

Roosevelt Asks for Class «Peace»

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while remaining perfectly within the law. He prefers to see how well his labor lieutenants Green, Hillman, Dubinsky and Co. will be able to fasten their stranglehold on the working masses. The patriotic paraphernalia—"for working class consumption"—will come later. He can bide his time. Capitalism is experimenting and its perspective is a long one.

What the worker can expect from the blanket code is evident from what he received from the grandiose public works scheme. Roosevelt is the sponsor of both. From the public works—the conservation camps—the workers had several hundred thousands of their own employed; at the niggardly wage of \$1 a day. The blanket code promises minimums of \$14 and \$11. That is to be the law—for employers and workers alike, says the president. What is to prevent the trusts, the syndicates and corporations to mobilize their armies of flunkay lawyers to circumvent the law, as Morgan did with the bank laws? Nothing. The bosses make the laws, they have the "right"—their means, their resources—to break them just as well.

A French wit once said: "The state forbids both rich and poor to steal bread; the state forbids both rich and poor to sleep under bridges." . . .

The state: Roosevelt—that is the bosses' state. Its laws are the laws and the codes of the employers. Workers' rights must be fought for. They are not granted, they must be snatched from the boss class. The same holds true for the blanket code and the whole Roosevelt rignarole.

Those labor fakers who speak of the Roosevelt administration as "above the classes", who speak of the fairness of the codes, are preparing the workers for further and greater oppression and misery. They must be exposed. Every step of their's must be watched, mistrusted. Every proposal carefully examined. The working class counter-proposals, the proletarian counter-strategy to the Roosevelt offensive must be prepared.

The need of the moment is the concentration of all Left wing and genuine progressive forces in the American labor movement for the elaboration of such a policy. The official Communist party under Stalinist leadership and the Musteite Conference for Progressive Labor Action have called a conference on the National Industrial Recovery Act in Cleveland for August. Whether this conference will accomplish this burning task is questionable and yet to be seen. What is needed to accomplish this task is a well worked out Communist program, one that is based on principle and confirmed by experience, one that will stand the test. Not the least factor in such a program is a correct international orientation. The Left Opposition will be on hand with such a program, it will work with all its might to unite a solid Left wing movement, to make it the driving force within all labor organizations, in the A. F. of L. and among the unorganized.

—SAM GORDON.

How the Bosses Receive N.I.R.A.

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hours, in fact, is treated in the codes as only another form of spreading the work, the "stagger" system introduced during the present crisis on an unprecedented scale. By spreading out the jobs over a greater number of workers, the bosses benefit not only by keeping many of them from the miserly unemployment benefits which they might get but also by establishing the habit of an unprecedentedly low scale of living based on one, two or three day's work a week.

But the greatest immediate benefit of all, which the capitalists will obtain from the act, is its effect in shoving the question of organization into the background, among the masses of undeveloped workers. "Roosevelt and the Recovery Act will take care of wages and hours—why do we need to take out union cards?" is the crudest form of this reaction. Another form is the acceptance even of company unions, as well as of reformist trade union leadership, by hitherto unorganized workers as a great victory achieved without a struggle. This will tend to lead off into "safe" channels the discontent of the workers which would otherwise flow toward the strengthening of the Left wing in reformist unions or the organization of new militant class-struggle unions. Hundreds of thousands of new workers are coming into the AFL, from basic industry especially. These workers new to organization unfamiliar with the traditions of reformist bureaucracy, will form a broad basis for the future growth of the Left wing.

The revolutionary leadership of the workers cannot remain content with letting the workers find out for themselves how hollow are the illusions with which they are being fed. They must take the initiative in showing the workers that they are getting nothing from the Industrial Recovery Act, that the first codes presented already clearly show the intention of the bosses to give them nothing and of the government to back up the bosses, that the reformist union leaders are simply harnessing the workers

WAVE OF STRIKES LABOR'S ANSWER

Furniture Workers in General Strike St. Louis Shaken by Strike Movement

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rank and file of the trade, led by the Left wing, demanded the reintegration of the Left wing union into the American Federation of Labor and for a united general strike under one banner. We believe that the militancy resulting from a victorious strike would inevitably lead to the growth of Left wing strength in the merged union, towards the reestablishment of the Left wing in the leading positions of influence and control which they held prior to 1929.

C. P. Versus the Union
"The upholsterers are going back to Local 76 (A. F. of L.). They are not going; they are running. They are not running; they are already there." This is the private opinion of the majority of the Party fraction in the Furniture Workers Industrial Union. The overwhelming response of the workers to the A. F. of L. strike call sustains that opinion. One party member after another, in a meeting with the representatives of the Trade Union Unity Council, Overgaard and Wortis, thus declared that unless unity was achieved with the A. F. of L. in the coming general strike, we would find ourselves six months from now without a rank and file.

Notwithstanding this overwhelming sentiment in the Party fraction, the T.U.U.C. representatives put their foot down heavily against any further unity negotiations with the A. F. of L. "betrayers of labor" and ordered that the Industrial Union be maintained at all costs.

The false face of unity behind which the T.U.U.C. masqueraded was finally ripped aside at a meeting of five shops held Tuesday July 25th to discuss the question of unity between the two unions. The Stalinists refused to give the floor to the representatives of the Left wing group, this time on the pretext that they were not members of those particular shops called to attend that meeting.

Why was this meeting called? Was it because the Stalinists wanted to hear the opinion of the upholsterers as to whether we should unite with Local 76 or not? No. It was because the workers, tired of being fed on empty and worn-out phrases, began to say that, if the Industrial Union does not join 76 as a body, they themselves, as individuals, would join Local 76.

When the organizer of the Industrial Union, it appears, came to the shops to collect a three dollar strike tax, the workers, who naively thought that they were in the midst of unity negotiations, turned on him suspiciously, and said: "Let us wait until the unity negotiations are over. Perhaps we will have one union, perhaps other arrangements will be made, etc." Frightened by the fact that the Industrial Union was losing the little influence it had up till now, the organizer asked them to come to a special shop meeting that night to discuss the question.

The sentiment of the workers at the beginning of the meeting was to go into 76 as a body. The Stalinists were frantic. Demagogic speeches rolled off their tongues that would have shamed Tammany politicians and tabloid sob-sisters. Remarks such as: "Are you going to desert us now?", "I was in jail 28 days for you!", "I shed blood for you!", "I was always on the picket line", etc., etc., filled the air.

Left Wing "Defeated"
The terrific "leaders" again "defeated" the Left wing by denying them the floor, thus preventing an open comparison of policies which they knew could swing the bulk of the membership in favor of unity. By tiring the rank and file with speeches and appeals, in which only the Stalinist point of view was expressed, they finally put through a vote to "strike under the banner of the Industrial Union" in the coming strike.

Do the party leaders think this is an endorsement of their policy of obstructing unity? It was nothing but a vote of sympathy and confidence in those individuals who made the appeals, but in no sense can it be construed as approval for the "split policy" of the party in the furniture industry. Let them not deceive themselves about their following. The workers in the shops want unity today, in the heat of the strike, even more than before the strike was called. If must be stated here that the Stalinists, with the calling of the general strike, have already lost the golden opportunity to unite the two streams in the movement, the Left and the Right. They will stand convicted, in the eyes of the entire movement, of complicity if not collusion with the reactionary bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. in preventing the achievement of what lies nearest and dearest in the heart of every furniture worker in the industry: one strong union.

to the bosses' wagon by their policy of class collaboration, and that the workers will get nothing unless they fight for it. This means the unifying and strengthening of the Left wing in the reformist unions, taking advantage of the new changes in the position of the AFL; as well as the organization of broad class struggle industrial unions in those industries characterized by great concentration of capital and wide use of unskilled labor, which the A. F. of L. has up to now been afraid to organize and is now entering, thanks to NIRA.

—B. J. FIELD.

All Out on the Picket Line!

Every shop in the trade, large or small, join the strike. The Left wing calls upon you to support the general strike and the following demands:

1. The 30 hour—5 day week in place of the 44 hour week now prevailing.
2. Minimum scale of \$1.40 per hour in place of the 60c average now prevailing.
3. Abolition of the Piece Work System.
4. Provisions in contract for higher wages when cost of living rises—the union to determine when and how much.
5. Protect allied trades by AMALGAMATING them into one strong industrial union.
6. No collaboration with the bosses under the National Recovery Act.
7. A militant general strike, and a class-struggle union, for better conditions in the trade.

For the Left wing group,
—CARL COWL,
—SOL LANKIN.

Pocketbook Workers Win Conditions

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mands of the workers. The Left wing however, must be criticized for not asking for a referendum vote on such an important matter as a settlement of a strike. The workers of the Association shops were out on strike for three and a half weeks.

Through the militant struggle of the workers, the bosses had to yield to some of the workers demands. If the strike would have been led by a militant leadership, and not by the "Fraternal Club" administration and the other cliques, the workers would have won all their just demands.

Now let us analyze the partial demands the workers gained from the employers.

- (1) 40 hour week beginning September 1st.
- (2) Reorganization — readjustments under which the workers suffered for the last two years—is abolished in the new agreement.
- (3) Manufacturers will not be allowed to send work out to contracting shops or buy merchandise while their workers are not employed in their shops full time.

For these concessions, the "Fraternal Club" administration gave up one of the important demands: the Unemployment Insurance fund. Although the unemployed workers got very little out of the fund because the S. P. fakers, Dr. Heudin, with the "Club" boys misused the fund for themselves, nevertheless, the employers had to pay over \$60,000 a year to the fund. This money was given back to the employers as a present for the demands they were forced to give to the workers. Another important demand our officers made up was a scale of wages for general helpers, and packers.

The strike in the Association shops is over, the strike in the independent shops is going on with more vigor until the employers will be forced to grant the demands, and to sign an agreement with the C. I. O. The workers who will go back to the shops in the next few days must remember and see to it that the agreement is carried out a hundred percent. For this it is necessary to elect the proper Chairman and committee men in the shops. The workers cannot rely on the present administration to carry through that agreement for them in the shops. The workers must organize and stick together in the shops as a unit as they did in time of strike.

—N. D. F.

G. Zinoviev on the Party Regime

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No one in the party believes or will believe that all these inadmissible, criminal anti-party methods are applied only by accident. Were this the case, they would not have been so systematic, they would not be extended and, above all, they would not remain unpunished. A whole system is involved and this system of preparing the Congress, that is, the system of not permitting any normal preparation for the Congress, has, in the conviction of all, its centre: the Secretariat of the C. C., that is, the real concentration point of the CC—and tries beforehand to impose its will upon the Congress, that is upon the party. Precisely herein lies the essence of the anti-constitutional, anti-party mechanism which has already been set into full swing for the "preparation" of the Congress.

—G. ZINOVIEV.

St. Louis Shaken by Strike Movement

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crises of not less than 20 percent. Mayor Dickman will undoubtedly do his darndest to settle the strike, in his customarily picturesque manner, of appointing an "arbitration" committee and then soap-boxing to the strikers, telling them to accept the offer like good little children and "sin no more".

Several hundred workers have been striking at Jackes-Evans Mfg. Company for almost a month. They are demanding recognition of their union, the United Metal Stammers and Assemblers Union, in addition to wage increases. This strike has the support of the Socialist party and the Young People's Socialist League, who are now having a re-birth in St. Louis. So far the manufacturer's attempts to use strike-breakers has not succeeded in crushing the strike.

The Shoe Strike

The strike situation that is the most important at the present time is a "wild-cat" spontaneous rebellion of boot and shoe workers. St. Louis is a shoe town. The organized shoe workers have taken wage cut after wage cut (50-75%) since the beginning of the depression. The Boot and Shoe Union officials are such perfect agents of the bosses that they endorsed the wage-cuts, every time. Indignant, the shoe workers would vote en-masse against accepting the cut and spontaneously walk out of the meeting. The union officials would then "over-ride" the voting and would call another meeting and another and still another until finally the rank and file rebellion would change to a sickening disgust. No leaders, no program, everything looked hopeless. So the shoe-workers throughout St. Louis periodically drew in their belts a little tighter, retaining the bosses' sugary words of "as soon as business picks up, you'll get back the same scale".

Inflation—increased production of shoes—and the over-worked, under-paid shoeworkers began to demand the former scale. The workers just had to get higher wages, the cost of living was rising terrifically. The shoe companies accordingly offered wage increases—but not large enough to offset their previous reductions. This reneging of the bosses' promise was the match that made the shoe workers see fire.

A Rebellion in the Union

750 Millus Shoe Company employees met last Monday (July 17th) to consider the wage increase. The union officials, Mc-Morrow, International Boot and

one time tried to affiliate it with the Metal Workers Industrial Union, for one reason or another nothing came of this attempt.

The young workers of this trade, driven to desperation by the continuous slashing of their wages, the intolerably long hours, the filthy sweat shops without any of the improvements gained by workers in other trades, decided to take matters in their own hands.

A number of workers more energetic than the rest (notably among them Charles Aiosa, unaided by anyone) distributed a circular calling upon the workers of this trade to attend a meeting. The circular met with an unusually enthusiastic response. The meeting was attended by a majority of the workers in the trade. After some preliminary remarks by the author of the circular a strike was immediately declared upon. A list of demands was drawn up listing among other things, an 8 hour day—five day work rates. At the same time the union began to crystallize and take shape finally, evolving into the Novelty Mirror Workers Union.

As can be seen by the account thus far, the whole thing was done hastily, in the most haphazard fashion, unaided by any experienced trade unionists. Consequently a number of mistakes were made, namely, the demand for piece work and the failure to consider the workers in the other crafts in the same trade.

A member of the Left Opposition in the trade (whose craft was not considered) met with the strikers several times (after the strike was declared) and pointed out the absurdity of such a step—piece work—and that unless the union was organized on an industrial basis the chances of winning the strike would be greatly lessened. However the list of demands had already been handed in to the various bosses. Encouraging replies were returned on all sizes of mirrors although not quite complying with the workers demands had evidently fired them with so much enthusiasm that it was impossible to sway them from their original plans.

However it was determined to organize and call out the whole industry in the event that the bosses remained adamant in their stand. The workers overwhelmingly voted to continue striking and immediately a strike committee was elected and picketing ordered in front of all shops.

Simultaneously with the organization of the union the bosses had quickly gotten together and formed an association. Negotiations went on directly with the association. To date a number of shops have already signed up, though no final settlements have been arrived at. All shops must be signed up before the workers will return to work. With all the inexperience and errors made at the start, it is reasonable to believe that the battle will not have been in vain.

Mirror Workers Strike

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Shoe representative, and Phillips, business agent, urged acceptance of the company's "liberal" offer. The workers militantly denounced both the company and the union officials. They demanded, and insisted they were going to get, 33 1-3 percent increase on grade B shoes, 12 1-2 percent increase on fancy shoes, a forty hour week, and no overtime. The chairman fingered the speakers: "You strike and you get fined \$25.00." The workers unseated the chairman, walked out of the union hall, and went out on strike. They rented a separate hall and announced their intentions of striking for their demands till hell froze over.

McMorrow, the union representative, immediately telegraphed the National Industrial Recovery Administration that the union officials regarded the strike as a "violation of the arbitration agreement and against the spirit of Roosevelt's administrative recovery plans."

While this was happening, 1000 shoe workers employed at Wolfe-Tober Shoe Mfg Co. voted down the offer of a 10 percent wage increase and came forward with their own demands: 20 percent increase on B shoes, 12 1-2 percent increase on fancy, 40 hour week, no overtime. The shoe workers ran the union fakers out of the hall and conducted their own meeting. They decided to strike with the Millus workers. Wolfe, the owner of the shoe company, however immediately got in touch with them and asked them to give him a week to reconsider. The shoe-workers decided to wait the seven days.

The week ends July 24th, when the Wolfe employees are holding a "secret" meeting to consider their action. The indications are that Wolfe will accede to their demands without a strike struggle. The Millus strikers have, in the meantime, gained everyone of their demands, over the heads of the Boot and Shoe labor fakers.

Now Briar Bros. workers are considering "wild-cattng" for their demands. The resentment against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union officials is so great that both Millus and Wolfe-Tober shoe workers, en-masse, all agree to rent a separate hall for the purpose of holding "committee" meetings, separate from the Boot and Shoe. What will happen within the next few weeks is hard to foretell.—RALPH MARTIN

Letter from Moscow U.S.S.R.

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better supplied. In any case every thing revolves about a piece of daily bread. Because of it people submit to the monstrous sufferings of these journeys. "Leaders" and bureaucrats call them contemptuously "fly-by-nights", "kulaks", "speculators" sometimes simply "peasants" which should signify that their hunger is not real because they are not as yet real proletarians, but instead these people should be... fed.... These "speculators"—are speculating only to get a piece of bread. These "fly-by-nights" fly from one factory to the next for the same piece of bread.

You know to what extent thievery has grown. The theft of collective property, even if it is potatoes or bread, is a capital crime. It has been completely forgotten that thievery is the product of conditions and not of evil character. Instead of destroying the causes and instead of education we have brutal laws. We are going backwards.... All are tired, filled with despair. Only a small part of those who are absolutely well fed still believes in the leadership. The leadership demands courage and optimism. "We have not only lived through worse difficulties, but conquered! That is the ultimate wisdom of a bureaucracy that is entirely confused. But why pick on them, they are enmeshed in their own chains. One can say with assurance that out of ten party members eight are eaten with doubts. In private conversation they relate that in the nuclei and in the conferences all the decisions are accepted... unannouncedly. Why? What's the use? If I rot in Siberia, I won't help matters any by it."

I have heard that Eismont had no group whatever, it was simply a case of four people a little intoxicated, sighing how good it would be if Stalin were removed. Outside of this insipid sigh there was nothing at all.

Wholesale arrests among those who had left the Opposition (in Moscow alone more than 150 were arrested and exiled) were explained as a prophylactic measure. Although many of the captulators were passive, no confidence was had in them. Stalin evidently considers that it is necessary to exile a man before he succeeds to begin think-

On Some Misconceptions of Fascism and State Capitalism

In addition to the Stalinist practice of tagging everything and everybody not a member of the official Communist party (or close sympathizer) with the contradictory label of social-Fascist and Scott Nearing's amusing view of Fascism as a movement based on a retreat from the technological mass production economy of today to the village economy of the past, a new conception of Fascism has come into being. This conception has for its basic premise the belief that "State Capitalism" is a distinguishing characteristic of Fascist dictatorship. It sees in the growth of state control over industry and state monopolies a move toward Fascism when in reality such a process is a part of the evolutionary tendency of capitalism and has been developing for a good many years.

Increasing state capitalism is not a characteristic peculiar to Fascism but is a phenomenon present during the state of economic and political development which makes the rise of Fascism historically possible. It is an instrument of imperialism, being an advanced form of the mechanism by which competition between capitalist countries is carried on—a sort of a growing integration of the economic activity of a national or international unit as a whole.

By means of concentration and centralization, the credit system, issue of securities, financial pressure, directorships, ownership of stock, etc., a handful of finance capitalists have organized the economic life of the various nations into virtual monopolies. The parts of this system are ever in the process of drawing closer together, due to a certain interrelation of interests, thereby exhibiting a tendency to transform the entire economic activity of each of the leading countries into a single national enterprise under the control of the state which acts as an "executive committee of the ruling classes" regulating prices, production, distribution, etc. At the same time there is occurring the formation of actual state monopolies financed by large banks, as well as monopolies jointly controlled by the state and private trusts.

Between 1914 and 1919, under pressure of the demands of the world war, the move toward state capitalism went forward at a rapid pace. In Germany, for instance, in addition to state control of private enterprises and jointly controlled, "mixed" enterprises, state monopolies for the production of bread, potatoes, nitrates, etc. were formed. The financial system was centralized under control of the Reichsbank. In short, the entire economic life of the nation was consolidated temporarily into a single unit, the same process being discernible in other belligerent nations and, to a lesser degree, in some of the non-belligerent ones.

Since then, although state capitalism subsided for a time, its growth has reached a point where emphasis must be placed upon the competition and antagonisms occurring between nations as national

units rather than upon those occurring within the territorial confines of the various capitalist powers. State control of industry or state capitalism, during the present period of capitalist decay, with its narrowing markets, is the mechanism by which individual national economies or countries are preparing to attempt to wrest from other national economies a larger share of the existing trade and world control. It is the mechanism by which the living standards of the workers will be driven further downward.

Nor is its development confined to Europe. On the contrary state capitalism is almost as evident in "democratic" United States as it is in Fascist Germany and to view the process as a move toward Fascist dictatorship is to create confusion. The fundamental role of Fascism is not to form a so-called "corporatist state" but to prevent the workers from moving toward social revolution. Fascism will gain strength precisely at the moment when the workers begin to threaten—when the revolutionary movement begins to assume menacing proportions—and once it comes to power it will seek to destroy not only the vanguard but also all working class organizations and to sweep out of existence all elements of working class democracy.

To believe that it will "convert big business into an adjunct of the state", as is claimed in an article in the July issue of the *Modern Monthly*, is to reveal a failure to understand its real character. To see in the growth of state control a move toward Fascism is to create the illusion that the present administration of the United States is Fascistic and tends to resurrect the theory of social-Fascism in another form.

In reality, Fascism is an instrument created and maintained by the big bourgeoisie to protect themselves against the march of the workers. As comrade Trotsky pointed out in *What Next?*: "After Fascism is victorious, finance capital gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly and immediately, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative and educational powers of the state: The entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the cooperatives. When a state turns Fascist, it doesn't only mean that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the pattern set by Mussolini—the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role—but it means, first of all for the most part, that the workers organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. There is precisely the gist of Fascism."

...They say that in the Soviet Union there is no inequality, that the highest "leaders" receive so much and so much. In my opinion there is no more distinct form of inequality than the inequality between the one who is simply well fed and the one who is simply hungry. Our bureaucrats are well fed, clothed, and lives in heated and well-lit apartments. But millions of workers live in barracks, in simply heated conditions, and this has been going on for years on end. To the worker's needs, to his complaint of hunger, and to his dissatisfaction, the bureaucrat replies that this is no class-conscious worker, but the peasant of yesterday.

...Not long before Hitler's assumption of power I happened to be present during the following conversation (in a train). A bureaucrat was talking about the approaching German revolution and the hard lot of the German unemployed. The first part was listened to with distrust but the second part was rudely interrupted: That's a lie. Why, then, do the German workers run away from us, one female worker said bitterly. Ironic remarks flew from all sides. The orator tried to defend himself. "It's all lies, there is nothing worse than the Soviet rule; our kids always throw it up to us that we chose such a government ourselves", the same woman retorted with extreme sharpness. Of course, that is only an isolated incident but it shows that in the backward layers of the proletariat the dissatisfaction at times goes a long way. . . .

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