

TWO CITY COUNCILS, SIX MORE A.F.L. LOCALS ENDORSE H.R. 7598

Mooney Urges Locals of AFL to Endorse Bill For Social Insurance

Answers Green's Attack On H. R. 7598; Calls For Campaign

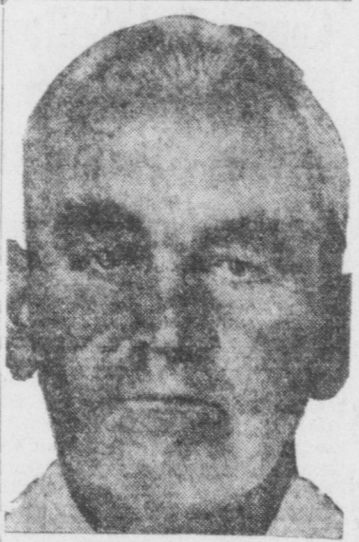
NEW YORK—Tom Mooney, from his cell in San Quentin, has again sent a ringing call to members of the American Federation of Labor to throw their whole-hearted support behind the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598). Mooney sent his message through Louis Weinstein, National Secretary of the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief, who visited him in his cell last week.

In a recent letter to Weinstein Mooney wrote the following:

"I give my great pleasure to learn of the struggle your organization is conducting for unemployment insurance and relief. With millions of workers and their families starving at this time, during an unprecedented crisis, I heartily and unqualifiedly endorse your fight for relief and insurance, so vitally necessary for the lives of the American workers.

"My attention has been recently called to a 'warning' issued by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, which is being sent to all city labor bodies, local unions, of the A. F. of L., attacking your organization.

"The action of Mr. Green and the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. in this connection, is similar to their action in trying to ham-string my Defense Committee by 'warning' unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to withhold financial support from the Committee, of which I am the director, and which has for 16 years been con-



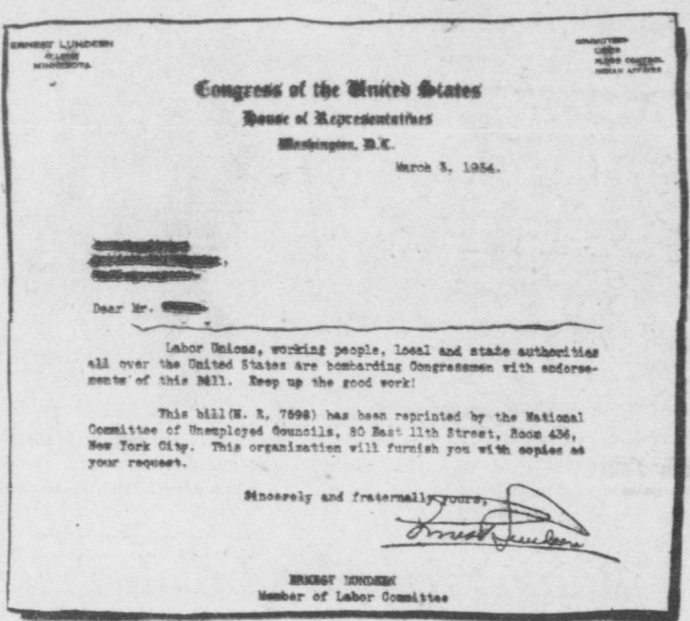
TOM MOONEY

ducting the fight for my freedom."

More than 1,200 A. F. of L. locals have already endorsed the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598), as well as three state federations of labor affiliated with the A. F. of L. More than 60 of these locals have endorsed the bill since it was introduced in Congress a month ago by Representative Lundeen of Minnesota.

At the last meeting of the National Executive of the A. F. of L. Committee, held in Philadelphia, plans were made to broaden the campaign for support of the bill. Thousands of A. F. of L. locals are being circularized and individual members of the A. F. of L. are being urged to write letters to the Congressmen of their respective districts demanding that they support the bill on the floor of Congress.

"Bombarding Congressmen"



Excerpts are shown from a letter sent by Ernest Lundeen, Minnesota Congressman, to a worker in Chicago. Lundeen says, "Labor unions, working people, local and state authorities all over the United States are bombarding Congressmen with endorsements of this bill. Keep up the good work!"

Lundeen introduced the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill into the House on February 1. He was forced to do this by the demand of the workers of Minnesota.

However, Lundeen, who is a member of the House Committee on Labor, where the bill has been resting, has not put up a fight for the bill. On March 15th the bill will have been in the House Committee for thirty days, when automatically, it is not reported to the floor of the House.

The masses of workers and farmers will now have to bring pressure on their local Congressmen to sign a petition for the bringing of the bill (H. R. 7598) to the floor. One hundred and forty-five Congressmen must be forced to sign this petition, to bring it to the floor of the House.

pot being given the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief by the rank and file in the A. F. of L. The "A. F. of L. RANK AND FILE FEDERATIONIST" organ of the Committee, will increase its number of pages by 50 per cent in its next issue, and will also increase its press run by the same amount. The New York headquarters of the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief is 1 Union Square, Room 716.

Salem, Ohio and Klamath Falls Councils Demand Action on Social Insurance Bill

Machinists Local 119, With 700 Members, Approves Bill

NEW YORK—The city councils of the industrial town of Salem, Ohio, and of Klamath Falls, an important lumber town of Oregon, in addition to six more locals' unions of the A. F. of L. endorsed the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598). It was reported to the Daily Worker yesterday Over 60 A. F. of L. locals have endorsed the Bill since Feb. 4. In addition, the large independent union of tool and die makers in Detroit, the Mechanics' Educational Society, endorsed the Workers' Bill.

The additional A. F. of L. locals endorsing the bill were: The International Association of Machinists, Local Union 119 of Newport, Rhode Island, with 700 members, Local Union 210 of the Carpenters and Joiners of East Stamford, Conn., which was previously dominated by the reactionary officials; the Woolen and Worsted Local of the United Textile (A. F. of L.) of Philadelphia, Local 1586; the Metal Polishers International, Local 6 of Chicago, and Local 377, a Drugists Union (A. F. of L.) of a food workers A. F. of L. local of Washington, D. C., endorsed the bill, but the Local Union number was not reported as yet to the Daily Worker.

In Philadelphia, the Taxi-Cab Drivers' Union, with 1,000 members, this week voted unanimously to support the Workers' Bill. The Taxi-Cab Union sent William Green, who fights against the Workers' Bill as "unconstitutional," and supports the useless Wagner Bill, the following telegram: "One thousand taxi drivers endorse the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill and demand that you fight for support of this bill in Congress. They also sent telegrams to Congressman Lauen and Congressman demanding immediate endorsement of the Workers' Bill. Other Philadelphia local unions

50,000 Copies of H. R. 7598 Given Out by Jobless Council

NEW YORK—More than fifty thousand copies of the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598) have been distributed in the past week by the National Unemployment Councils. Herbert Benjamin, national organizer, told the Daily Worker yesterday. In addition, 52,210 postal cards, demanding endorsement of the Workers' Bill have been sent out. All of these postals and copies of the bill (H. R. 7598) were ordered and paid for in small quantities by individuals and local organizations, Benjamin said.

"The National Unemployment Councils is now preparing to issue one million of these postal cards," Benjamin said. "They are to be mailed by individuals and organizations to the local congressmen, demanding that Congress act on the bill." The postal cards are given out at 25 cents a hundred and the bills at 30 cents a hundred. Both cost \$2 a thousand.

"On March 15 the Workers' Bill (H. R. 7598) will have been in the House Labor Committee for thirty days," Benjamin said. "If it is not reported out by that time, this means that in order to get the bill on the floor of the House, we will have to bring it to the floor by the petition method, that is, to get 145 individual Congressmen to sign a petition for the bringing of the bill to the floor of the house. Therefore this phase of the national campaign for the bill will now be directed toward bringing mass pressure on the local Congressmen for the bringing of the bill to the floor of the house by the petition method. Only the mass pressure of the workers and the working class organizations will force Congress to act on H. R. 7598." Copies of the bill and postal cards should be ordered from the Unemployed Councils, 80 East 11th Street, Room 437, New York.

which have just endorsed the Workers' Bill (H. R. 7598) and sent letters to Chairman Connery of the House Labor Committee, where the bill is now resting, and to Green, Lundeen and their local congressmen, include—Carpenters' Local 1073; Painters' Local 997; Hosiery Branch No. 4 of Langhorn, with 800 members, affiliated with the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers; Suitcase and Bag Makers' Local 52; Molders' Local No. 15, and Paper-hangers' Local 306. The Office Workers' Union of Philadelphia also endorsed the Workers' Bill at its last meeting.

In L'Anse, upper Michigan, where Henry Ford owns a big saw mill and dominates the town, the Baraga County Board of Supervisors was forced by a demonstration of the workers and farmers to unanimously endorse the Workers' Bill. The demonstration was organized by the county committee of the United Farmers' League, and C. W. A. and unemployed workers took part. The court room was jammed with workers.

All of the demands of the workers and farmers were endorsed by

Taxi Drivers Act; United Textile Local of Phila. Endorses

the county board, which included free fuel, \$15 minimum weekly on C. W. A. work which must be continued, \$8.40 minimum for single men, no discrimination. A county united front organization was formed with George Mosler, L'Anse, Mich., as secretary. The newly formed Unemployed Council of L'Anse is taking an active part in the fight for the Workers' Bill.

Jamestown United Front
The city of Jamestown, whose City Council endorsed the Workers' Bill (H. R. 7598) this week, is an industrial center of 45,000 population, manufacturing wood and metal furniture, washing machines, textiles, woollens and dresses, auto parts, pianos, automatic voting machines, etc.

The action of the City Council of Jamestown was forced by the correct application of the united front. The campaign was begun at an open forum meeting called by the Joint Council of Industrial Unions, which elected a committee to secure endorsements for the bill (H. R. 7598). Resolutions calling for action on the part of the City Council were sent to all local unions in the city and in all cases the bill was endorsed. Only some expelled S. L. P.-ites of the United Workers of America unsuccessfully tried to disrupt the campaign.

When the bill came before the city council, LeRoy Barkstrom of the united front committee, G. L. Aenderburg, in the name of the Communist Party, T. Monroe, an A. F. of L. member, spoke and analyzed the Workers' Bill.

The workers responded with thunderous applause. The councilman, faced with the militant voice of the workers of Jamestown, had no other recourse but to endorse the bill. The city council endorsed the bill and called upon its local representatives in Congress to vote for it.

Pre-Convention Discussion Reveals Weakness in Daily Work of the Party

Sidelights of a Section Convention of the Party

Member Makes Long Talk About Professional Revolutionists, But Fails to Work in Union Where He Is a Member

The following two speeches delivered by workers at Section Convention discussions are very instructive. They show some of the virtues and deficiencies in our day to day work, as actually experienced by rank and file comrades. All workers are urged to read in similar manner to the Party pre-convention discussion, taking up in detail actual experiences in carrying through the line of the Party.

These two speeches were delivered at the convention of Section 14, District 2, last Sunday, March 11, and were submitted by Comrade J. F., Unit 32, Section 14.

The first speech was made by Comrade X. He delivered the speech in a very fine manner that had all the comrades greatly interested. When the burgeois refused to seat Comrade X said: "Comrades, Lenin has said that we will never be able to win the great masses for a revolution unless we have a trained body of professional revolutionists. We must all of us try to become professional revolutionists."

"What does this mean? This means that we have got to keep our eyes open all the time and spread our ideas wherever we are, at all times.

"I have seen many of our comrades in trains and street cars and I never see them carrying any of our revolutionary literature properly displayed, such as a newspaper, or magazine, etc. And we must also have some leaflet or pamphlet with us that we can leave behind for some other worker to pick up. When I read my paper in the train, or when waiting for a train, I display it prominently because there is always somebody near curious enough to look into our paper.

During National Defense Week we had a very good leaflet. It was our best leaflet on both sides but it was a very good leaflet, for a change. I left this leaflet in the train next to a worker who looked very well off and the type who would be least interested in our literature. This worker was reading his own paper but when he noticed the leaflet, he picked it up and started to read it. He read for a minute or so and then put on his glasses and started to read the leaflet again. He not only read this leaflet, but he studied it.

I watched him and it took him 25 minutes to go through that leaflet. Then he carefully folded the leaflet and put it deep into his coat pocket. When this worker got up to go out, I followed him, although it was not my station. On the platform I spoke to him. I said I had noticed he had read the leaflet, and that I had also happened to pick up the same leaflet, and that it appealed to me very much. He replied he thought it was very good.

I asked him if he had ever read any other literature put out by the same people and he said no, but he

Fight of War Vets Vitally Important

By P. V. CACCHINE

A few weeks ago, a certain comrade met a member of our organization and asked how the re-organization of the movement was progressing. She was referring to the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League. Our comrade remarked that what to her was the rear-guard, the Fascists considered the vanguard of their own movement.

This feeling in regard to our organization prevails throughout our entire Party. Our comrades have not yet become politically conscious of the importance of organizing this section of the masses, which consists of approximately eight million ex-servicemen. Of these eight million, over four million are Veterans of the World War. In New York City, there are about four hundred thousand ex-servicemen and of these over 250,000 of them are World War Veterans.

Part of the Masses
Who are these ex-servicemen? The prevailing opinion is that they are a separate part of the population, but the truth of the matter is that they constitute a group that is representative of the entire working masses.

Among them we find textile workers from the New England States; taxi drivers and street cleaners from the large centers of population; miners from the coal regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee and the mining states of the north; workmen from the stockyards, ranch laborers from the western states, fruit pickers from the far western states, lumberjacks from the big woods, longshoremen and marine workers, barbers, small shop-keepers, school teachers, truck drivers, milk peddlers, small farmers, nurses and small homeowners. But, in addition, they constitute a section of the working class that looks upon the Federal government as directly responsible for their economic welfare.

Vital in Anti-War Work
One of the major campaigns of our Party is the fight against another imperialist war. The ex-serviceman is of vital importance in this campaign to arouse the masses of America to the fact that the imperialist nations are at the present time preparing to send the workers into another blood bath. Who has a better conception of the horrors of war than the veterans of the world war? Who possesses a greater understanding that the imperialist class for the banking class and that workers have all to lose and nothing to gain by war? What can have more oppression on the masses than warfare is and who once more fought "to make the world safe for democracy"—demonstrating against another "imperialist war."

Today, the working class, in all the capitalist nations of the world, is confronted with Fascism in some form or other. Fascism is forced upon the masses through murder, rape, beatings and all other forms of mass oppression. From Italy, the Fascists recruit their murder gangs. From where did Hitler derive his greatest strength? Who were these storm troops who carried out the orders of this bloody enemy of the working class? Many of them were ex-servicemen and in nearly all instances their leaders were veterans of the World War. Another proof of the utilization of these ex-servicemen as Fascist storm troops by the ruling class is the Heimwehr in Austria. The ruling class realizes only too well the importance of winning over this section of the working class and the same attempts are being made in America.

One instance of this was the formation of Art Smith's Khaki Shirts of Philadelphia, to which practically every member of the Philadelphia police belong. The American Legion was used on many occasions in the middle west in the attempt to break up hunger marches. When we analyze the program of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, we can see that it is definitely fascist in tendencies. That organization has gone on record as in favor of the payment of the bonus by the Roosevelt administration and for the repeal of the Economy Act and, at the same time, it is definitely anti-labor and for the deportation of all foreign-born workers. Their commander, Van Zandt, in his speeches states his demagogic radically and emphatically. At the same time the leadership of the V.F.W. continuously asks for bigger war appropriations and shouts "Patriotism."

The ex-servicemen and Federal employees were the first sections of the working class to feel the axe of the Roosevelt administration. In the passage of the Economy Act, four hundred and fifty million dollars

How A Seven Year Old Shop Unit Works

Meetings Busy With Gathering Material, Taking Notes

By ROSE CLARK (Cleveland, Ohio)

The Party has grown here in the past two years to twice its former membership. But this increase has not been in the factories. Those factory nuclei which we have barely held together.

What is wrong? How can we explain these serious facts? We can easily rattle off criticisms against every committee, and every one in the different shop nuclei, and call the matter settled. But we can't fool ourselves. After all these good criticisms and resolutions—we are still confronted with a very tragic fact—a shop unit is dying in the midst of an awakening to struggle and movement on the part of thousands of unorganized workers around it. This is the situation which we find in P21. Let us examine the causes and perhaps we can see in these the weakness in other of our shop units, throughout the district and the country.

1. P21 was organized in 1927 with six members.
2. In 1929 had around 100 or more organized in a T. U. U. L. committee.
3. The membership of the Party unit rose to 20 (1932 had twenty members).
4. Compositions of unit is foreign born with one or two American born. Some of the members are non-citizens and have dropped because of fear of exposure.
5. A shop paper has been issued for the past six years by the Party unit, on the average quite regularly.
6. The factory hired at one time around 10,000 workers. Now hires between 5,000 and 6,000 which is the most since 1929.
7. At present the Party unit has 11 members.
8. Auto Workers Union — 19 members.
9. A. F. of L. around 1,000 mem-

bers. (First time any kind of organization made such headway in this factory).
10. The Party Shop paper is still being issued.

This is an alarming picture. According to it the Party has barely moved from its position of 1927. But the workers have moved tremendously. They are talking organization and need leadership. The American Federation of Labor started organizing several months ago. They have been quite persistent and successful. Some of our comrades in the T. U. U. L. office do not yet realize to what extent the A. F. of L. is gaining influence. Of course the A. F. of L. has been backed by the bosses. Their organizers signed up workers in the factory right at the machines. But while they have been carrying on an intensive recruiting drive, winning hundreds of workers under their false program—we also make a step forward. We decide to hold meetings every other week of the A. W. U. members. Each member is to invite one or more workers to the meeting. The meeting takes the form of a lecture explaining Trade Union tactics. This is done to win the most trusted workers, and to prevent exposure, also to prepare a cadre of workers for future organization. Very well and good. We must protect our members who are joining revolutionary organizations. But this period is demanding more bold action on our part. In spite of the fact that any numbers of workers have refused to join the A. F. of L. because of mistrust of the leadership or because of the high initiation fees and dues, we have not crystallized any mass sentiment for the A. W. U. In the last production season we carried on some activity and at one time we got 42 workers to a meeting of the A. W. U. but since that practically nothing is done. We cannot merely work on an educational basis but must launch a determined campaign to win the workers to our program of class-struggle unions.

same government has refused to pass any form of unemployment or social insurance that would be of benefit to the workers of the nation.
Comrades, let us realize the importance of the ex-servicemen. If we once realize the importance of this section of the working class and win them over to our cause—they will become an ally of the working class in their struggles to free themselves from exploitation and imperialist wars. Only by understanding their special problems and demands and approaching them on the basis of these problems will we be able to accomplish this. Support the ex-servicemen! Not only in words, but by actually participating with them in their demonstrations and proving to them that the working class is behind them in their fight to better their conditions.

In our fight it is essential to win over the majority of all sections of the working class. We can only do this by having a proper political understanding of this principle and its correct approach to its application. We need the ex-servicemen in this fight and they, in turn, need the mass pressure of the entire working class behind them.

In all this period of changing moods among the workers our Party has not recruited one member to the unit and has not won back its old members. What is wrong with P. 21?

1. The unit is not the political leader of the shop.
2. The unit as such or the A. W. U. as such has led no struggles in any of the departments or generally in the shop.
3. The shop paper has been merely an agitator and reporter instead of an organizer for the Party in the shop.
4. One of the comrades from the factory expressed himself at the District Plenum in the following manner:
"Our meetings are not interesting. We are like a bunch of reporters, we come together. The comrade assigned from his district or section comes down, asks for information for the shop paper and we go home."

This is practically all a shop unit meeting is. Is it any wonder that we have the above situation when we have not done the following in this unit?
1. No leadership in the unit has been developed.
2. The comrades in the factory are not directly responsible for the shop paper.
3. No comrade from the unit is on the section committee.
4. The street unit concentrating on the shop is one of the weakest units in the section.
5. No American workers have been recruited into the Party unit.
In all the years that this unit has been organized, someone from the district or section has been in "charge" of the unit. There is no unit bureau. There are no political discussions held in the unit. The majority of the meetings are occupied in collecting material from the shop. Rather "notes" are taken by the comrade in "charge." These notes are written up by the comrade in "charge" and very often the shop paper was issued without the material being reviewed by the unit members. The shop paper has gained a good deal of influence. Workers have written letters, and supported it financially. Also several demands have been won through raising them in the shop paper—but our comrades failed to crystallize this influence into organization. And one of the chief reasons is because the unit members themselves have never written up the material for their paper. Someone always was there to "take notes."

A word on the concentration unit. It has been a very mechanical means of making the "turn to the shops," merely assigning a unit for concentration on a certain factory. The unit which was assigned to this particular factory is a good example of this mechanical application. This street unit meets in the vicinity of the factory. For two years they have been concentrating. Occasionally they would send comrades with Daily Workers. They faithfully carried out all the leaflet and shop paper distribution. But what have they done to help the work inside—by recruiting into the Party or Union? Nothing. No real plan was ever given them. No real instructions on how—and why—concentration. Just—concentrate. It is no wonder we get such poor results. If this unit had carried on

activity in the neighborhood of the factory—where hundreds of workers employed in this factory live they would have given support to the Party and the union. We have made some efforts to improve the work in the factory unit, especially in a "sticker" campaign is started. Certain demands of the A. W. U. are typed on a very small sticker. These are distributed to the members of the union who stick them up in the various departments, the washrooms on the drinker fountains, machines, etc. Reports have come back that they are noticed and having some good effect.

2. The comrades in the unit have written the February shop paper themselves. In fact it was decided at the unit meeting that unless the members of the unit wrote the articles themselves on questions in the shop no paper would be issued.
3. A comrade from the unit has been made editor of the shop paper having full responsibility to see that the comrades write for the paper and editing the paper.
4. The preconvention discussion is taking place at each unit meeting.
5. Four comrades from the unit have been instructed to join the A. F. of L. to form an opposition, by raising certain demands at the closed meetings utilizing the sentiment expressed in favor of these demands to form an opposition group. (This has been carried out by two comrades only so far).
6. An Auto Workers Union affair is being held to raise funds to carry on a real recruiting campaign in the factory.
7. One comrade from the section is put in charge of the union work, paying particularly attention to this shop.
8. A shock troop of the league has been organized to do concentration work at the factory.

Some plans which are yet to be fulfilled:
1. A member of the unit to be on the section committee.
2. To increase the union activity, broadening out from the "lecture form" of union meeting.
3. Detailed demands for the opposition group in the A. F. of L. to be worked out and put up.
4. A plan for the street unit concentrating to reach the workers in their homes—in addition to their leaflet—Daily Worker, and shop paper distribution activity. To develop neighborhood activity and thus involve these workers.
The Open Letter to our Party set certain tasks for us to fulfill. One of the basic tasks is SHOP WORK. The last District Plenum in Ohio talked more shop work and Trade Union activity than any other plenum. We've started talking about it into action. And we can do it. But as the Open Letter has warned us—we must move faster. We have to win the workers away from the social-fascists. We have to win the majority of the working class to our program. We have to prepare them from the coming struggle for power. And the only way we will do that, is by working in the shops, developing revolutionary leadership in the shops.

Concentration Unit Works Without Plan; Gets No Results

Concentration Unit Works Without Plan; Gets No Results

Steel, Transportation Coal Workers Battle Company Unions

Hackmen's Fight on Co. Union Needs All Workers' Support

Parmelee Bosses Aim to Stifle Militant Voice of Drivers

By HARRY RAYMOND

NEW YORK.—The Parmelee System's company union, led by Mr. James I. Cuff, recent candidate for New York City Controller on the Recovery Party ticket, if saddled upon the taxi drivers, would indeed place them in a hopeless condition of utter impoverishment. The aim of this organization, against which the drivers are fighting so militantly, is to bind every hackman, every worker of the company, hand and foot to the wage-cutting program of the powerful General Motors Company. Once the drivers are herded into this so-called Drivers Brotherhood their militant voice will be stifled; any protest against discrimination or the blacklist of the limousine racket of the company will be met with the iron fist of police rule. The bosses agents who have organized this company union tell the men that the aim of the "Brotherhood" is to improve personal relations and group welfare activities. They say that the company is interested in the welfare of the drivers. But the company's action during the period of the strike and before the strike has proven otherwise.

Union men who were fighting for the welfare of the drivers have been fired by the company union leaders. The blacklist system is more extensively used in Parmelee garages than any other garages in the city. Company union men, working with the police, have brutally assaulted and caused the arrest of union drivers who were picketing the garages, who were fighting for bread for their wives and children. Negro drivers working for Parmelee have been jim-crowed, segregated and discriminated against by exponents and leaders of the company union. And hobnobbing with these leaders, assisting them to perpetuate the vicious company union, is Mrs. Elinore Herrick, chairman of the Regional Labor Board. She suggests that the 4,500 Parmelee hackmen call off their strike against the company union and vote on the question. This is an obvious strike-breaking proposal aimed at smashing the militant Taxi Drivers Union of Greater New York. It would throw the drivers at the mercy of the company union. The drivers

Experiences in Struggle Against Bosses' "Unions"

By BILL GEBERT

An outstanding result of the Roosevelt "New Deal," N.R.A. etc. is the growth of company unions throughout the country. Nearly 5,000,000 workers and primarily in the basic industries, steel, metal, auto, packing house, railroads, are forced to belong to company owned and controlled unions, or sometimes called "employees representative plan." This places before our Party the trade union of the T.U.U.L. and opposition movement inside of the A. F. of L. the tremendous task of winning the workers who are forced into the company union and to defeat and destroy the company unions, which are embryos of fascist organizations in the shops and built on the model of the corporatist state and syndicates in Italy and Germany.

In the Chicago District we obtained some experiences in the work against the company unions. In the Illinois Steel plant in Gary, in the Party shop paper, "The Gary Steel Worker," for February, an editorial appears, written by a member of the District Committee, which declares that workers in the mill must "stick together and keep at the heels of the company union representatives who are now defending the company interests, but who must be forced to act in our behalf." That is, he demands that the representatives of the company unions are to become the spokesmen for the workers in the shops. This question was raised at the shop nucleus meeting of the Illinois Steel in Gary and the unit unanimously rejected this position and reiterated its previous position on this question, that in the struggle against the company unions it is necessary to build committees in every department, consisting of workers who are members of the S.M.W.I.U. members of the A. F. of L. and unorganized workers to set up this committee of the united front from below in every department, and they are to act in behalf of the workers of the given department and not the company union representatives and that demands of the workers can be placed before "reps" as they are placed before a boss.

We cite this example to point out that the Communist cannot and under no conditions should create even slightest illusions that the so-called workers' representatives can act in behalf of the workers. That in all cases, the so-called workers' representatives on the company union are the tools of the boss and instruments of the company against the workers.

Working in Company Unions. How then shall we carry on work inside the company unions? Here we will cite concrete examples. In the Illinois Steel mill in Gary, because of the growing discontent of the workers, the workers' represen-

have already voted with their feet against the so-called Brotherhood. A driver, writing to the Daily Worker, gives a good picture of how the company union is "improving personal relations and group welfare" around the Parmelee garages: "On March 12, the 38th Street pickets reported that only eight cars left the garage between 4 and 8 a. m., Monday morning. A few company union rats were driving around the block to encourage other drivers to take cars out. The hackmen were not fooled and are solid behind the fight against the company union and the \$12 a week, blacklist offer of Mrs. Herrick and the bosses.

"At 38th St. the oil man was made by company union officials to drive around the block to demoralize the pickets."

The Parmelee System has always discriminated against Negroes. It is the policy of the company union leaders to segregate the Negro drivers so as to keep them from uniting with the white drivers in their struggle for higher wages and shorter hours.

The cars on which the Negro drivers work are painted in distinctive colors. The Parmelee System does not allow a Negro to drive out of any of the 22 garages owned by the company throughout the city, except the one located at Fifth Ave. and 140th Street.

This vicious system must be stopped. And only by defeating the company union can it be stopped. The Taxi Drivers Union of Greater New York has taken the proper action to stop it.

The strike must be spread and extended to other systems—the Terminal System, where Gerald E. Kamm is active building a company union, to the Knickerbocker Fleet, where the blacklist system is used to terrorize the drivers and lead them into submission, to all the garages in the city.

By spreading the strike the drivers can defeat the starvation code which Mr. Allen, Deputy N. R. A. Administrator, is attempting to put over on all taxi men. They can halt with one mighty blow the further development of company unions in the New York taxi garages. Every worker, every trade union, every workers' organization should give the utmost support to the struggle of the taxi drivers against the menace of company unionism.

Company unionism is spreading in all industries under N. R. A. authority. Stop it by strike action.

tatives in the company union placed a demand of 33-1/3 per cent increase in wages before the company, not for the purpose of fighting for it, but for the purpose of showing that the company union is taking

(Continued on Page 6)



James Egan, National Organizer of the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union, which is heading the battle against Morgan's company unions.

Nominate 7 Workers for Gallup City Elections at United Front Meeting

GALLUP, N. M.—At the recent united front election conference the following workers have been chosen as candidates for the coming city elections:

John Tomac, representative of the International Labor Defense; Bill Quoton, colored, militant labor leader, at present employed in the C. W. A.; George Burrolo, miner and member of the subdistrict board of N. M. U.; Harry Mavrogenis, militant N. M. U. elder; Rodrigo Oriz, Pete Sanchez and Oliver Leone complete the list of workers who have been nominated on the basis of their undisputed militancy and devotion to the working class.

Gen. Johnson, 4,000 Bosses Discuss Co. Union Strategy

By MARGUERITE YOUNG (Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, March 13.—They are going to deck company-unionism in a nice, respectable dress—New Deal legality. They are going to sprinkle several hundred representatives of "labor," "consumers" and "government," including many U. S. Army officers, among the thousands of big business men who make up the N. R. A. Code Authorities, and turn over to this group a virtual dictatorship in American industrial life.

These are among the most imminent results of the "Congress of Industry" held this week under the auspices of the N. R. A. These and a new barrage of ballhooch will make the first seem like a Communist Chest campaign.

As N. R. A. Administrator General Hugh S. Johnson put it to the 4,000 so employers of 90 per cent of those slaving under N. R. A. codes the meeting this week was just the "first step." The other steps now

are being worked out in the freedom and privacy of Johnson's deep-carpeted office here—worked out by Johnson and exactly twenty-four business men. It will not be such a difficult task, either, for they are going to do, at least on the two vital points mentioned above. The central figure among them is Gerard Swope, president of J. P. Morgan's anti-union General Electric Company—the ruthless little gray man who told reporters last night that they were discussing "something" to take the place of N. R. A., but that: "We are trying not to crystallize the plan now (at least not for public consumption—M. Y.) because if we do we merely will have to upset it again."

I shall deal later with the profound threat this business Congress deeds hold out to all the opponents of war, of fascism and of mass poverty and with the contradictions and conflicts among themselves which the participants clearly evidenced in their discussions. The

conflicts were entirely among themselves, however, for as speaker after speaker declared publicly, the only basic opposition to them is the dual force of militant labor unions and the Communist Party, particularly the Communist Party, Johnson, the bombastic drillmaster of the N. R. A., made this clear in his final speech in Constitution Hall. He boasted that the critics who came to his "Field Day for Criticism," last week, made complaints "not directed at the codes but at errors and omissions in what has been done under the codes."

"With minor exceptions of a political nature, there was practically no criticism of the Recovery Act, nor of the basic principles of the codes themselves"—and then Johnson found it necessary to refer to, and distort the position of, the one exception—"except for the Communist, who invited me to join a movement for the overthrow of the gov-

Steel Trust Says the N.R.A. Makes Company Union Permanent

To the Employees of South Works, Illinois Steel Company:

When you were asked to vote on the Plan of Employee Representation has been in operation at this plant since June, 1932 and during this time several changes have been made. The revised Plan has been drawn up, embodying the suggested changes, together with changes deemed desirable by the recent interpretations of the National Recovery Act.

In June, 1932, your Company proposed a plan of Employee Representation at all plants. You are already familiar with it, and I feel sure that its operation has been generally very satisfactory. However, because of our actual experience under this plan, and in order to make it more permanent and to meet legal requirements, it has appeared desirable to the employee representatives and the management to amend it in some particulars.

Your elected representatives have recommended that the new plan be as follows:

It is very truly,
General Superintendent.

Above are letters sent to Illinois Steel Co. workers in Gary and South Chicago telling them to meet the requirements of the N. R. A. to make the company union permanent, some changes will be made in the "employee representation plan." Against this the Steel and Metal Workers Union led the fight, demanding the workers' right to join genuine trade unions.



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER Leader of 1919 Steel Strike and now Secretary of Trade Union Unity League.

Gary Worker Tells of Co. Union Stools

By a Worker Correspondent

GARY, Ind.—Concerning the steel workers, especially the transportation department of the Gary Steel Co. and how last Thursday, March 1st affected them. The bosses have placed a couple of stools there, telling the workers how to vote on the company union. And not only that, but one of these stools gives out the ballot slips and the other one is hanging on the workers' shoulders to see that they really vote, even though the workers were not much interested to vote, for the majority know what it means to them.

As for the representative, they were working for weeks in advance, pursuing the men (and telling them) how to vote and where to place their crosses. Mostly on the "yes" question. But on top of all that, the workers in general did not know that they were voting. Every worker was given letters with instructions that the vote was to be in changing the by-laws of the company union.

Well, as a matter of fact, we the workers, lost out because the workers weren't aroused enough on that. Workers, we have issued a special leaflet and quite a few were used but not enough. Some of the workers are wondering yet how they were defeated. Well, we the members of the S. M. W. I. U. have been agitating before election, during election, and we will continue to agitate until we form a real rank and file united fighting front.

Now, in counting the votes 4379 for yes and 3,469 no's with 600 thrown out. And that shows the bosses knew beforehand that workers weren't satisfied with the company union. The S. M. W. I. U. made a special appeal to the rest of the organizations to come with us and form a united front. And as all of you workers know, the A. F. of L. and the Amalgamated Association which the same as the A. F. of L. is fighting against the workers' rights of forming a united front. We all know that the A. F. of L. is the bosses' right hand. That's why the S. M. W. I. U. is appealing to the workers of the A. F. of L. to come with us and form a united front through the form of rank and file.

Morgan Steel Plant Vote in Gary Shows Rise of Bitter Fight

Stickers Demand Right To Join Genuine Trade Union

GARY, Ind., March 12.—The returns from the recent balloting on the company union in the Gary mills of the United States Steel Corporation show very clearly a tremendous opposition of the workers to the company union.

The voting was to be upon the question of a "new" or "old" company union plan with the balloting to be only "yes" and "no." The new features of the plan were devised by the company in order to re-establish the workers' faith in the company union, because of the fact that the workers have been developing struggles for their im-

ILLINOIS STEEL WORKERS Vote Against Company Unionism! FOR REAL TRADE UNIONISM

The Employee Representation Plan of Illinois Steel Company has been in existence 9 months. In all this time, the COMPANY "has been doing nothing for the workers. It has been proven to have no effect on the wages of the workers. The company which has refused to pay for the cost of the company union has refused to pay for the cost of the company union. The company which has refused to pay for the cost of the company union has refused to pay for the cost of the company union.

A vote cast for any form of the company union will be treated as opposition to a real union of workers. That is why Illinois, in his letter of February 26th, stated that the vote "will make it permanent and meet legal requirements." The company which has refused to pay for the cost of the company union has refused to pay for the cost of the company union.

Leaflet and stickers distributed to steel workers by the Steel and Metal Workers Union in Gary, which aroused the workers in the fight against the company union of the Morgan-controlled steel trust.

BETWEEN THE LINES OF A COMPANY UNION TALK

By a Steel Worker Correspondent

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—I watched with much interest a group of 2,000 Negro and white workers on Jan. 26 as they were told by the T. C. J. (U. S. Steel) officials, Gregg and Langrebe, of the love, the faith and esteem under which the company held them. The purpose of the meeting was to force us to accept the company union.

The first speaker, Vice-President Langrebe, said he had worked among the workers for 20 years, favoring the men in every respect, and he must say the men should now return his many favors.

The second speaker, President Gregg, after reading the draw up of the company union, said: "Men, do you see anything wrong with this? Our committee who have signed this company make-up are in many cases A. F. of L. members. Whenever your committee cannot handle your propositions satisfactorily, then you can enter my office with same, providing you go at it in the correct way."

He explained how well he loved each and every big, healthy, hard-working steel worker. How he would in the future come down through the plant and even take up some of his valuable time to have some few seconds' visit with each employee.

This sounds like velvet to some workers, but what Gregg's speech really means is any rank and file worker is "Men, the company officials wrote this code. Many of the committee who represent you belong to the A. F. of L. But they are not the rank and file kind."

falling" to come to the shop due to the fact that the balloting took place on their day off. Of the votes cast, 4,279 were cast for the "new" plan and 3,372 against it, which means for the old plan. The 2,372 workers voting against the "democratized" plan were attempting to vote down the company union but had the illusion that the government does not "recognize" the old plan and will therefore declare it illegal. The A. A. cultivated such an idea among the workers, but after the leaflet issued by the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union were forced to take a more "left" stand upon the question, even though they refused the proposal of the National Workers Industrial Union for a united front fight against the company union. The desire for unity of the A. A. membership forced the A. A. lead-

ers to later take a stand of abstaining from voting. In the American Sheet & Tin Plate plant in Gary the workers posted signs warning the workers against placing stickers upon the ballots. Workers in this plant were told by the company that they would be laid off if they "voted radical." Although Illinois Steel claims a victory for the company union, even their own figures of 8,172 votes, 1,700 abstentions, 580 voided gives a total of 6,852 votes clearly directed against the company union in comparison to 4,279 for the "democratized" plan. The Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union plans an intensive campaign to follow up this fight against the company union. The A. F. of L. is petitioning the National Labor Board for new elections, but the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union is organizing the workers to organize their strength in every department and by struggle for their demands win the recognition of their own committees and smash the company union.

But Langrebe did tell you he was afraid of the rank and file. He called the rank and file Reds. He said their number was small, but he was afraid of them. Now just why is he so particular in talking about the rank and file and saying nothing about the A. F. of L. except when the committee is concerned. Langrebe knows what a rank and file worker is, and should have explained that he is afraid of any militant, straight-thinking, labor-studying and talking man who is not afraid to come forward for love of his kids, his fellow-workers and country, to use free speech and struggle, in or out of his A. F. of L. union lodge, to kick out the high-paid parasites who have worked in harness with men like Langrebe.

Workers get into your respective labor organizations at once. Organize to save the birthright of your kids. Make of yourselves leaders. Come forward—use your mouth. Struggle for your rights.

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Woll and Dubinsky Map AFL Policy Favorable to Company Union

Woll and Dubinsky Map AFL Policy Favorable to Company Union

workers, who made the report regarding company unions and on "industrial unions."

"Employers have taken full advantage of this situation [Section 7-a of the N.R.A.]," declares Woll's report, which is signed, among others by the Socialist, David Dubinsky, "in the organizing and maintaining of company unions."

In this situation, the A. F. of L. Executive Council adopted a flexible policy designed to meet the wishes of General Johnson, Mellon, Du Pont, Swope, Morgan, Teagle or any of their ilk.

They declared: "The A. F. of L. [read leadership] must take command . . . in whatever form the temporary situation may demand or require. . . After all we must look to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to serve in this capacity as never heretofore."

The workers face not only the danger of company unions and the new set-up of the strikebreaking National Labor Board with its stronger company union directors, but the greater treachery of the A. F. of L. officials who are openly boosted as the best instruments for keeping the workers from striking or wrecking the company unions.

Now that the workers are entering into the sharpest battles against the company unions in auto, taxi, aluminum and steel the Communist Party must take the lead in the struggles. Some fine work is being done in Gary and South Chicago. There every move of the company union is being followed and exposed, and a united front of all workers (A. F. of L., S. M. W. I. U. and unorganized) is being forged for a powerful fight against the company union.

The workers are ready for the struggle. That accounts for the frantic efforts of General Johnson and Senator Wagner. We cannot waste a moment in becoming the real vanguard in this fight.

AT its last Executive Council, the A. F. of L. already discussed its strategy on company unions, laying down a policy that is quite acceptable to the bosses. General Johnson knew what he was talking about. It was none other than Matthew Woll, fascist agent and bitterest enemy of the militant

He praises the company unions, especially for their disciplining the workers, saying: "The company union has improved personal relations, group welfare activities, discipline and other matters which may be handled on a local basis."

Full Story of Austrian Betrayal As Told by Otto Bauer Himself

THE DAILY WORKER REPRINTS FULL STATEMENT OF BAUER FROM JEWISH DAILY FORWARD

"LEADERS SOUGHT TO PACIFY WORKERS--PARTY WARNINGS DID NOT HELP," BAUER BEMOANS

Bauer's Statement Reveals Extraordinary Treachery of S. P. Leadership in Trying to Stab Uprising in the Back

NEW YORK. — We reprint in full the article written by Otto Bauer for the Jewish Daily Forward, leading Socialist New York daily, as it appeared in the Forward of March 10. Bauer, called by the Forward the "generalissimo of the Austrian working class," gives in his article a detailed account of the role played by the Austrian Socialist leaders in the recent uprisings of the Austrian working class. It is a document of historic importance. It reveals the historic treachery of the Austrian Socialist Democratic leaders. We give it in full. All emphasis in Bauer's article is ours.

the peaceful negotiations and must use all means to come to an understanding. DURING THE LAST MONTHS, HOWEVER, IT BECAME MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE PARTY LEADERSHIP TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE EMBITTERED WORKERS WHY THE PARTY WAS COMPELLED TO EMPLOY SUCH PATIENT TACTICS. In the last week before the insurrection it became clearer and clearer that the government was preparing to deliver a decisive blow against the democracy and at the working class. The constitutional minister, Dr. Ender, let it be known that Austria must very soon obtain a "transition constitution" which must amount practically to a dictatorship, that a Parliament with general franchise rights must not be included in this constitution. The Social Minister Schmitz also let it be known that in the "New Austria" there must not be free unions, that these must be transformed into "semi-state organizations"; that the workers can no longer have the right to strike and that all differences as to wages must be decided by the state. The Heimwehr organizations were turned into a government police auxiliary. The government armed it and decided to pay its wages. At first this was put through in Tyrol, then in other sections of the country. The leaders of the Heimwehr were ordered to depose the constitutionally elected provincial governments, and to put in their places ruling bodies whose leaders were to be named by the Heimwehr, and to exclude all Social Democrats. The Heimwehr on their part demanded the dissolution of the Social Democratic Party in all municipal bodies in which the Social Democrats had the majority. They openly threatened to take over the governmental buildings and city halls, if their demands were not carried through by the Dollfuss government. It became clear that the fascist counter-revolution was prepared to begin its final struggle and to seize power. On the same days as the Heimwehr organizations put forward their demands, the Heimwehr minister, Fey, arrested the leaders of the Republican (Schutzbund) Defense Corps in Vienna and in other cities and towns. He seized the munitions which the Republican Schutzbund had stored in Vienna and around Vienna of which the police had no knowledge. This, naturally, made it clear to the workers that at the same moment the Heimwehr had carried through its attack against the Democracy it would also attack the workers' organizations, and for this reason it wished to take away from the workers and the Schutzbund their arms in order to render them helpless.

We are reprinting on this page in full the statement of Otto Bauer, Austrian Socialist leader, as it appeared March 10 in the Jewish Daily Forward.

The Socialist New Leader has answered the charges of the Daily Worker based on the statements of Otto Bauer to the press with distortion and slander. "The Daily Worker lies," it declared "about the proletarian dead and the living fighters. It was nearly a year ago that these Social Democratic leaders prepared the Social Democratic workers for this conflict..."

The New Leader takes refuge in slander. It thinks it can deceive the Socialist workers into accepting slander for serious political argument. It writes:

"The Communists continue their barrage of lies about the 'treachery of the Austrian leaders.' The tenor of all these statements is the same; the Austrian leaders had misled the workers and the workers had gone over the heads of their leaders in the battle they were staging."

The Socialist New Leader has ignored the political analyses of the Daily Worker on the serious political issues involved in the Austrian situation. It has taken refuge in ignoring the extremely significant statements of Otto Bauer, leader of Austrian Social Democracy. It has failed thus far to meet the challenge of the Daily Worker that it reprint these statements in full. These revelations of Otto Bauer have been available for more than two weeks. But the New Leader has not given one single word of them!

The Daily Worker charges that the policies of the Austrian Socialist leaders, as well as their actions, have led the Austrian proletariat into

the trap of Fascism. The Socialist New Leader ignores these charges and distorts them to read that the Daily Worker has charged the Austrian leaders with "selling out."

Let every Socialist worker read Bauer's statement on this page. Let him compare it with the analyses of the Daily Worker and the "replies" of the Socialist New Leader. Let him examine all the evidence for himself in the light of recent events. The Daily Worker believes that only in this way can every Socialist worker see for himself where the truth lies. The Daily Worker points in full Otto Bauer's statement. Why is the New Leader apparently afraid to print Bauer's statement?

Let every Socialist worker read and study the statement of Otto Bauer reprinted in full on this page from the Socialist Jewish Daily Forward. He will see in it the terrible history of the treachery of the Austrian Socialist leaders as told in their own words. He will see in it the same path that is now being followed in this country by the Socialist leaders, Norman Thomas, etc., who form "united fronts" with such enemies of the workers as Matthew Woll, LaGuardia, etc.

Let every Socialist worker raise the question in his local organizations—why is the New Leader silent on Bauer's statements?

In every Socialist organization let the workers raise this question, why is the New Leader silent on the way the "united front" has been practiced in Germany and Austria? What are the lessons for the united front in this country? Is not a United Front with Woll similar to the disastrous path trodden by the Austrian Socialist leaders?

"Tried to Reach Peaceful United Front With Dollfuss Against Nazis," Austrian Leader Declares in Justification

already prepared the fascist constitution which takes away from the workers the franchise, the right to strike, and that he was plotting to destroy the free working class organizations.

In this situation it became clear to the workers that they must not wait any longer; that they must not allow themselves to become disorganized through further arrests of the leaders of the Republican Schutzbund; and that they must not allow themselves to be disarmed through further discoveries of their stored arms. The workers well knew that if they did not begin their struggle in the next few days that they would become incapacitated for struggle because they would not have arms with which to take a stand against the fascist conspirators.

AND YET, NOTWITHSTANDING THIS, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS DECIDED TO CONTINUE THEIR PREVIOUS TACTICS. THEY HELD IT IMPERATIVE THAT THE WORKERS SHOULD WAIT UNTIL MONDAY, FEB. 13, 1934, AND SEE WHETHER THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN DOLLFUSS AND THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS AS TO THE DEMANDS OF THE HEIMWEHR WOULD NOT RESULT IN SOMETHING SUBSTANTIAL, SO THAT A STRUGGLE MIGHT BE AVOIDED.

The Social Democratic Party decided to wait until one of the four terroristic acts would be carried through by the Dollfuss regime. The leadership of the Socialist Party did not want to take the responsibility for starting the attack. It desired that when the struggle should break forth, it should be a defensive struggle to protect the constitutional order, and not an attack.

EVEN AFTER SUNDAY, FEB. 12, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP SOUGHT TO PACIFY THE INDIGNANT WORKERS, AND SOUGHT TO HOLD THEM BACK FROM BEGINNING THE STRUGGLE. BUT THE ANGER OF THE MASSES

HAD ALREADY REACHED SUCH A HIGH PITCH THAT THE WARNINGS OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP DID NOT HELP ANY MORE.

Early Monday, when the police in Linz began anew to seize the workers' arms and to arrest the leaders of the Schutzbund, the workers of Linz started to fight. This was two days after the Heimwehr troops in Linz had threatened to liquidate with force the Social Democratic municipal government.

Also in Vienna there was great unrest among the workers early Monday, and this because in the Floridsdorf, the industrial section of Vienna, Comrade Schlockhammer, a representative of the workers, was arrested. Early Monday, the workers in the Floridsdorf factories demanded a call for a protest strike against Schlockhammer's arrest.

While the workers in the factories were still discussing this, it became known that in Linz street battles had already begun. This turned into a signal. The workers could no longer be held back.

The workers in Vienna felt that the workers in Linz and in upper Austria, who had already gone out in struggle, could not be left alone to their fate, that they must be helped and that this help must come from all Austrian workers.

If the struggle were allowed to go on in separate places, it would not take long for the Austrian working class movement to be destroyed piecemeal. After the workers were defeated in one place, the workers in another section would be attacked—and when the government felt that the workers' movement was already incapacitated for struggle, it would carry through its counter-revolution as it had planned in the first place.

EVEN IF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP HAD succeeded in carrying through its line to the last minute, the struggle would in all probability not have been avoided. The fascist enemies of the workers sought with all means to force the workers to begin the struggle if they did not intend to allow themselves to be suppressed and to voluntarily accept the fascist regime.

But when the struggle had broken forth and if the leadership of the Party had agreed to this, then the fight would have been better organized because the broad masses would have better understood it.

But we cannot wholly blame the workers because they no longer had the patience to wait. Since the beginning of March, 1933, the workers lived through one persecution after another, and when all at once came the provocations of the last days, the workers' patience burst, and they stepped forth into open resistance.

The workers cannot be blamed for deciding to fight, after mass arrests were carried through and their arms confiscated. The workers feared that through the fascist attacks they would become altogether helpless and would have nothing with which to defend themselves at the moment of the fascist counter-revolution.

No one doubted that the military forces of the government were much stronger than the power of the workers and that the workers could not succeed in struggle against the government.

A government which does not stop at shattering with artillery the most beautiful and largest buildings of the capital can and will annihilate the workers' battalions with the same ferocious means. The workers' battalions are of necessity much weaker than the government troops. They cannot be as experienced, and cannot have as much ammunition as the government, let alone armored trucks, howitzers and other cannon. The workers knew this. They knew they could not win. But this did not stop them from giving open battle. This did not stop them from offering themselves as sacrifices for liberty and democracy.

The Austrian workers, and especially the fighters of the Republican Schutzbund, are liberty-loving men who do not allow themselves to be enslaved, and knowing that they are weaker than their enemies, do not surrender, notwithstanding the opposition. Heroic was the struggle of the workers of Vienna and Linz, of Bruck and of Engenberg, of Yudenberg and Steyr.

Even the blackest reactionaries who opposed the workers and carried through their bloody butchery had to marvel at their heroism. They had to feel not only their respect for the men and women who with old guns in their hands and with emptied cartridge belts stood against cannons, machine guns and against the enemies of the working class and against the enemies of republican liberty.

The brave heroic fighters defended the rights of the workers to the last bullet, to the last moment that they were able. And because of this they won the recognition, the enthusiasm and the admiration not only of their fiercer but even of their enemies. As they well deserved this recognition and admiration. It is not their fault that the struggle ended for the time being so tragically for them.

But no! The fight is far from ended. It goes on, and will go on until the workers will regain the positions they lost.

OTTO BAUER

It is still too early to analyze the bloody events that occurred in Austria. But we can already say a few earnest words as to the circumstances which led to the revolutionary outbreak. Since March 7, 1933, when the Dollfuss-Fey government carried through the counter-revolution, the Austrian Social Democratic Party strained itself to the very utmost to bring the political crisis to a peaceful constitutional solution.

For eleven months Social Democracy used the greatest self-control. It did not reply with violent resistance to the closing of Parliament and to the inauguration of the dictatorship (selbst-herrschaft) of the Dollfuss regime. It tolerated the dissolution of the Republican (Schutzbund) Defense Corps and a series of other repressions aimed at the constitution, which robbed the workers of free speech, free press, and of numerous other liberties they had won in Austria.

Neither did Social Democracy oppose the government when it robbed the Vienna Social Democratic municipality of its income, thereby driving it to severe bankruptcy. Social Democracy bit its lips and was silent when the workers were deprived of a whole series of other hard-won social-political rights.

On the contrary, it always, until the very last moment, did all it could to negotiate with the Dollfuss government, and with the non-fascist wing of the Christian Socialist Party, and with all its efforts sought to reach a peaceful understanding with them in order to form a united front against the National Socialists (Nazis).

BUT these peaceful and patient policies of the Social Democratic Party had the opposite effect on the Dollfuss-Fey regime. The Dollfuss-Fey regime undertook with greater boldness new and hostile steps against the working class, and against the Social Democratic Party.

All attempts to reach an understanding with the government were rejected arrogantly by Dollfuss to the last day.

On the other hand bitterness grew among the workers at the way Dollfuss lorded it over Austria. This bitterness grew still stronger when Minister Schmitz announced his dictatorial decree against the unemployed.

This decree prohibited all organized workers who belonged to the free (Social Democratic) unions from working on government buildings as well as in private industries which had the slightest connection with the government.

This decree said plainly that all these projects could employ only workers coming from the labor bureau of the Christian-Socialist unions and from the Heimwehr (fascist-police organization).

The workers correctly considered this decree as an attack on the unemployed and as a terroristic means for dragging them into the Christian-Socialist unions which until then controlled only a very small portion of the organized Austrian workers; or for driving them into the Heimwehr organizations.

THE BITTERNESS OF THE WORKERS GREW CONSTANTLY STRONGER AGAINST THE TOOPATIENT POLICY OF THE LEADERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. LARGE SECTIONS OF THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP DEMANDED WITH INCREASING FURY THAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY SHOULD BEGIN THE STRUGGLE.

Despite this, the party leadership came forward in autumn at the Party Congress with a statement that the party must maintain the previously accepted tactics, and these tactics meant that the party may give the call for a general strike under extraordinary circumstances.

It can give this call only (1) when the government had put through a fascist constitution; (2) when it would overthrow the constitutional province-governments; (3) when it would overthrow the municipal government in Vienna, and (4) when it would dissolve the Socialist Party and destroy the free trade unions.

ister, Fey, arrested the leaders of the Republican (Schutzbund) Defense Corps in Vienna and in other cities and towns. He seized the munitions which the Republican Schutzbund had stored in Vienna and around Vienna of which the police had no knowledge.

This, naturally, made it clear to the workers that at the same moment the Heimwehr had carried through its attack against the Democracy it would also attack the workers' organizations, and for this reason it wished to take away from the workers and the Schutzbund their arms in order to render them helpless.

This is why the Heimwehr wanted to arrest the leaders of the Schutzbund and of the Social Democratic Party; it aimed at disorganizing the workers and to confuse the defenders of the Democracy.

That this was the plan of the fascist conspirators is proven by the provocative proclamation which the Vice-Chancellor Fey made public on Saturday, Feb. 11, 1934.

In his proclamation Fey spoke about the Marxist-Bolshevist conspiracy which the "Social-Democratic criminals" had prepared against the Austrian government, and as proof of this he told about the stored arms which the police

had confiscated from the Schutzbund. In the proclamation he also stated that the government would in a few days be forced to take energetic steps against the "conspirators."

IT BECAME clear that the Vice-Chancellor Fey had "discovered" the arms and explosive material near Vienna and used this just as Goering made use of the Reichstag fire in Germany.

Like the fire of the Reichstag, so the confiscation of the arms and explosive material near Vienna became the excuse for the beginning of the fascist counter-revolution against

the organized workers and the Social Democratic Party.

Fey, of course, knew well enough that the workers had stored their arms in these places since the 1918 revolution, that they had never used them, and kept them only in case they would need them to defend the Democracy from a fascist attack.

The policy of the Vice-Chancellor made it clear to the workers that the enemy was preparing, under pressure of the Heimwehr, to annihilate in the next few days the provincial governments, the municipal administrations, and that Fey was preparing an attack on the Social Democratic Party; that he had

"Mass Anger Reached a Pitch That Party Warning Helped No More"—Bauer

AN EDITORIAL

BREAKING through Bauer's own words we see a remarkable picture of the Austrian proletariat, men, women and even children of the Austrian working class, burning with hatred of Austrian fascism, ready and eager for the call to struggle, waiting vainly for their trusted leaders to rally them for class struggle against their advancing fascist enemies. But his own words also give us a picture of a social fascist leadership rotten with treachery and the poison of class collaboration, groveling for "unity" with fascist-capitalist military reaction, stabbing the Austrian proletariat in the back. Bauer's own words give us a picture of the leadership of the Austrian Socialist Party, striving to numb and paralyze the revolutionary resistance of the Austrian proletariat by seeking to blind it with illusions about the "democratic republic," by seeking to chain it in support of Dollfuss and his Heimwehr-Fascist allies.

The line of the Austrian Socialist leadership, it is glaringly revealed, in the confession of its own accepted leader, was a consistent counter-revolutionary line. It is not that Otto Bauer and his social fascist colleagues were guilty of certain "mistakes" or "errors" in judgement. Bauer's statement makes it brazenly clear that every action of the Austrian Socialist leadership flowed inevitably and logically from its basic objective—to avoid at all costs any resistance of the Austrian proletariat against the steady advance of Austrian fascism headed by Dollfuss.

This objective, this purpose, which is at the heart of the social-fascist treachery of Otto Bauer, is repeated again and again in Bauer's historic confession. In his own words he tells us how he sought to ally the class hatred of the Austrian workers, which was bursting into flames against their class enemy. Time and time again he tells us how he sought to console the Austrian proletariat at the steady and shameful policy of retreat which the Austrian Socialist leaders were riveting upon the Austrian working class. And in the end, he confesses, without a trace of shame, how he and his colleagues were finally swept aside when "OUR WARNINGS WERE NO LONGER OF ANY HELP."

It is a picture of a proletariat, the best organized and most class-conscious in Europe, straining to destroy its hated fascist enemies, trapped by a leadership terrified by the prospect of the revolutionary eagerness of the masses whom it has so long and so terribly deceived.

WHAT was the illusion by which Otto Bauer trapped the workers into the Fascist ambush? It was the fundamental fraud which Social Democracy seeks to foist upon the masses—the illusion of the "lesser evil," the illusion of "united front" with capitalist parties "in defence of democracy."

Bauer bound the Austrian proletariat to the arch-agent of Austrian Fascism, Dollfuss, by defending the support of his government, "united front" with him on the "issue of democracy," as a "lesser evil" compared with Nazism. To the very end he pleaded to the Austrian workers for a "united front with Dollfuss against the Nazis."

It was by this tactic that Otto Bauer and the Austrian Socialist-Fascist leaders blinded the workers to the sinister reality that Austrian Fascism was swiftly maturing in the very heart of the Dollfuss government itself! By depicting the menace of Fascism as coming solely from the Nazis, Bauer successfully masked the advance of Fascism right at home, and successfully paved the way for its advance, while the Austrian proletariat was being hoodwinked by the Social-Democratic leaders into considering Dollfuss as "a defender of democracy."

It was by concealing from the Austrian proletariat that the struggle between the Nazis and the Heimwehr was, not a struggle between Fascism and "democracy," but, rather, a struggle between two equally reactionary Fascist-imperialist groups struggling for the right to plunder the Austrian masses, that Bauer trapped and betrayed the Austrian proletariat.

He spoke to the Austrian workers of "united front in defence of democracy." But this was a "united front" with Dollfuss against the bitter rage of the Austrian masses rising against Fascist reaction. It was a "united front" that robbed the workers of every gain and concession that they had wrung from the capitalist ruling class. It was a "united front" that was based upon the disarming of the Austrian proletariat, a "united front" that found its final embodiment in Bauer's infamous offer to support Dollfuss in an open government by dictatorial decree, if only he would permit them to save the formal rags of their capitalist republic.

BAUER tells us, too at the very end, faced with the "fury of the workers at the too-patient policy of the leaders," he promulgated his notorious "Four Points" which he laid down as the pre-conditions for his calling a general strike against the Fascists (not an armed struggle, notice). We reprint these "Four Points" on another part of the page in Bauer's own statement.

What is the central motive of these "Points"? It is to postpone as long as possible any revolutionary action by the working class. Bauer sets up four obstacles in the way of revolutionary working class action. He tells the Fascists that he will call for a general strike—but only after the Fascists have already vaulted these four pre-conditions and have deprived the proletariat of its weapons! He will call for strike—but only after the Fascists have already encroached deeply into the power of the workers, terribly weakening the fighting power of the proletariat.

Step by step, day by day, Bauer sounded the call to retreat. Step by step, day by day, he gave the Fascists another concession, another weapon to strengthen themselves. He permitted them to dissolve the armed Republican Schutzbund. He permitted them to search the workers' quarters for arms. He called upon the workers to yield, to submit, to retreat.

And the folly, the hypocrisy of threat of the "Four Points" is revealed by the way Bauer himself restrained the workers from any action even long after his own points had been violated by the Fascists. His threats against the Fascists were hollow lies. And by this very token, Bauer encouraged the Fascists to spread and strengthen their violence, while he counselled patience and submission to the workers.

Germany—1933



Austria—1934



Two historic photographs showing the two rulers with whom Social Democracy in Germany and Austria formed "united fronts" against Fascism. Hindenburg, who was the Socialist Party candidate for President in Germany as the "defender of democracy against Fascism" is seen shaking hands with Hitler congratulating him on his accession to power. Dollfuss, whom the Austrian Socialists supported as the "defender of the Republic" against Nazi Fascism, is seen congratulating the Fascist leader of the Heimwehr, Prince von Starhemberg.