else to do but fight—and the fighting has not ceased—there

will be much more of it. True, they give the enemy a chance to show what he can do at times, but the farmers are not beaten, they have just started.

Today some of the best posted communist leaders fail to understand and appreciate the advanced character of the first militant phases of the farm revolt. Here and there we read and hear from communists the idea of "unionizing the midwest farmers." We are forced to wonder what would happen today if the farmers had been organized into a thousand little union locals. Would they be dabbling around with isolated strikes at packing house gates, creamery doors and in front of commission houses for higher prices from individual concerns in the same manner as industrial workers strike around individual steel mills, auto factories and coal mines? What do these communists think they gain by "unionizing the farmers?" Being so steeped in trade union considerations in regard to eastern industries these communists are of the opinion that there is no element in the working class that can do better without the union.

The farmer today is fighting with the government—the centralized power of the capitalists. Some communists will say to this: "Don't be ridiculous! Don't tell us that the midwest farmer of today is ahead of the industrial worker in a purely militant way!" And to that we reply: What element in the history of the United States has worried the local, state and national government to such a degree, with their protests, as has the midwest farmers? Staffs, departments, sub-departments and what not, to deal with midwest agricultural problems alone, have been set up by the government. In Washington the national government is working night and day planning new schemes to save capitalism from the rapidly organizing and fighting farm masses of the midwest. Can the same be said

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WRITE FOR CATALOGUE 51 West 14 Street New York City

# The Blue Eagle Over Latin America

## Pan-Americanism at Montevideo

by Ellen Ward

The world background has changed considerably since the 6th Pan-American Conference met at Havana in 1928. The depression has brought years of hunger to millions of workers and peasants. It has bred revolutions and toppled governments. It has forced an even more aggressive struggle for the world's shrunken markets. It has so deepened the economic contradictions and so intensified national hostilities that today we are on the brink of a new world war.

In the Western hemisphere the principle struggle takes place between Great Britain and the United States for economic domination of that vast hinterland—Latin America whose economic map is like the old-fashioned crazy quilt and whose politics is anything but homogeneous. All of Latin America (colonial as well as semi-colonial) is based on an agricultural economy with just the faint beginnings of modern industry in countries like Mexico, Argentina and Chile. Mexico, to live, must sell its oil and its minerals; Chile its nitrates; Argentina its beef; Brazil its coffee, the Caribbean countries, their sugar and fruit. But the depression has slowed up the wheels of industry and we require fewer raw materials and pay incredibly less for them. Latin America, in turn, purchases less from us. Thus Argentina, for example took in 1930, \$129,000,000; in 1931, \$52,000,000 and in 1932 only \$31,000,000. Our millions of unemployed eat little meat, drink less coffee and take no fruits. In addition we have raised our tariff walls so high that the lands to the south of us find them difficult to scale. All this has immeasurably intensified the hostility against the Yankee, and the more independent countries, like Argentina, have turned to Europe in an attempt to find solution for economic problems. Great Britain sent Sir Otto Niemeyer, Vice-governor of the Bank of England, to Argentina as economic adviser in 1932 and in 1933 England signed a trade treaty calculated to eliminate American products almost completely from the Argentine market. The same Sir Otto went also to Brazil and after his extended "studies" of the financial situation there advised Brazil to default on her debts to the United States.

The U.S.A. after helping to blow up the London Economic Conference last year turned more eagerly than ever to Latin America for the little that could be reaped.

### The Pan-American Conference

December 1933 was the date scheduled for the Pan-American Conference to be held at Montevideo. "What can we do to calm the atmosphere? To set the stage properly? To convince these Latins that this time we really mean what we say?"

Presto! President Roosevelt took down the Pan-American Union, blew on it, polished it up until, he said, it fairly shone with love and good-neighborliness. Then he pulled out the Monroe Doctrine, made a few passes over it and said—See, it isn't really as bad as you Latins think it is. For example, there's a revolution in Cuba now. We don't intend to send our marines. Let's all sit around this big table and talk things over. You see, I ask your advice—we are all good neighbors. We should all join together for whatever action may be necessary in Cuba. The Latins came, they sat, they listened, they nodded and the conference was adjourned. The next day our battleships were in Cuban waters poking their cannons into Cuban faces. Our marines and officers were given special instructions to watch carefully all developments and the American delegation sailed for Montevideo with an easy heart.

### The Structure Of The Pan-American Union

To understand why nothing happened at Montevideo or for that matter why nothing startling ever happens at any Pan-American conference, we must look closely at the structure of the Pan-American

Union and examine the developments in the Monroe Doctrine. The Pan-American Union is an organization composed of the accredited representatives of the Latin American governments in Washington. The American Secretary of State is its permanent chairman. Dr. Leo S. Rowe, an American, has been its Executive Secretary for over a quarter of a century. The permanent seat of the Union is in Washington. If you examine its periodic publications you will find them steeped in "brotherly love". The pages are replete with photographs of cactuses, llamas, coffee-beans, Indian festivals, blue-blue lakes and picturesque Indian maidens. Each photograph transplants you to a patch of earthly paradise—no class struggles, no imperialism, no starvation, no misery, no peonage, no exploitation—just beauty, happiness and perfect peace.

The Pan American Union was inaugurated in 1889 and has just celebrated its 35th birthday. It holds full conferences every five years and has just terminated the 7th at Montevideo. The 8th is scheduled to take place at Lima, Peru in 1938. Its structure is eminently fitted as an effective lever of American Imperialism. All of Latin America recognizes it as such. Normano, a Brazilian, at the recent conference held at Williams-town, Massachusetts, stated frankly that "Pan-Americanism exists only in Washington . . . The Latins call it a Congress of mice presided over by a cat." The students, the so-called liberals, the workers and those peasants who know anything

about its existence, recognize its full implications and are ready and willing to demonstrate against it—as they actually did in gigantic demonstrations all through Central and South America during the sessions of the 6th Pan-American Conference held in Havana in 1928, in protest against American intervention in Nicaragua; and as they would have protested in 1933 if there had been any effective communist leadership to guide them. It is only the governing cliques who, cynically, play the game with our State Department because it is to their personal interest to do so.

### The Monroe Doctrine

The Monroe Doctrine is the sacred cow of the Pan-American Union. It was originally hatched "to prevent Spain (with the aid of the Holy Alliance) from recapturing her former colonies in the New World" and to prevent other European nations from settling in the Western Hemisphere.

But with the advent of American imperialist policy the doctrine has been stretched to sanction all all aggressive acts of the United States. Secretary Root, discussing the Platt Amendment of Cuba in 1901, said: "The Platt Amendment is merely the Monroe Doctrine in treaty form." Incidentally, the Platt Amendment makes the Cubans virtual slaves of our State Department. It gives the right to the United States to intervene in Cuba's internal affairs on the slightest provocation. If the Doctrine can be stretched to cover the

Platt Amendment it is obvious what it sanctifies in the rest of Latin America.

In 1904 came Theodore Roosevelt's famous Corollary (in his annual message to Congress) strengthening the Root declaration of 1901. The first Roosevelt summarized his views on the Monroe Doctrine as follows: Internal disorders in Latin American countries give the United States the right of police power. It is the theory of the Corollary that has been given as the justification for American intervention in Nicaragua, Honduras, Cuba, Haiti, Panama, and Santo Domingo.

America's imperialist "philosophers" have also added to the meaning of the Doctrine in the post-war years. They insist that the spirit of the Doctrine forbids the League of Nations to meddle in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. It is under this "theory" that Cordell Hull forbade the League of Nations observer from sitting in, at any of the secret sessions of the Conference at Montevideo (and most of the sessions were of course, secret). But the unwelcome League muscled in through the representatives from Spain and Portugal. Only after a few words from Hull it was "decided" that they too would be excluded from the Executive sessions.

In 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the keenest instrument of America's baffled ruling class, became President. In his attempt to meet the problems of the depression and prepare a safe hinterland for the coming war, he cast about

for aid everywhere. Now, more than ever before, Latin American markets and alliances are of vital importance. What can be done to win them? Make a play to the Latin-American galleries! "Revise" the hated Monroe Doctrine! The post-war years have seen active opposition to the Doctrine led by Honduras, Salvador, Costa Rica and Mexico (on and off). This opposition, plus England's aggressive drive for Latin American markets, have served to disguise America's big stick. President Roosevelt now covers the big stick in bright shining velvet in his Wilson Dinner speech on December 28th. He assures Latin America that he is willing to confer on the revision of the Platt Amendment; that the definite policy of the United States from now on is opposition to armed intervention . . . "It is only if and when the failure of orderly processes affects the other nations of the continent that it becomes their concern, and in such an event, it becomes the joint concern of a whole continent in which we are all neighbors." And all our liberals shouted paens of praise. It was Lenin who once said that he who believes in words is a fool. And at Montevideo when Haiti and Cuba pressed for a resolution against intervention they were both defeated. Cordell Hull told our benighted brethren that while the United States is ready and willing to renounce intervention to protect property, it could not renounce intervention to "bring about evacuation of foreigners." This is the Doctrine's new 1934 dress and it has full skirts and it hides many reservations.

### The Play At Montevideo

Although the depression weighs like an Alp on the world's workers it rests even more heavily upon the toilers of the colonial countries, for they live under a system of double exploitation, their own and that of the foreigner and because of their intense exploitation, and great poverty, the pressure of the masses is greater on the ruling cliques. These cliques are not interested in alleviating the conditions of their workers and peasants. None-the-less, they feel that if they could make a public speech

(Continued on Supplement Page 3)

coming since the inauguration of many of these Codes? The National Child Labor Committee reports that more than 100,000 children have been eliminated from industry since the Blue Eagle began its actual flight. Altogether 50,000 boys and girls between 16 and 18 will soon be removed from hazardous employment. Bituminous coal industry has set a 17-year age limit. "With a few exceptions all bar the employment of children under 16 years. The exceptions are the codes for the legitimate theatre and motion picture industries . . . and the codes for the retail trades, including drug and grocery stores, which permit the employment of children between 14 and 16 years for 3 hours a day (or one 8-hour day a week) between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. but not during school hours." In view of the fact that stricter measures to safe-guard learners and apprentices, and to make impregnable an attack on the child labor provisions, have been made in the recent codes, the Blue Eagle administration means business on this proposition. In this connection it is important to note that the Kiplinger Washington Letter for July 1, 1933, was in error when it wrote of a tacit understanding between the Administration and manufacturers to permit child labor "in cases of families where the maintenance of decent standards of living required employment of minors." Both the fact that in October the Federal Relief Administration urged relief administrations to accord special attention to families that might be suffering because a child wage earner had been removed from industry under the N.R.A. codes, and the overwhelming adherence to the code in the cotton textile industry (which contained the bulk of in-

(Continued on Page 7)

## The Future Of Children In Industry

### WILL THE NRA WIPE OUT CHILD LABOR?

by Saul Held

Will the N.R.A. codes abolish child labor? Will the bright scarlet of children's blood be wiped off the social ledger?

The Blue Eagle administration while preparing to strangle American labor in its talons, made a magnanimous gesture—it threw a bone to labor; it proposed to abolish child labor in industry thru specific provisions in the codes. How has child labor fared under the wings of the Blue Eagle?

#### Looking Backward

Looking backward, we find that the salient facts in regard to child labor are these: "In 1900 there were 1,750,178 children from 10 to 15 years of age gainfully employed, or 18 per cent of the population of this age, as compared with 667,118, or only 4.7 per cent, in 1930. In 1900 the number of children engaged in mining was 24,000, as against a mere 1,184 in 1930, and 260,000 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits as compared with only 68,266 in 1930. In addition we find the following significant occupational distribution between industry and agriculture: 1920—61% in agriculture, 17.5% in manufacturing and mechanical industries; in 1930—70.4% in agriculture, 10.2% in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The three basic factors making for the decline in child labor were: 1) new labor specifications for rationalized industry, 2) prevalence of a comparatively high standard of living, 3) labor's opposition to child labor and this opposition finding wide support in many sections of the people.

In connection with the last point, it is one of the utmost importance to be aware of the fact that the bulk of child labor exists in those sections of the country with a traditionally lower standard of living and in those industries less modern from the standpoint of technical innovation.

The New Requirements  
The facts enumerated above are

already well-known with but one exception: the new labor specifications for rationalized industry. What are these qualifications? Mr. Walter N. Polakov has correctly summarized them as: sustained attention, correct perception, quick reaction. All too often have radicals and conservatives attributed the existence of child labor in industry upon the simplification of labor process without taking these factors into consideration. Thus the fact that "The strain involved in increasing automatic machinery is a repetition-strain, complicated by clatter. The operative does the same thing over and over, amid rhythmic sounds, in an atmosphere frequently stale with oil or dust", and that the adolescent does not possess the above mentioned qualifications, particularly in such a production environment, seems to have been completely forgotten. The years between 18 and 25 are the most desirable years for the rationalized industries as may be seen from all statistics.

#### What Has NRA Brought?

Now, we can ask, what has happened since the coming of the eco-

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nomie plague in 1929? Concurrently with the extension of the domain of King Hunger which flooded the labor market with youth laborers, we have witnessed the unceasing forging ahead of technical innovation. Reporting to the Society of Industrial Engineers in the Spring of 1933, Walter N. Polakov and his committee said: "Since 1929 . . . as the bulk of production was decreased, so was decreased the use of power, equipment and wages, but the application of labor-saving equipment and method continued." The fact that this process eliminates child labor from industry was recognized a goodly number of years ago by the Taylor Society as we have pointed out on a previous occasion.

This was the general situation when the Industrial Codes were born and put into operation. When the Codes were being formulated the fight between the representatives of the large industrialists and the small ones broke out on the question of child labor abolition. The pressure of big industry (fighting to eliminate competition) found definite form in the "Blanket Code" which stated: "After August 31, 1933, not to employ any person under 16 years of age, except that persons between 14 and 16 years of age, may be employed (but not in manufacturing or mechanical industries) for not to exceed 3 hours per day and those hours between 7 a. m. and 7 p. m. in such work as will not interfere with hours of day school." But additional information does not yet indicate a victory for the industrialists. Amongst child workers as yet untouched by Codes are newsboys, juvenile workers in retail trades, farm workers, domestic servants, etc. Newspaper publishers and the rulers of the retail trades have been the most stubborn opponents of child labor provisions in their respective codes. Today, 150 industrial codes have been approved.

What results have been forth-

# Slavery in the Ford Empire

Within a radius of about six miles around the south-west section of the city of Detroit is located an empire. You will not find this empire marked on the maps, but it is a very real one just the same. It is the empire of the Ford Motor Company, the domain of the industrial Emperor Henry Ford.

## Building An Empire

This section of the country is quite uninhabited—low, swampy, flat. It was pasture land twenty-five years ago. It lies a few miles back from the somewhat eye-pleasing Detroit River, and is shown on the map as the cities of Dearborn, Lincoln Park, Melvindale and Allen Park. Workers' homes and shacks by the thousands are scattered loosely over this area. Working men and their families from every corner of the globe, from every part of these United States, were drawn to this spot. Because it became known that the huge River Rouge plant of the Ford Motor Company needed men, that instead of paying rent in Detroit, it might be better to locate on the south west edge of the city and, as Brisbane has it, "Buy a piece of America and grow rich with the country."

From the rural districts of Kentucky and Tennessee came thousands of red-headed, red-eyed Americans. White people of "pure" Anglo-Saxon blood came and, for the first time in their existence, connected with a "steady" job in a modern industry. They came, with all their prejudices unburied and handed down in the hill country; they came despising the non-English speaking "foreigner," with a loathing for the Negro workers, and with a feeling akin to worship towards Henry Ford, the man who, in their eyes, was giving them just exactly what they wanted—steady work and wages bigger than they had ever dreamed of earning.

Ford was the king of the popular-priced car market. He had ridden into world-wide fame as a philanthropist, a lover of peace, a defender of the weak, and a champion of the people. Was there ever such a man before?

But, as time goes on, other groups of automobile makers begin to put out popular priced cars. A pig-headedness, which was always suspected of Henry Ford, the "Spartan," now comes into the light of day. The Ford car was all-right exactly as it was. Color?—Sure, they could have any color in a Ford car so long as it was black! Henry said so himself. To a meeting of dealers who came that day or so discussing suggested improvements in the old tin Lizzie of Model T days, Ford declared, that one thing only was the matter with the Ford car—the dealers couldn't sell enough of them! That was the end of the session. To see, Henry was ready to take on the manners of a Czar or a Kaiser, which, of course, he is, but it took later developments to make this clear.

## Forging Chains For The Slaves

A tightening-up and speed-up system is inaugurated thruout the immense Ford industries, employing men by the tens of thousands. A private police and a spy system is developed, at the head of which is placed an individual known as Harry Bennett, an ex-priestfighter, who has very close connections with the underworld and gangsterdom of Detroit. A man who has been identified with labor-hating Ku Klux Klan, who has no hesitation in turning fire-arms upon groups of hungry and starving working men and women. The fancy name given by Henry Ford to this department, over which Bennett rules, is, the "Service Department" and the thugs and plug-uglies employed are known as "Service Men." They act as a police body in the plant, see that the workers do not talk to each other, report over-seers and bosses if they appear to be on friendly terms with the men, and enforce the hundreds of laws and regulations that are in force in the plant. Each of these men has a

definite location, a beat as it were, in the plant. Supervising these things is the city of Detroit, the so-called "Free Lance" men. These super-thugs have no set boundaries. They roam around, spy upon and check up on everybody, worker and servicemen alike.

Then, last of all, Emperor Ford has a horde of secret service men. These fellows are supposed to be unknown to anyone except Harry Bennett and his chief aides. These secret operatives actually work all thru the plant, mixing with the workers, spying and making reports on everything and everybody. A wonderer! Inasmuch as this creates in the workshops of the Ford Motor Company. Fear and suspicion reign supreme among the toilers in these foundries and machine shops. No man knows just who is his friend, usually, therefore, he treats them all as his enemies, which, of course is exactly what Emperor Ford desires.

The personal record of most of these service police, spies etc., is an appalling one. Bennett has drawn them from the prisons and the underworld of every large American city. Prisoners are given to sluggers, ex-prize fighters, discredited policemen. If one has a murder to his credit, so much the better. These thugs are usually elevated to the dignity of deputy sheriffs, have their star handy to overawe the worker. If this is not sufficient and the thugs' fists are not deemed capable enough, the concealed blackjack is brought into action. Ford, by the way, has his own medical staff and also his own hospital. No news gets out of this institution to embarrass the Ford Motor Company.

## Came The Present Crisis

With the coming of the business slump and the drop in production of Ford cars, tens of thousands of workers in this industrial empire, have been laid off. Payments on homes have stopped; evictions have taken place; workers, by the thousands, have moved back to the rural districts as the "hills" people. Yet hundreds of thousands of unemployed or partly employed workers remain.

These men, catapulted into present-day industrial conditions, from the tranquility of rural life, do not yet know what it is all about. Some are resentful of the industrial and political barons. Others, of the rustics, are thankful that matters are no worse and still consider that Marse Henry is doing all that he can for them. But the extent of the Ford influence has grown all thru the industrial crisis. Henry's unseen hand is everywhere. The mayor of that section, in which the plant is located, is Henry's own cousin. He and the police department work smoothly along with the police and spies of Henry's vast industrial empire. He controls them both.

## The Wisdom Of Henry Ford

Now, Henry is not a particularly bright or well informed person. When in the witness chair, some few years back, he declared he did not know much about history. He thought that Benedict Arnold was famous as a "writer"; confessed that he knew nothing about the events that led up to the war of 1812 or the Spanish-American War. "I rarely read anything but the headlines" was another confession of our Emperor of today. Ford did not know much regarding public affairs or government, but said he, "I can find a man, in five minutes, who could tell me all about it."

One thing Henry does know and he knows that, as well as did that great industrial magnate of a generation ago—Jay Gould. When Gould was asked if he were not afraid of the actions of the multitudes during "hard times", he is said to have replied,—"Hell No! These hard times are just the time when I can hire one half of the workers to cut the throats of the other half." Similarly, the shipping millionaire Robert Dollar had cure for the outbreak of longshoremen's strikes.—"Fill the hospitals with strikers!"

by George A. Watkins

## Henry Wields The Knout

And so now, in these times, when even the most docile of his slaves are beginning to question the merits of our present industrial set-up; when militant unemployed organizations are demanding relief for the army of discarded workers; in these days Ford calls upon his private army of service men, his plug-uglies and murderers to terrorize the workers in the sections where they live. His drunken and armed gangs roam the territory comprising his empire, assaulting workers at their meetings, throwing tear gas bombs into unemployed gatherings, clubbing, slugging, yes, even murdering those who incur the displeasure of either the Ford officials, or what amounts to the same, the officials of the Ford controlled small towns where the workers live.

Let some petty tyrant belch forth threats of violence against rebellious workers and Ford's private army is at his command to slug and terrorize the workers. Should a worker, by virtue of his prominent organization membership, be threatened with death by the local henchmen of the powers, the Ford murderers are on hand to kidnap and murder him. On such occasions the local newspapers, the officers of "justice", the entire group of Ford camp followers are suddenly stricken deaf, dumb and blind.

Cases of assault and terror are continually occurring. This, not in some wild and woolly section of our glorious country but right here in suburban Detroit, where "life is worth living." (So they boast) At the crack of Ford's whip the police officials in the towns of his empire, send armed forces to supplant the Ford sluggers in beating down workers or pumping lead into them.

## The Dearborn Massacre

On March 7th, 1932, Ford's pri-

vate army opened fire from behind steel bars, into the ranks of the hungry unemployed. Ford's son and his cousin, the mayor of Dearborn and former governor of the state, had seats of honor on this bloody occasion. Four workers died, before their eyes, and scores were sent to hospitals riddled by Ford's bullets.

Great night workers homes were broken into and raided, thruout Ford's empire. Workers known to be hostile to the present capitalist set-up were herded to jail. Men and women were torn from their homes, kept in prison for a week or more and severely graded.

The Detroit police were on hand at that particular blood bath on the workers. There were also present the police of other sections of Ford's empire. "Just in case they were needed" explained the Police chief of Lincoln Park to a Council meeting of his town, the workers in that town had bitterly protested. This same police chief acted as employment agent for Ford about one year ago, while sitting in his police office.

## As To The Right Of Free Speech

During November 1932, the organized unemployed, in addition to forcing extra rent and fuel from the administration of this same city of Lincoln Park, approached the school trustees and asked for the use of a school auditorium in which to hold lectures and debates. They were told that no meeting was available for that purpose. In any case, said the chairman of the Board, you will have to present a written petition with names of tax-payers on it, in proper form. He was told by the delegation that a petition would be drawn up and presented at the next meeting of the Board, early in December. Said Chairman Flynn: "Very well, and when you come I'll meet you with the American Legion!" They were there. Not only the

gangster elements from the American Legion but also Marse Henry's sluggers and local men identified with the Ku Klux Klan. These gangsters were there, at the invitation of the school trustees and a class room was put at their disposal. The workers delegation was present with their petition "in proper form". It was denied. On returning from the Board room the delegation was set upon and slugged by two hundred of these potential murderers. One worker was permanently injured during this slugfest. The terroristic lesson struck home. The workers were taught that the unemployed meetings were a good thing—to keep away from!

## Terror Bands Are Loosed

In Dearborn City itself an outfit calling itself "The Knights of Dearborn" was formed. Ford gangsters are the backbone of this organization. We also have, in Henry's empire, terroristic bands known as "Night Riders." They take timid workers for a "ride" and amidst the glare of automobile headlights in the woods, and a waving of flags, they force their "guest" to swear to "destroy all communism" he comes in touch with. At any rate, it keeps the timid worker from coming too close to any genuine workers organizations.

Two days before the Christmas holidays, a well known worker among the unemployed, a foreign born militant ex-Ford worker, was kidnaped as he left his home. His body with a bullet hole thru the head was found the next day, in a piece of waste land. The local police were "baffled", naturally, they would be. With the newspapers deaf and dumb, workers say, "What next?"

Fiery crosses have been burned by these terrorists in front of the homes of some active Ford workers. Murder threats have been and are still being made against

(Continued on Page 7)

# The Shoe Workers and the State Board

by Bill Shoemaker

The shoe workers in the Boston district are at present faced with serious problems. Only by taking lessons from our experiences of the past year can we learn how to avoid a repetition of our former errors and how to overcome our present difficulties.

A year ago in our campaign to organize the shoe workers we were confronted with many problems. The mistrust of the shoe workers in any form of leadership due to their experiences with a certain type of leaders was, in a way, a handicap yet, on the other hand, reacted favorably because it encouraged the workers to rely more on their own initiative. From the very first when the workers elected their strike leaders from the shops we can correctly speak of the N.S.W.A. as a rank and file organization.

Since those days the workers have had much greater experience in what can be accomplished when the workers in the shop stand on their own feet and act on their own initiative. The recent movement for amalgamation was conducted and carried out successfully because of the active interest on the part of the membership. From the very first we have had three definite tendencies, the extreme reactionaries, the T.U.U.L. forces and the progressive element. The progressives, with the support of the mass of the workers, have shown themselves able to combat successfully the reactionary cliques on the right and the disruptive tendencies on the left.

At present in the Boston district we are confronted with a serious situation. After the strike in August we went back to work with an agreement which gave us a 20% per cent increase in wages pending the decision of the State Board of Arbitration. When the Negotiations Committee reported to the General Board and all local

Executive Boards at a joint meeting held in Lynn, Mass., we fought against the section of the committee composed of elected representatives of all departments in each shop. This committee is to work out plans together with the District Joint Council and the General Coordinating Committee to strengthen our union, do away with craft divisions, unite all for one purpose; to abolish the State Board and to force a wage increase for this season.

All forces are needed now to put up a solid front against our common enemy. Here again we find the party forces fighting against their plan in the present situation? Wherever they have forces, as for example at the Marmon shop crew meeting, they advocate a walk out in individual shops absolutely without any preparation. Let's fight right now, without bothering to consider ways of winning the struggle. That is their sole proposal. Still they call us saboteurs and similar names because we come out with constructive concrete plans, and refuse to play into the hands of the manufacturers and certain other friends, such as the Boot and Shoe, who would like only too well to disrupt and defeat the new Union.

All of the shops which have met have accepted our plans enthusiastically and are organizing themselves to make a determined struggle and defeat the attempts of the American bankers and bosses, and has determined to join the forces of the revolutionary proletariat to overthrow the oppressors. The letter is also important because of the problems it raises as to the methods of "Communist work" among the farmers, and the relation of the workers to the farmers in the class struggle.

# NRA and Child Labor

(Continued from Page 5)

dustrial child labor), indicate that this statement was more of a DE-SIRE than a FACT.

## Child Labor Wanes

It is the opinion of the writer that while in 1930 child labor constituted a negligible portion of the nation's labor forces, the codes will speed up the process of elimination—a process dominant in the United States for several decades. Even without the codes, the existence of an ever growing army of unemployed, continuing technological progress, and growing capitalism decide industrial policies on the basis of humanitarian impulses! Or, is the answer, industrial "home work", or is it code "loop-holes", as Gil Green believes? But this prophet has stated himself that this could apply to "light industries" only, and generously assuming that this is true, by no stretch of the imagination can this be an argument for the extension of child labor on a wider scale than in the past. This loop-hole here or there in "light industries", without an examination of the basic tendencies relative to capitalist production, can only result in the odd weird conception quoted. It is our viewpoint that in industry as a whole, the process is, and will continue to be, toward the elimination of child labor regardless of the success or failure of the codes. Codes rigorously enforced can but hasten an already swift process.

Worker of August 10, 1933, he found that all the available evidence was contrary to this contention, so very conveniently he postpones the "systemization" and growth of child labor to a future date: "For a short period of time, there will be a temporary exclusion of some children under 16 from the factories. Then, these same children, because they must live (1), will be bootlegged back into industry, under assumed ages."

What evidence is brought forth to bolster this contention that child labor will be extended at a later date? Is it "because they must live" only, when does capitalism decide industrial policies on the basis of humanitarian impulses! Or, is the answer, industrial "home work", or is it code "loop-holes", as Gil Green believes? But this prophet has stated himself that this could apply to "light industries" only, and generously assuming that this is true, by no stretch of the imagination can this be an argument for the extension of child labor on a wider scale than in the past. This loop-hole here or there in "light industries", without an examination of the basic tendencies relative to capitalist production, can only result in the odd weird conception quoted. It is our viewpoint that in industry as a whole, the process is, and will continue to be, toward the elimination of child labor regardless of the success or failure of the codes. Codes rigorously enforced can but hasten an already swift process.

## The Fear Of Capitalism

What capitalism fears most is that the abolition of child labor will set a precedent, a principle, against low-paid labor and exploitation of any type! Both the smallest of the existing child labor force, and its continual decreasing value for rationalized industry, hardly make it a priceless possession that must be bitterly fought for. Why it is true that the U. S. climbed to industrial supremacy in part thru the widespread use of child labor (after the reconstruction period), its problems today are not of the same character.

Only the proletarian revolution can wipe out the child exploitation and labor as it has existed, and exists, under capitalism; and thru an early linking-up of productive work with education, transform society.

Capitalism has always used youth and child labor for greater exploitation; for deriving of greater profits. But never has this policy of the manufacturers been so finely systematized, and officially blessed, as in the National Recovery Act and its various industrial codes" (our emphasis).

In the same article in the Daily

# HOW TO REACH THE FARMERS?

(Continued from Page 4)

west farmer today is one of the most important elements in the movement. As for leadership, it must develop from the ranks of the farmers. It is doing this. Only those who thoroughly understand the farmers can successfully lead the farmers. Events of the past certainly demonstrate this. The basic of the basic industries can no longer be ignored!

## COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE FARMERS by J. D.

In the December 15th issue of the "Age" there appeared a letter from a Nebraska farmer on the farm movement and the work of Communists in the rural regions. This letter is of considerable importance because it shows the point of view of a radicalized, revolutionary American farmer who has rebelled against the exploitation and oppression of his class, by the American bankers and bosses, and has determined to join the forces of the revolutionary proletariat to overthrow the oppressors. The letter is also important because of the problems it raises as to the methods of "Communist work" among the farmers, and the relation of the workers to the farmers in the class struggle.

A thorough discussion of these problems is necessary, because upon their successful solution depends the winning of the farmers

# GERMAN EXHIBIT OPENS JAN. 26

New York City. Beginning Jan. 26 and continuing thru Feb. 12, the New Workers School, 51 West 14 St., on whose walls Diego Rivera has painted twenty-one murals, is staging an exposition on Germany.

Actual underground literature now being distributed in Germany by the Communists, Socialists and the new illegal trade unions will be put on display. A special feature will be the showing, for the first time in this country, of a complete series of photographic papers of the Communist Party of America (Opposition) now having wide circulation in underground labor circles.

The exposition will also have on display Nazi posters, cigarettes, "war stamps", stickers, leaflets, showing how Hitler stole communist slogans and songs with which Nazi activities were displayed. The exhibition, which will be open daily from 11 A. M. to 8:30 P. M. will open with a lecture on "One Year of Hitler Germany" by Jay Lovestone.

Exposition and lecture will be held at 51 West 14 Street.

## New Workers School In New Term

New York City. The New Workers School is beginning its new term, the week of January 22, with eight classes.

Monday January 22, 7 P. M.: Theoretical System of Leninism. Tuesday Jan. 23, 7 P. M.: Fundamentals of Communism. At 8:30 P. M.: Open House to Freedom (Which Program for the Working Class?) Thursday January 25, 7 P. M.: Strategy and Tactics. At 8:30 P. M.: Lenin and the Russian Revolution. On Friday January 26, 7 P. M.: two classes get underway—History of American Communism and Lenin and Philosophy.

Jay Lovestone begins his course on Current Events, on Friday January 26, at 8:30 P. M. The subject for the first session is "One Year of Hitler Germany."

Free on a course of six sessions. Single admissions, for the current events sessions, are 25c.

farm movement. In order to remedy these terrible mistakes the Party held another Farmers' Conference recently in Chicago. There, all these opportunistic errors were omitted. Not the slightest trace of "rotten liberalism" (Stalin) was permitted in the Party hall which was placarded with slogans having nothing to do with farmers' problems, general communist slogans which would be appropriate only at a Party convention. Every important Party official, who was available was brought down to address the farmers. Clarence Hathaway, whose intimate connection with farms is perhaps to be doubted, was placed in charge of the conference, and everything went on in the best manner.

It is obvious that the Party is determined to cut its own throat in the farm movement as much as it has done in the labor movement, and the need for a sensible, clear-cut communist program for the farmers as well as the workers becomes more evident every day.

In criticizing the lack of correct Communist work among the American farmers we must not make the mistake, however, of saying that the farmers are the really revolutionary class in America, and the trouble with the Communist Party is that it concentrates its energy in organizing workers in the middle west instead of farmers.

It must be realized that the enemy of both the working class and the great masses of farmers is

# Slavery Under Ford

(Continued from Page 6)

any and all workers engaged in educational or organizational work.

## The Impotence Of The C. P.

The official Communist Party, outside of a few bitter speeches, does nothing to rally the workers on some common ground and mobilize against this terror. The International Labor Defense, which interests itself in many cases, having little or no class significance, claimed to be able to do nothing in the case of the school outrage "because the workers delegates were not in prison". On this matter the official Communist Party had evidence collected, promised the workers that action would be taken, then declared, suddenly, that nothing was to be done.

So we wonder why the message of hope which we might bring to the workers is kept away from them. Why we allow our own Communist and Social Democratic ranks. An elaborate map showing the location of concentration camps and number of prisoners in each, is part of the exposition. Hitherto unpublished pictures of special Nazi activities were displayed. The exposition, which will be open daily from 11 A. M. to 8:30 P. M. will open with a lecture on "One Year of Hitler Germany" by Jay Lovestone.

## A Challenge To The Working Class

Here is a fine place to see just what fighting spirit can be mobilized to do battle with that arch enemy Henry Ford. Now is the time for intelligent workers to expose and defeat the local Hitler. He still has billions. There still are thousands of lower-strata workers for him to appeal to with promises of pay in exchange for butchered and murdered workers. These things are happening right now, under our eyes, in one of our own American industrial centers. Here is a challenge to the workers of America, a challenge flung at us in the shape of our murdered, mutilated fellow workers.

Shall we prove ourselves worthy of the working class to which we belong, and to the glorious revolutionary age in which we live? It is up to workers everywhere to think over these things and to take

## LOCAL 22 HITS G.E.B. OUSTER OF LOCAL 9

(Continued from Page 3)

and in forbidding all members of the present administration of Local 9 from running for office for two years, and urgently requests President Dubinsky to call a meeting of the New York G.E.B. to reconsider this action. We make this request for the following reasons: 1. The decision of the special committee of the G.E.B. appears to us to be a dangerous step along the road of a general expulsions policy, which once did such great harm to our Union.

2. We are not ready now to pass judgment on the acts with which the Local 9 administration is charged. But the way and the time these charges were raised and the conclusions arrived at by the special committee make the whole case look like an election maneuver.

3. The decision of the special committee will not help the unity of the Local 22 wants to be badly needed to day, but will weaken it.

4. The decision of the special committee is just what the dual unionist enemies of the International, outside and inside our Union, desire most, since it gives them an issue thru which they can utilize feelings of dissatisfaction and discontent for dual unionist demoralization and disruption. We oppose the Local 9 decision not because it hurts the dual unionist and the Industrial Union but because it greatly helps them.

In taking this position, the Executive Board of Dressmakers Union Local 22 wants to make perfectly clear that it dissociates itself completely from the dual unionist aims, policies, methods and tactics of the Local 9 administration. In the interests of the Union, however, the offenses of any member or official against the Union should be dealt with as they occur on their merits instead of being made the ground for wholesale removal action against any political group or tendency on the eve of elections.

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rather that it makes itself incapable of leading itself, by its unrealistic line and spurious analysis of the existing political situation. The duty of a Communist organization in the presence of industry is not to stop dabbling with city-worker organization" but rather to give leadership to both the workers and farmers. On the one hand it must build the trade unions, organize the workers, spread the message of Communism in the cities, and on the other, provide the farmers with a correct program of action, fight side by side with them in their struggles, inspire them with a spirit of farmer-labor anti-capitalist solidarity.

In all its activities a Communist organization must work for the unification of the forces of the workers and the farmers, for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party which will cement the alliance of those who work in the cities and on the farms. This, more than any other single task, is the central problem of communists in the rural regions today.

The lack of communist organization capable of carrying out these tasks is painfully evident today. The Communist Party, turning its face from the burning needs of the moment, has chosen tactics which can bring only harm to the workers and farmers of the mid-west. The only hope in sight lies in those revolutionists, who, like this farmer from Nebraska, have determined to find the root of the trouble and to build the foundation for the communist work among the toilers of the midwest.

# Workers Age

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## ANOTHER BUBBLE BURSTS

NO one can challenge the fact that the present administration in Washington is much more cleverly managed and much more skilfully mismanaged than its predecessor. Roosevelt has "finesse" where Hoover was clumsy. Roosevelt is exceedingly bright by comparison.

All of which can and does give liberals and superficial observers of all political shades a thrill or a chill, depending on the orientations of the politically purblind. None of which, however, has any substantial bearing on the fundamentals of the economic crisis. With all his "witchcraft" and "brain-trusting", Roosevelt the II has not even scratched the surface of the basic problems of American economy in crises. Fortunately for his Administration the fraud and bankruptcy of his economic schemes and policies have been hidden by the tremendous resources of U. S. capitalism which enable him to make many, varied and swiftly-changing manouvers and experiments—at the expense, of course, of some hundred million American guinea pigs (the urban and rural toiling population).

However, bubbles, no matter how colorful and big, cannot last for long. The biggest achievement of our laughing Executive has been the creation of the C.W.A. which, momentarily, put on public works several million men at practically the barest subsistence levels. Now comes the announcement of the Civil Works Administrator Hopkins that beginning February 15th, this Army will become an Army of no-occupation. The workers will be fired at the rate of half a million a week. Indeed, this is marvelous speed and mass production of unemployment at a tempo and volume unheard of before in any country. "America First"—always, as the hundred-percenters would have it.

What is the reason for this collapse of the C.W.A., which at best did not deal with the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, like the conflict between social production and private appropriation, or the gap between rising productive capacities and declining consumption possibilities? "There is no more money", says Hopkins. The country cannot afford to be spending \$75,000,000 a week on the C.W.A., say the brain-trusters. Of course, if it were a matter of firing torpedoes or bombing enemy cities, it would be different. Then there would be money until Hell froze over. Then the safety of the nation, civilization, democracy and other such blessings would be at stake, and any price in life, limb or cash would be too small.

This bursting bubble is a blow in the face of the workers. Probably the Administration will pull another rabbit out of its hat. But such rabbits do not last long nor taste well. The whole economic program of Roosevelt, aiming to strengthen the capitalist system and to secure a stabilization of poverty, is doomed to failure. Roosevelt is playing with the dollar, with the hope of shooting up prices of commodities. Still, last summer when the dollar was at about 74 cents and not about 60 cents as it is LEGALLY today, prices were higher in this country.

The tragedy of it all is that the workers are paying dearly for all of this blowing and bursting of bubbles. (Roosevelt's C.W.A., R.F.C., A.A.A., don't spell jobs, don't feed or clothe us or don't give us a roof over our heads.) No real improvement in our condition can come, even for a short time, unless we organize and fight for it.

## MENACE OF COMPANY UNIONISM

THE Blue Eagle still has a strong hold on millions of workers. But daily we find fewer and fewer workers continuing to believe that the NRA is a friend of Labor. The disastrous experience in the auto, steel and textile industries and the coke area of Western Pennsylvania have in this sense proved an expensive but effective teacher. We have never had illusions about the Roosevelt "revolution". We have foretold its coming, exposed its aims and methods, and analyzed its inherent contradictions spelling its doom. However, in the very course of this process, the American workers face a menace of infinitely more sinister significance than any challenge or threat they have faced in years. Under cover of Section 7a of the NRA, the very section which is supposed to guarantee the right to collective bargaining, the open shop, company unionism is marching on with seven league boots.

Since Roosevelt began his attempts to reconstruct the decaying edifice of American capitalism "employee representation" schemes—a soft name for the ugly company unionism—have risen 180%. At the same time the workers were able to secure an increase of only 75% in trade union agreements, in the recognition of genuine unions. Obviously, the relationship is onesided, with the open shop having scored, todate, thanks to the NRA, a smashing victory.

The tragedy of the situation becomes all the clearer when we find that out of every hundred existing company unions only about eleven were introduced before 1920. Furthermore, it is in the big plants, those averaging 1500 workers or more, that company unionism has its greatest hold. This trend in itself should serve as a warning and the field of its spread is an alarm to all workingmen. It is far from too late to turn the tide. Organized labor with clean, virile leadership and militant policies can not only turn the tide in favor of bona fide unionism but can do much more. Now is the time energetically to organize the unorganized. Today company unionism can be defeated by united militant action of the workers. Tomorrow it will be much more difficult. The day after tomorrow it may be a hopeless fight. A further sweep of company unionism would spell disaster for the working class.

There is but one road for us to take: Into the unions and there fight for clean militant unionism as the only answer to the General Johnsons and the open shop army.

### COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

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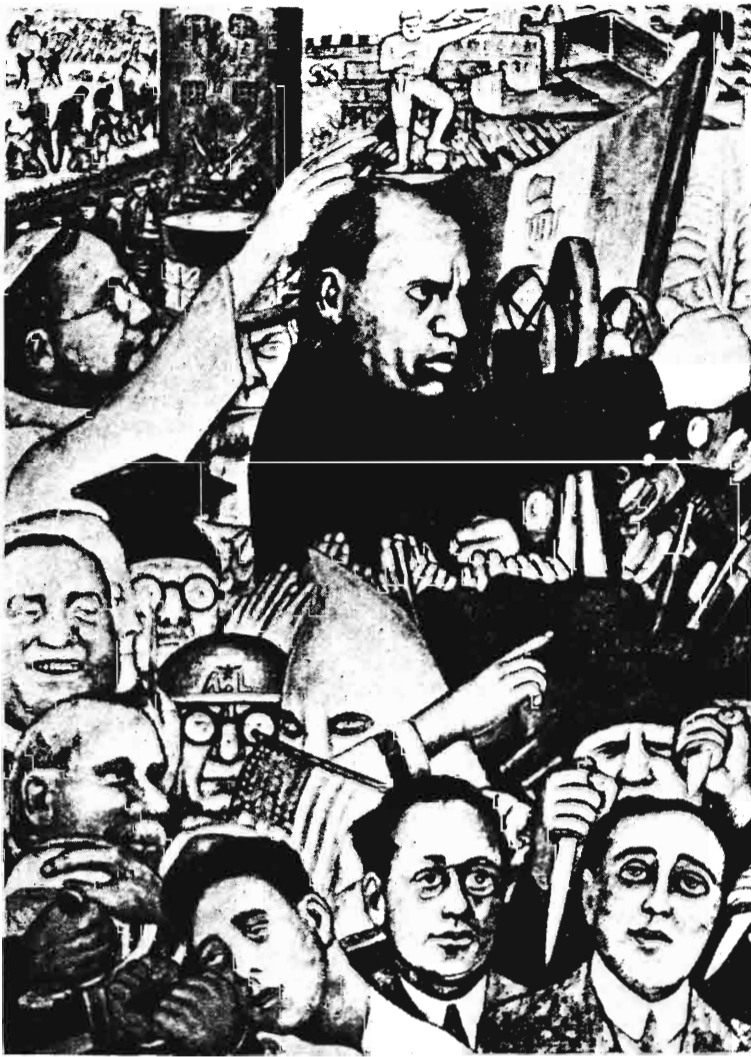
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## THE RIVERA MURAL OF ITALIAN FASCISM



## Groucho-Marxism

The following is an analysis by an aroused Socialist Party member on the "education" offered by the membership card of those who join the S. P. in Illinois.—Editor.

In the Socialist Party membership book we find appeals for Socialism by Abe Lincoln, John Stuart Mill, Victor Hugo, Hiawatha.

Then we find the highest authority for a definition of Socialism—the Webster dictionary and the Standard dictionary. Then follows a list of "reliable books on Socialism". Here we find Socialism and Character by Vida Scudder, Socialism and Modern Science by E. Ferri, Elements of Socialism by Spargo and Arner, Karl Marx, His Life and Work by John Spargo and finally The Truth About Socialism by, none other than, Allen Benson.

What is interesting is that the Communist Manifesto is not referred to or mentioned in the entire list of "reliable" books, or anywhere within the membership book.

On the last page, we find the final appeal by Tolstoi, Hugo and Demosthenes. Demosthenes tells us, "The key to all success is action, action, action!" Hugo goes us one better by getting down to practical reasons why everyone should join the S. P. He says, "When times get hard a man can beg but a woman must sell."

In any organization where it is such "thoughts that count" we can get as far towards Socialism as the S. P. has been getting.

## FURNITURE UNION KEEPS CONDITIONS

The combined efforts of 52 furniture manufacturers to return to the 40 hour week, after having signed agreements on the 35 hour basis, has failed. The regional Labor Board ruled against the manufacturers.

Representing the workers were E. W. Sinclair, Business Agent of Furniture Finisher's Union, Local 1; Business Agent Thies of Upholterers' Local 76 and President Hatch of the Upholterers' International Union.

Mr. Sinclair stated that it was not certain whether the manufacturers would comply with this ruling. He was certain, however, that the membership of his union which twice rejected the 40 hour proposal, could be depended on for an effective policing of the shops.

Asked, what was the basis for the favorable discussion, Mr. Sinclair stated that there were two reasons. First, the determination of the workers to resist what amounts to a 13% cut, and second, the united front of the Upholsterers and the Furniture Finishers, an independent union. "Of course," he added, "the frankness of the manufacturers helped us a lot. They admitted raising a \$50,000 fund to fight all unions."

The Furniture Finishers are now negotiating with the Brotherhood of Painters for affiliation.

## SILK WORKERS HOLD UNION ELECTIONS

New York City The New York local of the American Federation of Silk Workers, held elections, at its meeting on Saturday January 13. Delegates were also elected to the national convention of the A.F.S.W.

The following are the officers elected: Chairman Hyman Landy, Vice Chairman Yamnik, Financial Secretary Kenneth Melhado, Recording Secretary Sarah Berlinsky.

B. Herman and S. Berlinsky were elected delegates to the convention.

The Executive Committee elected consists of eleven. Besides the four officers the following were elected, George Oukil, Tom Battah, B. Herman, Joe Yanovsky, Joe Cori, Al Bossan and Julius Rubano.

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY NITE

SUNDAY FEB. 11 — 8 P. M.

at

IRVING PLAZA

— Speakers —

JAY LOVESTONE

L. NELSON

BERT WOLFE

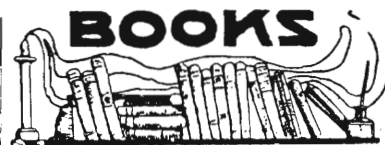
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## WHY COMMUNISM? PLAIN TALKS ON VITAL PROBLEMS. By M. J. O'gin. (International Publishers, 10c).

Any critical review of a popular pamphlet always carries the suggestion that the reviewer aims to do a little hair-splitting reminiscent of the old-time economics or political science class. But Olgin commits so many errors in his efforts to become popular that we are justified in being specific and justified in using the term "sloppy" in respect to this pamphlet.

For instance. "The longer the working day, the more surplus value you produce." "He (the capitalist) will sell it (the commodity) at the price fixed, not by himself individually, but by the corporation of which he is a part." "The wages of the workers are being cut in order that the employers may get bigger profits. . . ." Any student will recognize the shortcomings of these statements. (All on p. 14) Apropos of Wall Street, is it correct to say: "The price of stocks is based upon the estimated earning capacity of the unit that issues the stocks"? (p. 15) Of course it is incorrect.

On p. 16, when listing the 1932 factors of decreasing production, no mention is made of wage-cuts. These were too important an item to the workers to be slurred over. Again, on the same page, the workers are told that with 17 million unemployed "the big heads of corporations were still reaping profits." The jobless should be told that such profits, when production had been cut in half, were made possible by drawing on the reserves which had been piled up out of the surplus values created during "normal" times.

When it is said that "wealth is owned . . . by those . . . who have amassed it out of others under the protection of the law" isn't there a danger that the humble worker, pumped full of the democratic theories of his masters, may draw the conclusions that a change in LAW is all that is necessary to put things to rights? (p. 18) Isn't it rank humanitarianism to describe the capitalist system in the following words? (p. 19): "a system where the primary purpose of labor—to satisfy the basic needs of humanity—is completely lost sight of in the scramble for bigger fortunes." And I'll swear Olgin was dreaming when he wrote: "all the goods accumulated in this country are the fruits of their (the unemployed) labor. They are entitled to all the wealth." (Our emphasis) So we are entitled to all the wealth, are we? May we quote a little Marx here? In the Gotha Program, the father of scientific socialism declared. (and emphasised), that "Labor is not the source of all wealth . . . A Socialist platform should not let such middle class phrases pass, and permit by silence, the conditions that alone give sense thereto to be suppressed." We beg to draw Olgin's attention to this.

But let's wind up this wearisome panning. One more and we're thru. "The government seems to be entirely inept to cope with the political and social difficulties." Lenin once said that for the ruling class there was never "no other way out." Olgin's statements completely understates the case. The capitalist state is on the job. It is maintaining order, i.e., keeping the unemployed quiet and wellbehaved. And any time the capitalist system shows signs of collapse, and the workers indicate, thru organization and otherwise, that they contemplate social change, then the government will resort to Fascism. The gun has been fired. The race is on between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. If the former are to win they must be led by the Communists, who, of all people, should be theoretically sound and clear-visioned in all they say and write. The pamphlet under review is muddy, sloppy, and confused.

W. M.