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Leftward Winds in the S.P.

ILGWU Convention Notes

by Observer

Union, dramatized a period of phenomenal growth. Only one year ago a union with some 40,000 members, the convention this year recorded such tremendous growth that the union is within striking distance of a quarter million mem-bers. The I.L.G.W.U. is today the third largest union in the A. F.

In the forthcoming issue of Workers Age we will thoroly estimate the decisions of the convention. In this issue we present a number of documents which epitomize certain of the high points of this convention.

For the dramatic manner in which the convention spoke up against race discrimination, we are indebted primarily to the progressive and militant delegation from sive and militant delegation from Local 22. It was on the initiative and under the pressure of this delegation that the convention finally moved from the lily white Medinah-Michigan Club. The delegation of Local 22 expressed its appreciation for this act by presenting a floral wreather to the conting a floral wreathe to the convention. Charles Zimmerman, manager of this local, made the following talk to the convention on this occasion:

"The moving of the convention out of the Medinah-Michigan Avenue Club into this hall is something that has no pre-cedent in the history of American labor. (Applause) This is the first time that a convention of a labor union demonstrated in such a forceful way that we are not going to tolerate any discrimination within our ranks, against any members of our Union, regardless of their race, color, or creed.

"Such action, in a country where, in almost half of its area, the Negroes have no right to ride in the same street cars or sit in the same seats with the white people, where the employ ing class is trying deliberately to intensify race hatred and race prejudice, shows more than anything else that we are going to do our utmost to unify the ranks of the workers to carry on the struggle against the employing class. We are not going to tolerate, not only in such matters as have caused the moving of our convention, any race discrimination, but we are going to carry our campaign into the shops and into the ranks of American labor, where race prejudice still exists; we will carry on the fight to achieve the objective that there shall be no discrimination whatsover, that the workers of this country be unified in the struggle against the employing class until the present system, the social order is changed com-pletely." (Applause)

(From the convention minutes)

The convention of the Internation of the NRA. In a minority report of the Ladies Garment Workers the Committee on Officers' Report, the Committee on Officers' Report, Zimmerman placed very clearly his differences with the administration on this question. The correctness of Zimmerman's claims that NRA is a menace to trade unionism, were dramatized by the letters to the I.L.G.W.U. and to President Roosevelt, from a delegation of steel
(Continued on Page 2)

In the Next Issue: RUSSIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS by Bert Wolfe

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE NEW DEAL by Jay Lovestone

THE I.L.G.W.U. CONVENTION An Estimate

Militants Capture Party

by Jay Lovestone

Put yourself in a jammed, stuf- the best sense of the word; really fy, smoke-filled hotel meeting a remnant of an age gone by, a room surrounded by middle-aged, left-over of the old populist farmmiddle-class folk, and some young-er people, workers from the mill and mine and you will find yourself in the Socialist Party Convention, held at the beginning of the month, in Detroit.

Too few workers were there as delegates. As many farmers were there, though now and then one would run into a "red hayseed," in ers, drifting with the tides of time

into the Socialist Party ranks.

In the main, the debates were no polite, parlor-Socialist discussions. They were spirited battles between successful Socialist law-yers and once successful ministers of the gospel. They were rousing calls to, or away from, action by flourishing university professors and fossilized soap-boxers.

Hillquit Was Missing

All of which gave us a picture and a feeling of hopeless, pathetic confusion. Hillquit was missing. The body of the Hillquit leadership and policies was there alright, but the head was gone. The right wing, consisting of pseudo-Marx-ists of the crassest type, con-stituted a formidable numerical section of the convention. How-ever, it was obvious, at the very outset, that it was leaderless, headless, and, at the close of the convention, even heedless in its man-ner of debate.

The "steel rod" of the conven-

tion was Norman Thomas and the forces rallying around his personality-plus leadership. Most of these delegates had no idea what wanted, but they wanted something new, and they felt their want keenly. Others felt that the party was inactive; they wanted to do something and do it in a

The Militant Group

Numerically speaking, the biggest group in the convention was the "Militant" outfit. Politely put, in a political sense, judging by the sundry shades of opinion in its ranks, it might be called the rainbow group, the Rainbow Division of the S.P. All colors of prin-ciple and policy went into making one picture of confusion, solidified by aspiration to office and hope for a "new deal." More acurately put, in a principle sense, it should be called the "Militant managerie." vention. It saved the S.P. from the thunder on the left and the open opportunist deluge on the right. This group did not have a definite theoretical base. It had many bases, despite some of its top leadership flirting with the Alter-Ehrlich centrist tendency in the Second International. In its successfull serried ranks were job-seekers, chronic postponers of issues, some genuine grandiose dreamers, the awakening Wisconsiners, led by Mayor Hoan and Sheriff Benson of Milwaukee, and the thinkers and doers of Socialist-Centrism led by Biemiller of Wisconsin and Krueger of Illinois.

The R.P.C.

Last, but numerically least, was the Revolutionary Policy Committee, stronger in revolutionary aspiration than in numbers or experience. The handful of delegates under its banner occupied a strategic position in view of the closeness of the contest between the rights and the all inclusive Cen-(Continued on Page 3)

Lovestone Addresses ILGWU Convention

Jay Lovestone, secretary of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) addressed the twenty-second biennial Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, during the afternoon session on Wednesday June 6, 1934 The stenographic report of his address follows.—

PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: In the course of the convention you have heard references to the Communist Party (Opposition). The spokesman from that organization is in this hall. There are a number of delegates representing important locals that belong to this group, and, as I stated, while we politically differ and disagree, the fact that this representations are their leader stand in principle against

group and their leader, stand in principle against dual unionism entitles him to be heard in our midst.

I therefore will call upon Jay Lovestone to step forward to the platform. I want him to address

JAY LOVESTONE: Brother Chairman, Fellow Delegates and Comrades: You have had a sort of jubilee harvest of distinguished speakers and speeches. So far as I am concerned, I will not be able to fall into either category here. Likewise, let me say in advance that I will not be carrying coal to Newcastle and offer you more compliments. Your

President has well said that there are many differences between us. Still we are able to work in the same trade union movement.

With these differences assumed, let me attempt, at this moment, to present to you as a Communist, as one of the founders of the Communist movement as one of the founders of the Communist movement in this country, the Communist position on a number of questions which agitate us today. These are questions the solution of which will determine not only the fate of your mighty union, not only the fate of the American working class, but, I say, contribute decisively toward the fate of the world labor movement and, therefore, of the best part, the most constructive part, of humanity as a whole.

I do not propose to butt into your business. But I say that a number of fundamental questions which

I say that a number of fundamental questions which may appear to you as strictly your business are strictly the business of the entire working class, of which the Communist movement is an organic part. We have, in the United States, the biggest trade union movement in the capitalist world. We have, in the United States, the biggest trade union move-ment next to the Russian, next to Socialist Russia, where the working class rules and does not beg

(Continued on Page 2)

Zimmerman's Minority Report

Our union has made tremendous progress within the last year and this should be a source of gratification and encouragement for the entire membership. I feel, however, that the spirit of incessant glorification and uncritical jubilation, which is characteristic of the tone of this report, is an unwholesome one for a labor organization which ought always to be sober, critical and realistic. There is no group of men of any organization in existence, that can possibly be so infallible and so perfect as the committee makes out our officers to be.

This spirit of exaggerated praise and endless glorification certainly will not help us to see clearly the many difficult problems still facing our union and the women's garment industry. An approach a little less sugary and a little more objective and sober is absolutely necessary for our union to continue to march forward.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NRA

My chief difference with the report of the majority of your committee is on the question of the estimation of the NRA, its effects and its meaning for the labor movement. The committee is at-

As a member of the Committee on Officers Report, tempting the impossible task of reconciling diametrically opposed viewpoints on this fundamental question and is, thereby, evading the responsibility of taking a clear out position ideals. taking a clear-cut position itself.

The question of the significance of the NRA and its meaning for labor is today the most widely discussed question in our movement and no union, certainly not a union of our character, can meet in convention without adopting a clearly defined attitude on this question.

The NRA is not now, nor was it even in the earlier stages, a scheme of genuine industrial democracy, a plan to give labor a real voice in the management and control of American industry. On the contrary, the NRA was developed as a plan of stabilizing the shaky foundations of the capitalist system thru stimulating the organization of the employers on a national scale into gigantic associations endowed with government powers to regulate and direct industry in their own interests. It is important to note that in its general outlines the NRA follows the recovery plans proposed by Mr. Harriman, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, in the Fall of 1931. Within this framework, the New Deal has included maximum (Continued on Page 7)

Another issue which is today plaguing the labor movement, is LOVESTONE "THE S.P. CONVENTION" June 19, 8 p.m., Irving Pl.

Summer Training School Lovestone's Address at ILGW Convention

The first full time National Public Speaking—Instructor to Training School, to be run by the New Workers School, will be Problems of Mass Wcrk—Symestablished this summer. From posium course, Instructors—G. F. July 9 to July 31 workers and labor organizers from Canada, the merman, Ed Welsh, Eli Keller, I. Pacific Coast, the South, the Mid-Zimmerman, Ben L'fshitz, Al Ep-West, the Farmers' Region, as well as the East will take an intensive training course at the New Workers School to prepare 3:30 p. m. to 6 p. m., and practical themselves for the big struggles work in the evenings. Arrange-looming ahead for American Labor. It is anticipated that at least 30 active workers and organizers will inter-racial clubs, and with the come from cities outside of New CPO to enable the students to at-York with a similar number from tend, observe or help in the work New York City. Applications have of the organizations. The purpose already been sent in from Chicago, is to combine the theory and prac-

Detroit, Boston, Hartford and tise of the class struggle.

The New Workers School appeals to all labor organizations, to interesting and instructive yet of-fered in a workers' school. The fol-friends of the New Workers School lowing are the subjects and in-structors: to help it in this important ven-ture in workers' education, to help

-Bert Wolfe.

The Pholosophy of Marxism— Will Herberg. Fundamentals of Communism-D. Benjamin.

Labor Movement—Jay Lovestone. in sending your contribution.

munist Movement—Jay Lovestone. struggles in the auto, steel, textile, shoe, coal, needle and other indus-Full-Time Training Course a permanent feature of the New Worklers School.

We appeal to all friends to as-American History—Jim Cork.
Radical Tendencies in American portant task. Use the blank below

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL 51 West 14th St.,

New York, N. Y. I agree with the necessity of training organizers for the American Labor movement. I agree with the purpose of the Full Time National Training School to prepare fighters for the coming struggles ahead of American Labor.

I hereby contribute \$..... City State

FIRST NUMBER

The Road to Communism

central organ of the

International Communist Opposition

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51 West 14th Street - New York, N. Y.

I.L.G.W.U. Report | The Theatre Union presents

(Continued from Page 1) workers in Washington. Zimmer man's minority report (printed i full in this issue) can serve as a guide to progressives and militants in the trade unions thruout the country.

The election of Zimmerman as Vice-President and member of the General Executive Board is of great significance. It constitutes the first time that an avowed comal office in an A. F. of L. union.

In connection with the elections for President it is worthy of note that the only critical voice raised was the statement by Zimmerman for the delegation of Local 22. The two delegates supporting the of-ficial CP were neither heard of nor seen and permitted themselves to be recorded as voting for Dubinsky without statement or reservations.

Another high point of the convention was the address made by Jay Lovestone. Communists have in the past addressed trade union conventions but not as official representatives of a communist or-ganization. The address of Lovestone marks a new page for communist work in the trade unions. It indicates also that the Communist Party (Opposition) is a factor to be reckoned with in many trade

ING DRAMATIC HIT STEVEDORE Thrilling play of Negro and white workers on the docks of

"An evening of unquenchable excitement, a sincere and tumultuous produc-tion." — Garland, World-Telegram.

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DELICIOUS FOOD? GOOD SERVICE?



RESTAURANT 523 Sixth Avenue N. Y. C.

(Continued from Page 1) THE DUTY OF COMMUNISTS

We, as Communists, and as uncompromising followers of Marx and Lenin, maintain that it is the duty of the Communists to be the most constructive fighters inside the trade unions, which we consider the most all-inclusive, the most elemental organization of the working people, taking in people of all colors and all creeds and all political opinions. We say that Communists should, and those Com-

munists who do not, we hope will correct themselves, have the following views so far as the trade union movement is concerned. Even the weakest union, a union with the most conservative leadershipeven a union which is not satisfactory to us, is better than no union. (Applause) And the job of the Communist in the unions is not through name-calling, not through mud slinging, but through exemplary, constructive, militant conduct to show the workers that the road to complete victory as defended by the Communists is the road which they should

NO STIFLING OF DIFFERENCES

We do not believe that differences in the unions History of the American Comit train organizers for the coming which is unable to stand having differences is an unist Movement—Jay Lovestone struggles in the auto, steel, textile, organization which belongs in the cemetery, and that trade unions do not belong in the cemetery. We tries, to help make the National believe that the differences we have in the are differences that can and should and must be settled through democratic means—and when I say democratic, I do not spell it with a capital "D" through friendly, brotherly discussion. No expulsions, no mud-slinging, no black jacks can offer a solution and a settlement of differences. It is only through the test of life, it is only through the frankest and freest discussions, that we are able to arrive at the most constructive policy.

NRA AND LABOR

You, fellow-workers and comrades, know very well that today you can not speak of the problems of the trade union movement without considering the NRA. Let me underscore at the very outset of my remarks that we are great disbelievers in the NRA. We take the sharpest issue with those sections of the labor movement who think that the NRA is worth a half penny for them, The NRA, at its best, is a counterfeit. We are of the opinion that there should have been no illusions about the NRA. We know the old hag; we can see beneath her powdered wig. We know the old hag with her contagious diseases for the labor movement. We did not have to wait for General Johnson's speech, strike-breaking speech, at the last American Federation of Labor convention, a speech which challenges the light to strike; and your President and you fellow delegates will bear me out that once you take away the right to strike from the trade unions you have taken away from them the right and the possibility to live.

Look at the textile workers. General Johnson gave them a set of professors to study their conditions. It is a sort of splinter from the brain trust. What the workers want is not statistics; they want

Look at the automobile industry. I have just come from Detroit, where the New Dealers from Washington are preparing for a big revolt of the automobile workers, and there, my friends and fellow workers, they have appointed as Police Commissioner of the city Colonel Pickert. Who is Colonel Pickert? He was head of the 182nd Division of the National Guard of the State of Michigan, Commander-in-Chief of the troops which shot down the workers in Calumet and Hecla.

Why did they put him up there? For law and order, for peace and plenty—for the bosses!

Coal miners' wages are being cut. You workers know very well that the NRA is of no earthly use to us unless you can line it up against the wall and get something out of it. And the first thing there, is organization—bigger organization, more effective organization.

And let me say this to you. Remember that Washington, D. C., is the headquarters of the chiselers. Looking for chiselers should be like charity; it should begin at home. D. C.—District of Chiselers would be a proper term. It is they who always speak venings 8:45; Mats. Tues. & Sat. to you against philosophy and selfish interests. What they are hiding something from you. To the capitalist class and its spokesmen, no matter where or who they are, when they say, "Don't be selfish," you must answer: An examination of selfishness

should also begin at home.

The working people are not suffering from selfishness. They are suffering from lack of adequate organization and consciousness of their ability to protect themselves against capitalism. You can not have a partnership with the NRA. To be a part of the NRA machinery means to sacrifice certain opportunities for the effectiveness of your best weapon, the right to strike.

MENACE OF FASCISM

Let me sound a warning. Through the NRA and through its validating company unionism the capitalist class is preparing the road to Fascism in a more dangerous, in a more effective, in a more destructive way than through any other steps being

And, at this point, a word about Fascism. I have had the opportunity to see Fascism grow and develop in Germany. I have had the opportunity, unfortunately, to have seen it come to victory because

the working class was not aware of the growing menace of it. Fascism may appear distant from us today, but, my friends and fellow-workers and comrades, Fascism is as distant from us as we allow it to be. We must learn from the mistakes of our German and Italian brothers.

The powerful trade union movement of Germany has today become an underground shell. The powerful political movement of Germany has today become an underground skeleton with the first signs of revival. We in this country must be on guard primarily against the menace of company unionism as the most dangerous source of Fascism. When we speak of Fascism, let us not forget that it isn't only Hitler, Mussolini or Pilsudsky. Who knows whether tomorrow it won't be Doumergue or MacDonald in France or in England?

Permit me, in behalf of the underground German trade unions with whom we are in contact and in behalf of the underground political organizations of Germany today, to present to you, through your President, the first underground trade union paper, actual size, now being circulated in Germany, "Der Metalarbeiter" (The Metal Worker). This is the condition into which the once most powerful union in the world has been forced. That is the best they can do today. I say to you, comrades and fellowworkers, let us learn from our experiences over there so that here we are not driven into such a condition. Here are two other papers from the underground movement, one the "Arbeiterstimme" (Voice of Labor), actual size, and another "Einheit," the most popular word in Germany today, "Unity"—unity of Communists, Socialists, Trade Unionists and Catholic workers against Hitler. (Applause).

DICTATORSHIP BY WHOM?

Much has been said of the fear of dictatorship. I say we ought to drop this bugaboo of dictatorship. When your union dictates a contract to a boss or an association, is it good or bad? It is good. When the bosses dictate to the union, that is bad. Dictatorship is not an abstraction. I think you can not commit a bigger crime against the labor movement than when you lump together Communism the working class dictatorship of Russia—with Fascism, the trust dictatorship of Germany. There is all the difference in the world between the two, essentially the difference in the class relationship, as between your dictating to the bosses as against the bosses dictating the terms to you. We should

not confuse these situations.

Let me say we stand proud to show you Russia, once the land of the darkest Tsardom; Russia today is what it is because the working class has taken power. It is the most advanced, the most rapidly developing cultural and industrial country, a country which has already torn one-sixth of the world out of the hands of the exploiting class and put it into the hands of the toiling masses, and we say to vou with all the energy at our command that as the victories of Russia are not only Russian victories, so the defeats of Russia are not only Rus-

sian defeats, but are our own.

We have made mistakes there. We are not perfect. We will make mistakes, but with all the mistakes and with all the shortcomings we may have there, let me assure you that Socialist Soviet Russia is the greatest inspiration in the history of the world. It is the breaking of a new dawn, of a new day, for the working people all over the world.

ILGWU SHOULD BE IN VANGUARD

I can not conclude my remarks to you without telling you that your union, in our opinion, must not only take steps to hold the gains it has made, but must take steps to extend the gains it has won. We pledge to you in behalf of the Communist Party (Opposition) that in any struggle you are in, in any fight against the bosses, you will find our members and our followers first on the picket lines, in the front line of the fights. (Applause)

We ask nothing in return, because your victory is the victory of our class, and therefore, is our victory. We fight shoulder to shoulder with you for decent, bearable, tolerable conditions in this hell of a system known as capitalism. We say a little more than that. Your union, in our opinion, should undertake to become the beacon of the American trade union movement. Your union should undertake to set an example of leadership and inspiration to the other trade unions. We may think and we d think that your union is not radical enough, but heaven bless you when you see the other unions (Applause). In comparison with some of the other unions, let us say the photo-engravers, you have actually made a "revolution." Of course, I say we are not satisfied. We want your revolution to go more to the left. We are very frank with you about it and we are going to work for it, within the trade

union movement on a constructive basis.

When I say I think that your union should become the torch bearer of the labor movement, I have the following in mind: You should fight for social insurance. I don't want to butt into your ousiness, but I think trade unions have no bus ness in the insurance business. (Laughter) I think it is the duty of the working people to fight for old age, unemployment and sickness insurance as they have never fought before. (Applause) If the capitalist class can't pay for it, it is not our worry; it is their headache. Who tells them to rule? Let them get out and if they want or need any help to get out, we can all give it to them. (Laughter and

applause)
We say that your union, on the basis of the reso-(Continued on Page 7)

LEFTWARD WINDS IN SOCIALIST PARTY

trist bloc led by Krueger and of militant trade unionism figning the R.P.C., because of its lack of ican labor unions, fighting for the the R.P.C., because of its lack of transformation of the present craft debate was neither dignified in tion of Principles, to be had during steamheated sidewalks." Hapgood experienced leadership on the conenough from the militant confusionism of the Thomas-Hoan-Krueger triumvirate, certainly failed to measure up to the situation. It was not till the end of the convention that the R.P.C. began to show its distinct and generally revolutionary position. It went through a number of crises and inner struggles at the convention, inner struggles at the convention, struggles which became the property of everybody but which perty of everybody but which everybeless did serve to enhance nevertheless did serve to enhance the property of everybody but which became the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves to enhance the property of everybody but which leaves the property o

convention.

evidence of this was had in the debate on and adoption of the resolution dealing with "The NRA and Socialism." James Oneal, stodgiest of the extreme right wing of the party, could very well boast "that the NRA resolution which took the New York minority resohas also shown fundamental weakthe many instances in which leaders special convention in Pittsburgh on have counselled workers against June 14.

The bitterness with which they striking. It has shown the this vital question.

Trade Union Question A thoroughly sterilized resolution was adopted on the trade union question. This resolution doesn't say a semi-critical word about the treacherous policies, the anti-working class practices of the Greens, the Wolls, the Hillmans, and their stripe in the American trade union movement. It does go out of the way to advise "that Socialists should observe the highest form of ethics in the trade union movement." Judging by what the resolution fails to say as well as by what it underscores in its paragraphs, it is clear that the

dominated by Thomas. However, for the reconstruction of the Amerexperienced leadership on the conunions into genuine agencies of form nor worthwhile in substance. the referendum on it, into a battle urged the adoption of the Declaravention floor, because of its failure differentiate itself sharply working class struggle. The trade differentiate itself sharply union resolution adopted by the motives were panned. What was yers of the right and the legal exunion resolution adopted by the S.P. convention indicates unmistakably the fear of the dominant leadership of American Socialism even to embarrass the A. F. of L. burocracy, let alone, decisively break with its treacherous class-collaborationist nolicy.

In the war about? The renowned pacifist, Devere Allen, fathered this resolution on one of whose limbs the war about? The renowned pacifist, Devere Allen, fathered this resolution on one of whose limbs the burocracy, let alone, decisively break with its treacherous class-collaborationist nolicy.

In the war about? The renowned pacifist, Devere Allen, fathered this resolution on one of whose limbs the burocracy, let alone, decisively break with its treacherous class-collaborationist nolicy.

In the war about? The renowned pacifist, Devere Allen, fathered this resolution on one of whose limbs the rarty.

One of the star speakers against the Declaration was Sharts of must therefore have more left resolutions."

One of the star speakers against the Declaration was Sharts of Ohio who has been coquetting with resolutions."

The war about? The renowned pacifist, Devere Allen, fathered this presolution on one of the Scentrasts in the rarty.

One of the star speakers against the Declaration was Sharts of Ohio who has been coquetting with the pacific the Resolutions Committee, burnet the Declaration of the workers. We must therefore have more left resolutions." collaborationist policy.

The Soviet Union

its clarity, determination, and principledness.

* * *

Power In The Balance
Until the last day of the continuity was a toss-up as to who would get hold of the party machinery. In preliminary skirmishes

tempted. The attempt failed, and the patient was turned over to the morgue, the "resolutionary morgue, the "resolutionary morgue, the "resolutionary morgue, the "resolutionary morgue" known as the National Executive Committee. The Resolutions and to consolidate the socialist State. If the capitalist system should collapse in a general which general majority rights after the electorate day of the earth, I will stand by America above all nations dealt by Judge Panken who drew the attention of the delegates to of reaction and to consolidate the socialist State. If the capitalist system should collapse in a general which general the point of the scissors and at the end of the mucilage brush. With would get noid of the party marchinery. In preliminary skirmishes on procedure the excreme right one hand it took the R.P.C. resolution on the screen right one hand it took the R.P.C. resolution on the screen right one hand it took the R.P.C. resolution on the screen right one hand it took the R.P.C. resolution on the screen right of orderly procedure, the on procedure the extreme right tion on the Soviet Union which is socialist Party, whether or not in Solomon of New York, had the bet-Solomon of New York, had the bet-Solomon of New York and Solomon Kirkpatrick were able, with the assistance of the abstaining Thomas, workers to abolish capitalism by government under the workers' standard pacifist purase calculated government under the workers' standard pacific purase calculated government under the workers' standard pac sistance of the abstanting inclines, destroying private ownership in rule. True democracy is a worthy to reduce violence. He emphasized: sistance of the abstanting find the defeat Krueger and his colleagues who proposed that the conleagues who proposed that the convention endorse the position of the vention endorse the position endorse the position of the vention endorse the position endorse the position of the vention endorse the position of the vention endorse the position en vention endorse the position of the majority of the American Socialist Party's delegation at the Parist Conference of the Second International last summer. The convention are its party first day through skill- when the position of the majority of the American Socialist Party's delegation at the Parist Conference of the Second International last summer. The convention and tried to graft from it onto this statement of the RPC the following:

| Among the capitalist government is discated a crushing defeat for the disloyal enough (he did not say to workers of the world. (Our embedded in the pseudo-Marxist right wing group. The Old Guard fought. It did not surrender. It will now begin to die out. A new, synthetic, leadership do they want us to do when capitalist government is disloyal enough (he did not say to workers of the world. (Our embedded in the pseudo-Marxist right wing group. The Old Guard fought. It did not surrender. It will now begin to die out. A new, synthetic, leadership do they want us to do when capitalist government is disloyal enough (he did not say to workers of the world. (Our embeddisloyal enough (he did not say to wnom) to throw the people into war, then, the S.P. cannot remain legal." And again he said: "What to graft from it onto this statement of the RPC the following in the capitalist government is disloyal enough (he did not say to wnom) to throw the people into war, then, the S.P. cannot remain legal." And again he said: "What to graft from it onto this statement of the RPC the following in the capitalist government is disloyal enough (he did not say to wnom) to throw the people into war, then, the S.P. cannot remain legal." And again he said: "What to graft from it onto this statement of the world. (Our embeddisloyal enough (he did not say to wnom) to throw the people into war, then, the S.P. cannot remain legal." And again he said: "What the other hands it is a supplied to wnom) to throw the people into war, then, the S.P. cannot remain legal." And again he said: "What the other hands ment of the RPC the following:
on its very first day, through skillful manipulation by the smooth
Lawyers' Exchange, was able to
defeat, by a close vote, the Krueger
attempt to commit the Socialist
Party to the Centrist attitude of
Alter-Ehrlich towards capitalist
Alter-Ehrlich towards capitalist
democracy, proletarian dictatorship, and the Soviet Union. It was
ship, and the Soviet Union. It was
ship, and the Soviet Union. It was
later obvious that this defeat must tional last summer. The convention ment of the RPC the following: through with it.

as practicable in a general strike declared that "It has meant something to me to be born in America.

by Jay Lovestone

fessors lambasted LLD's. The form the discussion of the Declara- socialism of "overhead sewers and war and the detailed plants for all already mapped out...by massed already mapped out...by massed Fascism for some months. He war resistance, organized so far waved the stars and stripes and

ship, and the Soviet Union. It was later obvious that this defeat must be attributed mostly to the lack of organization by "Militant" in an even more harmless form, in forces in the early stages of the convention.

meant nothing or it meant too dishonest, illegitimate stealthy, dishonest, illegitimate dishonest, illegitimate achieved power constitutionally. He pleaded that even churches say they will not support war. He pleaded that even churches say they will not support war. He rubber minds. But this is an inswore that in proposing this resolution of 1917. He sensed in it they will do only after they nave achieved power constitutionally. He pleaded that even churches say they will not support war. He rubber minds. But this is an inswore that in proposing this resolution of 1917. He sensed in it they will do only after they nave achieved power constitutionally. He pleaded that even churches say they will not support war. He rubber minds. But this is an instance of not stretching the point stance of not stretching the whole case It has the proposing the proposing this resolution of 1917. He sensed in it they will do only after they nave achieved power constitutionally. He pleaded that even churches say they will not support war. He rubber minds. But this is an instance of not stretching the will come out to the membership stretched power constitutionally. He pleaded that even churches say they will not support war. He rubber minds. But this is an instance of not stretching the will come out to the membership it they will not support war. He rubber minds. But this is an instance of not stretching the power constitutionally. He pleaded that even churches say they will not support war. He rubber minds achieved power constitutionally. He pleaded that even churches say they will not support war. He rubber minds achieved power constitutionally. but of stretching the whole case. It has nothing to do with the Prole- lay but pathetically pleaded: "If in ties. We have here the American

"There only has the State power not shrink from the responsibility ly, as an expert on pacifism, defen-Were it not for the bitterness of the debate, one would be temp-

| Waldman's strategy has apparent- as Joe Coldwell well put it at the ly already worked wonders. The convention, this is going somenew N.E.C. is helping to trans-what beyond the conception of the

> Right Threatens To Split The threat of a solit was ut-

Now to the defenders of this the debate by saying that the dele-

NRA and Socialism

But, as the convention went on the Centrist steamroller began to function more smoothly and powerfunction more smoothly and powerfunction shape a horde of opinions and flattened into submission the R.P.C. delegates numbering about 15 or 20. Clarity of principle was not its virtue. Concession here, concession this in the course of the convention debate, and has since then confessed that "No S. P. can say less than this in view of what has

Significance of Events

vention. The sneering, contemptu-

ous, self-adoring attitude of the

muddle-headed leadership of the

official C.P. will not serve to help

leducate and move the several thou-

sand workers in the S.P. towards

Despite all of this, let no one

STEEL WORKERS DEFY NRA

Washington, D. C. The "Rank and File" committee lution ("Militant" group) as a of the Amalgamated Association basis carried certain changes that of Iron and Steel Workers has once correlate with certain criticism" again shown that it was not to be which he "made of it in meetings taken in by either the company in New York." The convention union proposals of the Steel In in New York. The convenient struck out of the resolution such inscribed by the strike breaking proposals of General Johnson.

The committee, rejecting all nesses in the American labor move-ment. It has shown up more clear-both sources, decided to place the ly than any other event the obsolete ideology of the A. F. of L., whole situation before the steel workers who will assemble in a

inadequacy of the A. F. of L. struc- left the capital can best be seen ture in organizational work and from the following quotations from the positive harm of the craft of letter which they sent to Pres-form of organization." Of course, one cannot conceive of more mild as the sharpest challenge of the criticism of the corrupt, reactionary A. F. of L. burocracy. Certainly Krueger knows and believes at
the present administration and represents clear
thinking on the meaning of the least that much. Yet "somehow" NRA for the workers. In this sense the steamroller was detoured on it is the sharpest document ever trade union in the U.S. on the

51 W. 14 St., N. Y. C.

"We understand you have left for a week-end cruise on the Sequoia. We wish we could join you, but we must return to our our Lodges to report that al we got out of your National Recovery Administration and Section 7a was an offer to tighten the company union chains that bind the workers in Buy your copy thru NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

the steel industry. "The proposal by the Iron and Steel Institute and General

the doubts that have plagued Rank and File Committee sent the mental principles, were discussed us as a result of NRA's refusal following message to David Dubinto enforce the very plain words sky at the Convention: of Section 7a, guaranteeing us the right to organize and bargain collectively with our employers. We have lost the faith which we held in your administration, which promised justice and a new deal to the nation's

> "Mr. President, the least you can do is to throw the Iron and Steel Institute's brazen company union proposition into the waste "General Johnson has dis-

credited himself forever in the eyes of the workers of this country.....
"It is useless for us to waste any more time in Washington

in the national run-around, rejecting traps set for us. We are returning home today to prepare for action. We have done our best to abide by the law and to get it enforced. We conferred a favor on the administration by warning you of the consequences of non-enforcement of Section 7a. If the govern- tion on it. ment will not help us, then we

In answer to a vicious attack on Johnson is an insult to every the committee by General Johnson, the fact that for the first time in worker in this country. Millions in his speech to the convention of of us reposed confidence in you the International Ladies Garment nearly 15 years, political questions and your administration, despite Workers Union in Chicago, the

> "We, union steel workers. delegates to our recent Amalgamated Association convention, battling here in Washington for a conference with our employ-

> broadcast to you last night. success of your convention." Why this message never came

best known to David Dubinsky. The convention therefore took no ac-

(Continued on Page 8)

Portrait of America By Diego Rivera Text by Bert Wolfe

Proceeds go to WORKERS AGE

Communism. The official C.P. is toappeal to you to denounce General Johnson's insults to the General Johnson's insults to the steel workers made in a radio code which explains why the of-broadcast to you last night ficial C.P. is so totally divorced steel workers made in a radio broadcast to you last night.

"We are now making the same fight for recognition which you won twenty years ago, after long and bitter strikes. It was dastardly of Johnson to use the platform of the Ladies Garment Workers Union to denounce a brother union and to call us Communists because we join the entire labor movement in the demand for the thirty hour week. We send fraternal greetings and best wishes for the success of your convention."

Why this message never came healthiest working class forces, toefore the convention for action is day beginning to lose their faith in Social-Democracy and growing towards a revolutionary path? It is in this sense that this convention of the Socialist Party has real political import to us. To the members of the S.P., honestly eeking more effective ways and weapons in the class struggle, we ean only pledge a helping, comradely, hand to aid them in getting o the true revolutionary path.

ATRONIZE BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA, 535 6th Ave.-14 St.,

Report of the British I. L. P. Convention lunless a coordinated and determ-

The writer of this article, a leading comrade of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition), spent more than a half year in Great Britain, acquainting herself at close range with the problems of the revolutionary movement of that country. She attended all seed that country. She attended all seed that country is the revolutionary movement of the

mains with an uncertain policy, sive struggle, if any. still contains all tendencies in the working class movement, from open reformist elements to revolutionaries—and on the whole seems to take pride in this fact.

Council is the driving force; the 'Affiliation Committee" which de- criticisms with lack of understandsires immediate affiliation to the ing, lack of tact, and a refusal Communist International and has to answer justified questions and doubts, in such a manner as to conno criticism of it; the revolutionaries led by the "Revolutionary fuse the fundamental issues and Policy Committee" which is in the immediate future. In the immediate future. agreement with the principles of revolutionary position to drive the Communist International but the Communist International but is critical of it, and which has been the driving force in the attempt to develop the revolutionary are violently anti-Communist Par- icy. anti-Communist International

Centrism Continues to Mark Time

sions of the Independent Labor that they are unwilling to meet the which declared that the capture of Party Congress at York.—Editor lissues. They seem to seek schemes power by the workers will not deto keep everybody in the Party pend on and can not be secured by One hundred and fifty four dele- happy, by opposing all clear and winning a majority in Parliament. tempt to state the case clearly,

> CI Confuses Issues It must be added that aside from these very definite tendencies, there is a large section which to oppose the parliamentarians,

The Convention Agenda

Road To Power

vote of 66 to 85.

gles, to seek united front activities towards building a united revand are opposed to any united fronts with them; and the centre of the London Divisional Council, try. But this too was defeated by trists, led by the majority of the together with several London a vote of 76 to 89. Shortly after

that a resolution making the primary object for the I.L.P. the cap- united front activity with the Comture of Parliament was also de-

Clarity At A Premium In fact it seemed that any at-

gates, from all sections of the positive expressions of policy, and country, convened at York for the somehow finding a position in be-1934 conference of the Independ-ent Labour Party. After four days of deliberations the ILP still re-of the final struggle is—a defendictatorship of the working class. can best "be built up" by active The resolution was defeated by a participation in the day to day struggle and that therefore "co-Here, as throughout the confer- operation with all working class orence the position of the NAC was ganizations" is part of the normal to oppose the rights and the lefts, party work. 2. 'I hat the conference "deprecates" the action of those Tendencies In The I.L.P.

Several definite tendencies were obviously determined to win the I.L.P. to their respective positions. It is particularly under the correct revolutionary path, but as yet seems incapable of distinguishing and evaluating various positions. It is particularly under the correct revolutionary path, but as yet seems incapable of distinguishing and evaluating various the parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries. The NAC who contravened Conference decipies with Brockway as spokesman oppose the parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries. The NAC who contravened Conference decipies with Brockway as spokesman opposed the parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries. The NAC who contravened Conference decipies with Brockway as spokesman opposed the parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries. The NAC with Brockway as spokesman opposed the parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries. The NAC with Brockway as spokesman opposed the parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries. The NAC with Brockway as spokesman opposed the parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries and the revolutionaries and the revolutionaries and the revolutionaries are parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries and the revolutionaries and the revolutionaries are parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries and the revolutionaries and the revolutionaries and the revolutionaries are parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries are parnamentarians, and the revolutionaries and the revolutionaries are parnamentarians, and the revol the reformists pure and simple, led by the "Unity Committee", of which the Lancashire Divisional CDCR section that the Cl and the Cl CPGB have combined their just Murray, who made a heart-rend-ployed Workers Movement does not ing, righteous speech, for the con- exist. To these might be added a stitutional approach was over-few others which, although out-whelmingly defeated. And a reso-side of this particular section, lution to present Socialism as an bear upon the policy of the I.L.P.

Trade Union Work On Economic Struggles

A resolution making it a duty
Another resolution from the Lonfor I.L.P. members to participate don Divisional Council followed, in trade unions, to develop the rank The party policy may be determ- asking the party to concentrate on and file movement against the buthe I.L.P. into a revolutionary party; the fourth internationalists who together with the extreme right section in the agenda on party pol- with the workers in their strugamendment making a payment of ceased paying the political levy which goes to the Labour Party. As a result many I.L.P. members had been disbarred from active participation in the trade unions. It is to be hoped that with this resolution passed, the I.L.P. members will not only attempt to regain and strengthen their influence in to a great extent broken with its the unions, but will also develop militant action and the rank and file movement against the reactionary burocracy. Unfortunately at present, is such that the resolu-

> ganization until the final day of the convention the Revolutionar Policy Committee wavered back and forth between a fight on principle and a political trade with the sented on the convention floor by separate the Party policy at home the delegates pledged to it. It did from its international associations. gain prestige and influence through the two questions were discussed conferences and educational meet-ings, although these latter were indicates that few realized the somewhat marred by momentary connection. However, the decisions hesitation and wavering due to lack on international relations were of experience as well as lack of quite in keeping with the confused, firmness, conviction and clarity of centrist, party policy. purpose. It did elect Franz Daniel to the National Executive Commit-tee by a deal with the militants on and the I.L.P. which made the CI

But the great need of the RPC the probable nature of the last

is entirely what we might do in the future if certain conditions arise."

Mayor Dan Hoan of Milwaukee, who spoke ardently for the platform, told how he had abolished the Ku Klux Klan in Milwaukee of the Second and checkmated by the manipulation of the more caucus-conscious of the more caucus-conscious of the more caucus-conscious of the more caucus-conscious of the manipulation of the more caucus-conscious of the more

ined drive is carried on.

The United Front The NAC recommendation for munist Party on specific issues, requiring an members to carry out this minimum and permitting individual branches and districts to carry on further united front activity if they deem it advisable, was carried. The Conference likewise agreed to continue the Antiand the CPGB have been the driving factors. The Conterence nad the opportunity of receiving most enthusiastically, the news that at the very same time the National Union of Distribucive and Allied Workers, a union of 127,000 members had voted to join the Anti

The War Danger The discussion on I.L.P. and

the advances and the shortcomings of the Party. A resolution was passed which calls for unconditional refusal to participate in any imperialist war, propaganda for general strike in the event of war, to use any opportunity atforced by a war to overtnrow the and similar proposals were over old pacifist attitudes. However, the vote and discussion made it clear that the majority was willing to declare unconditional opposition to imperialist war, but refused to meet the actual problem of how to oppose it, and would therefore be incapable of carrying out a revo-

utionary struggle against it.

The problem which was of chief interest to the Conference was militants. Its program was not pre- tions. Although it is impossible to

Although there had been an exundoubtedly very well aware of hesitate to crush by labor solidarity the forces of reaction and consolidate the Socialist state. If the capitalist system should collapse in general chaos and confusion which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule."

The futility of the declaration was emphasized even by the milimas a grant of the spectra of communism that the convention under the banner of the CPO. By sheer coincidence the red herring was dragged across the "incorruptible" pages of the New York Times by Joseph Shaplen, who as Times corresponsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule."

The futility of the declaration was completely emasculated by striking out all references to or criticisms of the A. F. of L. burocracy. Head-striker-out was Leo

Dictatorship - Fascist or Communist? Some Basic Differences Discussed

New Beginning":

The identifying of the proletar-

Italy, represents a support of the

Fascist lies about the "socialist

ship." It represents a great dan-

tarian and fascist dictatorships.

The proletarian and the fascist

dictatorships, contrary to the friv-

olous remarks of the "revolution-

ists" of the Miles variety, do not

have the same form of state. As

a matter of fact the so-called sim-

ship represents a type of state which is the antithesis of the fas-

cist dictatorship. A number of

superable barrier between the pro-

letarian and the fascist state, be-

in the Soviet Union and the Fas-

Cardinal Distinctions

ship, the bourgeois state appara-

Through the fascist dictator-

Mussolini

important differences place an in-

The 16th anniversary of the October Revolution found the German working class in a changed political situation. Many workers who previously shunned Communism following was taken from a now, under the impact of the bitter pamphlet by Miles, "Socialism's experiences which they were undergoing, changed their attitude toward the question of proletarian dictatorship in general and toward tne Soviet Union in particular; tney were being transformed from opponents to supporters of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The classic example of a proletarian dictatorship, now as before, is the Soviet Union. When the German workers want to decide for them serves just what the Proletarian Dictatorship really is, they can and must of necessity, judge by tne Russian experience, the October Revolution and the sixteen years of Socialist construction.

Against Abstractions

Lenin was always opposed to any discussion of "Dictatorship in general" and "Democracy in general". He declared repeatedly that bourgeois democracy was a form of capitalist dictatorship, while (Page 44). proletarian dictatorship was the fullest form of democracy for the working class. Lenin's criticism of cism, the rule of the working class loose talk about "dictatorship in in the Soviet Union with the bloody general" is especially timely today. terror regime in Germany and

New Trends-Good And Bad As a result of the shattering of character of the Nazi dictator-German reformism at the hands of the fascists, many Social-Demogration of the fascists, many Social-Demogration to the working class and it is cratic workers are losing faith in the cratic workers are los cratic workers are losing faith in imperative, therefore, that the reformistic principles. They are recommunists counteract the radijecting the cardinal tenet of the reformists, the belief in bourgeois democracy, and are beginning to the difference between the prolesee some point in the use of dicta-

Not all of the Social-Democratic workers, who are rejecting bourgeois democracy and are becoming tavorably disposed to the idea of dictatorship, can be said, however, to be on the way to Communism. The radical phraseology of many of these workers, on the contrary betrays fascist influence and suggests that these "revolutionists' are actually moving to the right of bourgeois democracy. They lead one to suspect that the dictatorship that they seek to attain has more in common with the fascist dictatorial regime than with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Superficial Similarities To what extent the ideological

confusion has penetrated even the labor movement, under the pressure and influence of the fascist state, can be seen from the dis-

which in the view of the ILP further the revolutionary struggle of the workers" and by speaking of ternational centrism, but despite its declaration in opposition to the formation of a new international, in reality it is a definite step toward one. As C. K. Cullen of the RPC very well pointed out in discussion, it is very difficult to differentiate between association and international with the narrow an international with the narrow and the labor Committee that the role of Zausner was similar to that of osip Wolinsky of the Pocket Book Makers Union. We pointed out that rank and file workers and allowed the security of the workers and allowed the security of the Labor Committee, which

a sympathetic body. Actually this the description of the fascist distance of t

by G. S.

. The form of its (The The "leader" principle in fascism Soviet Union's) state, defended only reflects the fact that the all- criticised in the mass organizaby the communists as Soviet de-mocracy and attacked by non-fascist dictatorship, which strives stance, was drawn up from a mulcommunists as a regime of red to subjugate the masses, is guidterror, must be understood and ed by and serves the large capi- the energetic co-operation of the evaluated by Marxist socialists talist interests.

on the basis of historical ex-perience. The Soviet Union How different is the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian dictatorship! The Communist is, according to our views, a so-Party, itself, is organized on a cencialist state. It belongs to the type of centralized party state tralized but democratic basis. Its which is to be met in Italy and decisions are made not autocraticnow also in Germany" (rages ally by a "leader", but by the mem-106-107, Rand School Edition). bership itself. The Communist In another pamphlet of the same party can rule only because it has brand (Irlen, "Marx Against Hitthe trust and support of the mass ler") we are warned against a "misunderstanding of the charorganizations represented in the Soviets, because it receives the acter of the State erected by the conscious co-operation of the mass-Bolsheviki. We see in it the same es and, together with them, distype of state as exists under much cusses and solves all political different social relationships, of problems. course, in the Fascist countries.'

The Source Of Policy

Let us take, for example, the manner in which changes in policy are executed in the Soviet Union When Hitler announced the end of the "national revolution", the turn came as a complete surprise to the animated fashion in the election self-determination. The national-Socialist masses, for it was not decided upon by the broad masses of the national-socialist are introduced. After the election, fascist lines, do not aid in the ansupporters, but was hit upon in secret deliberations by the clique composed of the highest party leadists. Changes in policy in the C. letarian democracy when only one (without which the proletarian P. S. U., on the other hand, are party, the Communist Party, takes nothing more than the combined part in elections? Those who ask discrediting the Soviet Union thru

of the workers, a procedure in masses wno also take an active interest in its execution.

How fundamentally different the proletarian and fascist dictatorships are, is further shown by comparison between the fascist plebescite and the elections in the elections, but the masses must

ership and the large industrial- ten asked, how can there be a pro- that they must build the Soviets,

sia unless there is a possibility of another party displacing the Com-munist Party. The overthrow of the C.P.S.U., however, would mean leffort to express as completely as possible the wishes and interests of the workers, a procedure in establish the proletarian dictatorwhich all plans are discussed and ship. Democracy for workers, however, is conditioned exactly on a retention of the proletarian dictatorship and it rests upon the comtitude of local investigations with munist principle that the workers have the right not only to make criticisms but also to take an active part in the conduct of the roletarian state.

Enlighten The Masses

It is, therefore, a misrepresen tation and a distortion of facts to Soviet Union. Under fascism, not attempt to draw a parallel between only does terror reign during the proletarian and fascist dictatorships. There is no comparison bevote on questions over which they tween the two. They are fundahave no control, and the candidates mentally different. It is importare nominated by the "leader". In ant to enlighten the masses on this the Soviet elections there is no matter and to awaken in them the terror; any atempt at terror comes desire to fight for the overthrow only from the kulaks. The can- of the fascist state and for the eslidates are selected by the party tablishment of the proletarian dic membership, in the ultimate source tatorship. For, the workers will of party authority, the cells. They be ready to fight only for a proleare presented to the voters in the tarian state which has nothing in election conferences and there common with the fascist regime thoroughly discussed, and either of terror and which, in place of accepted or rejected. The election the dictatorship of a leading clique procedure, worked out by the Com- serving the exploiters, establishes munist Party, is discussed in an the broadest kind of democracy and conferences where supplementary men", who advocate the "totalitarproposals, usually in large number, ian socialist state", patterned along experience of the local organizathis question believe that there can comparing the proletarian with the tions. They are the result of an be no workers' democracy in Rus-fascist dictatorship.

a matter of fact the so-tailed similarity is purely formal and super-iliarity is purely formal and super-ficial. The proletarian dictator-ship represents a type of state. Zausner and the Labor Comm.

Painters union are on the eve of elections of officers for the District Council. During this camtween the proletarian dictatorship paign there have been made public the programs of the candidates cist dictatorship of Hitler and from the various tendencies in the union, for the solution of the probems now confronting the union.

possibilities to strengthen the fore the strike. union and win improved conditus reaches its greatest strength; tions for the workers. Among the through the erection of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet workers in the trade, organized Union, on the other hand, the bour- and unorganized, there was the for a stronger union and for im- which is trying to rid the union torship in certain pamphlets originating from the "left" (!) wing of German Social-Democracy. The discontinuous cannot be introduced as a substitution of the content and unorganized, there was the strong conviction that the union would seriously tackle the great paratus Socialism cannot be introduced as a substitution of the content and unorganized, there was the strong conviction that the union would seriously tackle the great paratus socialism cannot be introduced as a substitution of the content and unorganized, there was the strong conviction that the union paratus social seriously tackle the great paratus was destroy-strong conviction that the union paratus social seriously tackle the great paratus was destroy-strong conviction that the union paratus seriously tackle the great paratus was destroy-strong conviction that the union paratus seriously tackle the great paratus was destroy-strong conviction that the union paratus seriously tackle the great paratus was destroy-strong conviction that the union paratus seriously tackle the great paratus s possibilities for organization and brought into our ranks the worst Zausner fired the first shot against for improved conditions in the kind of corruption and sell-out of the Progressive Group, in the Soduced, even when a few Socialduced, even when a few Social of Improved conditions in the Boissue by declaring its readiness to
issue by declaring its readiness to
associate with the CI in all efforts
those who advocate the proletarian pared to assist in organizing the
interests of the workers. In its appeal for support in the strugmeeting of the local on Friday May
against Zausner, the Progressive Group, in the Socialist controlled local 261. At the
gle against Zausner, the Progres25, the socialists, knowing that the dictatorship, without stating that open shops and in maintaining sive Painters' Club of District Progressive Group will nominate it cannot be established unless the union control in the shops.

bourgeois state is destroyed, are The progressive members of

were not at all adherents of its program but were anxious to express their attitude towards the fundamental principles of the CI. The resolution was defeated by a vote of 34 to 126.

2. The resolution of Cullen (Poparote of Page 6)

The leading capitalist groups. The other of the other hand, strives to have the highest hour day and the \$9 scale was a victory, he did not dare tell the workers that the "victory" was only temporary. This sell-out Zausner bloc and will continue its strungle for a progressive members will resist the manouver of a socialist League informed that our securing the 7 hand, strives to have the highest hour day and the \$9 scale was a victory, he did not dare tell the workers that the "victory" was only temporary. This sell-out Zausner bloc and will continue its strungle for a progressive union of the workers and for the workers.

Progressive Painters Club of District Council No. 9

A Statement

boys and underworld heroes who who tried to expose Zausner's

proved conditions, is the defeat of of Zausner. Zausner and Zausnerism which has

united action of the working class of the working class of the world. The key note of the a case in point in the "lefts" of ties of the moment and proposed to work to the local should not place a canul-gether with the members of the date for secretary this year. Gaft, Socialist "Party in the Painters Ginsberg and the other socialists recommendation is the association with the Independent Revolution-dary Parties and a break with the CI. Not only does the resolution definitely align the I.L.P. with interest that the aid of which definitely align the I.L.P. with interest that the next labor government objective that the next labor party, who ask a program of action which the union was in a position to carry out. The program included such demands as the six hour day, 1929 against Zausner thru placing a cantilet that the next labor portion on the basis of a concrete union was in a position to carry out. The program to be worked out joint demands as the six hour day, 1929 against Zausner thru placing a cantilet that the next labor government objective that the next labor portion of action which the appropriate that the next labor portion of action which the appropriate that the next labor portion of a control of the basis of a concrete union, on the basis of a concrete union, on the basis of a concrete violation, on the basis of a concrete violation, on the basis of a concrete violation, on the basis of a concrete violation. We also proposed to fight with the intention of the program of action which the appropriate violation of the members of the paints of the members of the portion. The program of action which the appropriate violation of the program of action which the appropriate violation of the program of action which the program of action which the program of action which the p

The four other tendencies in the I.L.P. were represented in five amendments to this recommendation and could be carried out. Did to have a similar effect.

The four other tendencies in the (bourgeois) state", is also bound to have a similar effect.

The four other tendencies in the (bourgeois) state", is also bound to have a similar effect.

The four other tendencies in the (bourgeois) state", is also bound to have a similar effect.

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The four other tendencies in the (bourgeois) state is also bound to have a similar effect.

The four other tendencies in the (bourgeois) state is also bound to have a similar effect. * * *

Dictatorship By Whom?

The proletarian state has antroduced a substitute resolution for immediate affiliation to the CI as a sympathetic body. Actually this actually the sympathetic body. Actually the sympa

meeting Gaft informed us of the decision of the fraction. They tend he said, to accept our request but about Zausner they decided to wait until after the nominations in beat and terrorized those workers the locals. This decision to wait until after the nomination in the of this treachery is that the con-ditions of the union workers have fight against Zausner. Such prom-The year 1933-34 was rich in now become much worse than bepossibilities to strengthen the fore the strike.

ditions of the union workers have inent socialists as Gaft, Ginsberg and Zughaft came out openly for a fight The progressives have always support of Zausner and for a fight pointed out that the precondition against the progressive group

Socialists and supporters of Council No. 9 also turned to the Mark Jackson as its candidate for Labor Committee of the Socialist secretary, carried a motion that Party. We proposed to work to- the local should not place a candi-Socialist Party in the Painters Ginsberg and the other socialists Union, on the basis of a concrete not only defended this proposal but We proved to necessary in order to secure the

A Socialist on the Convention

The author is an active member of the Socialist Party. His reacsiderable interest.—Editor.

Socialist leaders convened

oceans of oratory flooded the con- have written this platform" be- hope that the new N.E.C. will act vention as Panken, Waldman, cause "we are not even good sports. in such a way as to convince us Sharts, Lee and Solomon battled men to talk of suppression after that they are not bound by merely to stop the adoption of the declaration supported by Thomas, Kryzing this convention in a capitalisticki, Hapgood, Allen and Biemiller ridden hotel, in a capitalist-ridden will do will bear watching and will which in part stated that "The city, in a capitalist-ridden counself of the convention of the conventi strike of labor unions." The shades be too shrewd to supply the Cham- tion had a good deal to do with of Morris Hillquit and Eugene bers of Commerce with this sword its procedure. The great majority below were liberally invoked to turn against us." This shrewd- of the delegates were lawyers, which read further, "Capitalism is speech of Louis Waldman of New ters. Extremely precise points of doomed. If it can be superseded York repudiating the brightest parliamentarism occupied the by majority vote the Sajelist by majority vote the Socialist tradition of American socialism, greater part of the three day ses-Party will rejoice. If the crisis the 1917 St. Louis resolution sion. All actual business was transity rights after the electorate has given us a mandate we shall not hesitate to crush by labor solidarity the forces of reaction and consolidate the Socialist state. If the socialist state. If the Convention was passed by a convention was passed by a point of drastically limiting discussion and refusing to accept amendments.

The resolution was passed by a by dint of drastically limiting discussion, the Declaration of Principles, irrespective of the Cl's answer, it amendments.

The spectre of Communism to abstain on the basis of the Conference. It submitted no principle limiting discussion, the Declaration of Principles, irrespective of the Cl's answer, it amendments.

The spectre of Communism to abstain on the basis of the Conference. It submitted no principle limiting discussion, the Declaration of Principles, irrespective of the Cl's answer, it amendments.

is going to act on this anyway. It is entirely what we might do in the in unions.

tions to the Chicago convention of the S.P. are therefore of con-during the war and said that this

by A. M.

bless the resolution ness reached its climax in the teachers, ministers, and ex-minis-

prohibiting, however, united fronts

declaration of principles would have an invigorating effect upon clean municipal administration. Detroit stewed through three hot June days, emerging with an ideological chop suey called a Declaration of Principles, compounded of sections of all left programs.

The groans from the right found and can now begin to age grace-fully itself. The new Executive Committee consists of Kryzcki, too of Principles, compounded of sections of all left programs. loving America above all the nations of all left programs.

For a long Sunday afternoon ced "the red internationalists who denounced to specific to some state of the red internationalists who love the red international red in the red in the red international red in the red in the red international red in the red international red in the red international red in the red in the red in the red international red in the red in th

on any less magnificent scale. Elections and the principal resogroup which ousted the Old Guard tion may well remain on paper,

The futility of the declaration was emphasized even by the milicratic sms of the A. F. of L. buro-hear the other side.

The futility of the declaration was emphasized even by the milicratic sms of the A. F. of L. buro-hear the other side.

The Revolutionary Policy Compassage of its "new international" resolution, if the Party did not get the left wing. ment in its favor. Norman Thomas, after declaring that here was an American platform written in the American language on which land. A. F. of L. The trade union the American language on which land with the American language on the revolutional of the convention of the American language on the revolutional of the leaftership or policies of land wise. The revolutional of the leaf to pull itself out of the convention on the convention of the convention of the American language on the revolutional of the leaf two proportions. The revolutional of the left wing, failed to pull itself out of the convention of the convention of the convention of the convention of the American language on the revolutional of the left wing, failed to pull itself out of the convention the American language on which he was proud to stand, urged its adoption by insisting that "No one is going to act on this anyway. It is entirely what we might do in the in unions.

Other resolutions presented were inflored. The RPC going to the conditrectives, as ultimately adopted, vention in support of the proletowing in support of the proletowing in support of the proletowing in a walk. Someone, however, stuck a pin in it. Brought in the formation of a new international councils, found its road to power checkmated by the manipulation recommendations for sixty eight with the Independent Revolution-

capitalist system, the formation of anti-war councils and active efforts of members of Parliament to expose and defeat the war menace. But the clause in the resolution calling for the planning of such work, during a period of ilwing of the I.L.P. and to transform | ined thru an examination of the | the economic and industrial strug- | rocracy of the unions, to organize | legality, was deteated by a vote of 69 to 73. The lead against illegal work was given by Elijah Sandham who warned the Conterence that "London" was gradualpermissive, was also passed. When the I.L.P. dissociated from the Labour Party, I.L.P. members had be an insurrectionary party. True, resolutions, which put taith in fairly. solutions which put raith in fairy tale peace pact proposals, in preventing the rearming of Germany whelmingly defeated. True, the original resolution without the illegality clause passed without dissent, showing that the Party had

International Relations

ESTIMATING AUSTRIA'S REVOLUTION

(Continued from previous issue)
What was behind this suicidal policy of systematic surrender? Essentially the whole theory and practise of reformist Socialism!

Reformist Socialism sees the only real hope against Fascism in an alliance with the "constitutional", "democratic", "moderate" sections of the bourgeoisie, in an alliance, therefore, between Social-democracy and the "non-Fascist" bourgeois parties or groups. Everything must be subordinated to the possibility of such an alliance. The "lesser evil" must be chosen. The independent activity of the working class must be curbed lest it alienate the bourgeois allies. Bourgeois governments must be supported or at least "tolerated" by the Social-democracy, however reactionary or anti-labor they may be if only they are "non-Fascist". This was the policy which drove the German Social-democracy to ban every form of militant labor action, to "tolerate" Bruening with his emergency decrees and to campaign for Hindenburg for the presidency. This was the policy which drove the Austrian Social-democracy to swallow in silence every fresh attack of Dollfuss, to hold the impatient working class constantly in leash, to elect Miklas, the Austrian Hindenburg, by the strategem of "blank ballots."

THE LOGIC OF COMPROMISE

From the very beginning, revolutionary Marxists have pointed out the fatal error of such a course and events have fully confirmed their judgment. To convert the labor movement into a tail-end of the liberal bourgeoisie, means to deny its historical mission, to crush its class independence, to quench its fighting spirit, to demoralize and to disorganize it. And to stake everything upon the alliance with the "democratic" bourgeoisie means to be driven imperceptibly, step by step, to the support of ever more reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie, to the degree that the center of gravity within the capitalist class itself swings towards the right. First support Bruening against Hindenburgthen Hindenburg against Hitler—and then?

THE RUSSIAN LESSON

Of course, the proletariat must strive to win the support of the lower middle class masses and even some sections of the bourgeoisie, if possible. But it can only accomplish this if it steps upon the historical arena as an independent class force, full of militancy and self-confidence and able to inspire confidence in the great masses of the people. This great lesson, taught in positive form by the Russian revolution and negatively by the catastrophe in Germany, still remains a book sealed with seven seals to the reformist Socialists, whether of the German or Austrian variety.

THE BLIGHT OF PARLIAMENTARISM

To reformist Socialism, the democratic institutions of bourgeois democracy constitute the "normal" arena of political struggle against reaction and Fascism. But who does not see how utterly impotent, how trivial, these democratic institutions become in the hour of social crisis? As Otto Bauer somewhat pathetically

by Will Herberg

remarks: "There were now no longer any legal means of resisting the illegal dictatorship." But it is precisely to these broken reeds that Social-democracy looks for effective weapons of political struggle. The German Social-democrats showered the Supreme Court with appeals against Hitler while he was ruthlessly destroying the labor organizations. The Austrian Social-democrats were ready to tolerate a Dollfuss dictatorship provided "that a small parliamentary committee, in which the government had a majority, should



Karl Munichbreiter, heroic leader of the Schutzbund. bleeding from many wounds, being carried to the gal-

be able to criticize decrees and that a constitutional court . . . should be restored." When "parliamentary cretinism," that dread disease which makes one believe that the petty manipulations within parliamentary corridors decide the fate of the world, had gone that far, there was no longer any hope!

SOCIALIST WORKERS DEMAND ACTION Infected with the reformist poison to their very

bones, the leaders of the Austrian Social-democracy could do nothing more than cool their heels in Dollfuss's ante-chambers, hoping against hope to get a word into his ears. To the workers they had nothing to offer but the counsel of patience and vague promises that something would be done if the Heimwehr butchers presumed too far. But the Social-democratic workers grew more and more restive; it became increasingly difficult to placate them with the old conciliatory phrases. "The workers grew more and more bitter at the too patient policy of the party leaders," records Otto Bauer. "Large sections of the membership violently demanded of the party that it should take up the struggle." "The dissatisfaction and agitation of the workers against the conservative policy of our party committee increased," he continues. "The workerful militarily, was wearing down our spirit and was choosing its own time to attack us." How much more clearly did the workers see things than their highly trained leaders!

Towards the beginning of February, the unrest and indignation of the workers were reaching the breaking point. The Heimwehr had mobilized its full military force and had publicly announced its intention of seizing complete hold of the government. Encouraged by Mussolini, Dollfuss now initiated the final drive to wipe out the labor movement altogether. Social-democratic and trade union headquarters were seized and even private houses were searched. Provocation could go no

The masses of the workers demanded action before it was too late. The Social-democratic leaders again counseled patience and waiting, urging the workers to await the result of another attempt at an interview with Doilfuss. "The party council issued warning," Bauer tells us. "It wanted to avoid the struggle as long as the government had not yet committed an act to arouse the whole mass of the working class. . . . But the excitement of a big section of the workers was already too great and the warnings of the party council were no longer listened to." On February 12 the Schutzbund members in Linz arose in armed resistance. The insurrection was on!

CIVIL WAR DESPITE LEADERS

It is today only too clear that the struggle broke out spontaneously, over the head and against the will of the Social-democratic leaders. When on February 10, Bauer first heard of the ferment among the Linz workers, he was "alarmed." He immediately sent a message to Linz urging the party members to "keep cool". "Apparently," he adds, "the message arrived too late." "Even on Sunday, February 12," Bauer continues, "the representatives of the party administration attempted to quiet the excited workers and to restrain the outbreak of the struggle." More than that, "when the news reached Vienna that there had been shooting in Linz . . . and a strike had broken out there, members of the Social-democratic party committee tried to get in touch with the government to prevent an out-

By the morning of February 12, the die was cast. The Linz workers were in armed revolt and the workers of Vienna and other parts of the land were ready to follow. Only then did the Social-democracy finally decide to call a general strike but, in the nature of the case it was already doomed to failure. The workers were unprepared and the Heimwehr had managed to seize all key positions. In many industries and in many parts of the country, the workers did not even know until some days later that a strike had been called. The backbone of the trade unions, the railwaymen's organization, had been deliberately weakened and demoralized by the Dollfuss regime and could not measure up to the occasion. But before the day was over the general strike had passed over and merged into open civil war. (To be continued)

ILP Convention Report

(Continued from Page 5) lar branch) of the RPC, is in com- ternational which it regards as a plete agreement with the principles menace to international working of the CI, but has criticisms of the class unity, and in so far as it is tactics, and in particular has sponsored by the Left Opposition doubts as to the extent to which Groups, as a menace to the sucdemocratic centralism is carried cessful construction in the Soviet out in the CI. It calls for a delegation to meet with the ECCI with with a vote of 64 to 107.

a substitute resolution calling for statutes and principles of the CI capable of functioning under ille- Youth has broken with the Inde- need of the I.L.P. Here the RPC mental principles of the CI, and in majority within the I.L.P. have not particular opposed to Communist grasped the meaning of centrism. This resolution was It is for this reason that the also defeated—56 to 101.

ment of the present Fourth In-

a view of disposing of the outstanding differences, and affiliation carried with a vote of 102 to standing differences, and affiliating as a sympathetic body upon assurances that democratic centralism would be faithfully carried out and that the ILP would retain its automony and independant its automony and independ international reformism and cen- ing for "provision for rapid trans- tions with the Independent Revo- with a clear program of action.

the maintenance of the principles are the only basis upon which a and independence of the I.L.P., cooperating with the CI in struggle against Capitalism, Imperial-gle against Capitalism, Imperial-gl ism, and War, but no affiliation. P. will have nothing to do with the It opposes the formation of a new Second International because they mittee, the Affiliation Committee international. In discussion it was have come face to face with the and the "Unity Committee." The clear that the sponsors were not Labour Party in England and un- rights and lefts and the chairman, merely for temporary isolation, but derstand the meaning of open rethey were opposed to the funda- formism. But at the same time the the resolution was defeated.

| Maxton, united on this issue and the resolution was defeated. | York there were signs of steps policies, by developing their

4. The Trotskyite supporters, through the Clapham branch, introduced a resolution calling for immediate negotiations for the formation of a new international. This resolution received a smashing defeat. The vote was 20 to 137.

5. In addition the London and Southern Counties Divisional Countains of the London and approach to every issue facing of the London approach to every issue facing of the London approach to every issue approach to every in the London approach to every issue approach to every issue approach to every issue approach to every in the London approach to every in the London approach to every in the ILLP. The Guild of Youth is solved about the report of the guild of Youth approach to every in the London a cil introduced an amendment op- and approach to every issue facing posing in particular, "the establish- the I.L.P. and the British work-

utionary movement.

Organization Problems Several amendments to Party 3. The "isolationists" introduced trism and a declaration that the ference to a type of organization lutionary parties, the Guild of Revolutionary clarity is the crying

The Guild Of Youth

on the question of international as- accept without reservation sociations as it has on other ques- principles of the CI and the CP, tions. It is to be noted that the and desire Communist unity. But ules were passed giving the NAC Guild of Youth had refused to par- they are dissatisfied with the tac-

Clarity-The Great Need

forward, a tendency to break with revolutionary theories thru conpacifism, more discipline, greater crete application to the prob-conscious activity in the trade lems facing the British workers diso defeated—56 to 101.

4. The Trotskyite supporters, erable section desires negotia
4. The discontinuous activity in the trade unions, united action with the CP only to the extent that the RPC and other forces in the labor move
will do this and be successful in

ing class, thus exposing the centrists and the meaning and implications of centrism; and secondly international associations. This the force which is not swayed by to show wherein the Independent the chairman of the Guild, Huntz, sentimental attachment to the CP. Revolutionary parties fail to be refused to promise. After some discussion the conference decided mendous harm they do to the revolutionary urging all branches to continue urging all branches to large to l form branches of the Guild, and presents the bulk of the revolutionthat the Guild is to have autonomy ary elements in the I.L.P. They

> within their own ranks and At Bradford the ILP disaffiliat- differentiate themselves sharply

We hope that the revolutionaries

within the I.L.P. will during the

oming year achieve clarity

correct communist tactics, and vic-

The Theatre In Review

This is the first of a series of articles on The Theater. In the next one, the author will contrast ers and bourgeoisie respectively.

by Lee Mason

A season which can boast the what I am driving at. scant reason for encouragement.
The Theater Guild presented "They
Shall Not Die" (but blotted it out
Shall Not Die" (but blotted it out
Shall Not Die" (but blotted it out)

The Theater Guild presented "They
Shall Not Die" (but blotted it out)

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Shall Not Die" (but blotted it out)

Road" with his presence, and Lawpander to diseased minds and repressed bodies. "She Loves Me Not" and "Three in One" furnish the vicarious sexual thrills, "Yellow Jack" and "Ah Wilderness" treat to two "splendid" corners of history. All in all, the commercial stage shows the symptoms of rot-tenness. It stinks of the decay, but when you get power, as you are getting it now, you have a right to disagree. unfortunately, the swamp will probably take a long time in fil-

Evidence of this is found in the acclaim with which the critics uptown received "Ah Wilderness." Written in a vacuum, it presents a case for all the old virtues-melsenility of O'Neill and the demoralization of the critics that the play was hailed unanimously.

timing are perfect. such provision on the part O'Neill contributes something t the scene's effectiveness. And while play unfolds its exposition in an Brown."

Lovestone's Address at ILGWU Meet

(Continued from Page 2)

the productions of the Theater lution adopted yesterday on the reconstruction of Union and those of the Theater the American Federation of Labor on an industrial Guild. The theaters of the work- union basis should get down to business to line up other unions. You can not win the race against the capitalists in airplanes with ox cart organizations of craft unions. It is an unfair race no matter what "philosophical or selfish interests" you may be cautioned against. You all know what I mean and

birth and speedy maturation of a Theater Union should not be put away in the attic without a little union in the country. That may surprise you, I special rejoicing. Never before mean you are a mirror of America much more than has the theater known such a progressive, vitalizing force. It clears Italians, you have Jews, you have Spaniards, you the ground of the debris of former have a labor league of nations. A little more. Your years and points the way forward union is a laboratory of working class opinion. In to a significant collective theater.

Aside from the Theater Union and its productions there was but Socialists, (laughter)

Your union you have sound Communists and unsound Communists, sleepy socialists and wide awake Socialists, (laughter) Democrats and kepublicans,

with "School for Husbands, Mary sider these questions that I have raised not in the of Scotland, Days Without End light of an experiment, but in the light of an experiment, Henry Hull blessed "Tobacco perience for the entire labor movement.

Now a word in closing to the new delegates and son gave birth to the puny and the members whom you represent. The biggest sickly "Gentlewoman." As for the thing for the working class of this country is the "hits," they nauseate one. Almost influx of new millions of workers into the unions. invariably their success is based directly on the extent to which they become active in building the union. That is our

POWER MUST BE USED

Power and responsibility! underscore the "nobility" of the human race, and "Mary of Scothand" and "Moor Born" beat a re-land" and "Moor Born" beat a re-land when you have power don't be afraid to use it. The What is the good of having power if you don't German labor movement had power and was afraid to use it. Where is it now? You must know that

do have a certain responsibility to the working class.

That responsibility is to fight for it. We ask you to help us, and we will help you, work together with you, not only for the improvement of your every day conditions, but for the elimination of all classes, for the elimination of all exploitation, for the wiping out of the present system of tion, for the wiping out of the present system of misery and poverty. We ask you to fight together with us. We pledge you to fight with you in your daily struggles so that we can together learn in livelihood. The combination of a daily struggles so that we can together learn in chance to see how the submerged life the lesson of unity for a common struggle for classes live and the possible opthe destruction of the present insane, miserable, warthe destruction of the present insane, miserable, war-producing, Fascist-breeding system of capitalism. portunity to earn some money re-sulted in this book. This is not to * * *

PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: We were glad to receive a word of criticism from one who does not try to shove his opinion down our throats. (Applause) We have a right to disagree with him just the same as I have a right to believe in the NRA, and Lovestone has a right to disbelieve in the NRA. Just the same as I have a right to believe that the NRA has done considerable for the workers of this country, particularly in the textile industry, where they have PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: We were glad to reparticularly in the textile industry, where they have established the forty hour week for the first time by law, where they formerly worked 55 and 60 hours, Lovestone has a right to believe that nothing has been done. We have a right to come with our the result of all this is an interesting, well written. opinions, express them, convince, educate, win supporters. This is the procedure of the labor movement, and anyone that expresses himself in that manner is welcome within our ranks and is welcome ging expedition, the description of to our platform. (Applause).

marvelous speech delivered by Comrade Lovestone who has helped greatly to rebuild our union and make it stronger. I move that the speech should be despair; and in fact, unless the mbodied in our minutes.

The motion was voted upon and carried. (Ap
author hopes that this book will move some kindly old lady to doembodied in our minutes.

PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: And even on this we hopes to accomplish.

Zimmerman's Minority Report

(Continued from Page 1)

low wisdom, quiet domesticity, and pure adoloscence. For all the recognition it takes of present-day conditions it might have been written on Mars. But such is the senility of O'Neill and the demo-

NRA CANNOT BRING RECOVERY

Perhaps this was a reaction from not intoxicated with the New Deal ballyhoo, that the strained "Mourning Becomes the NRA could not succeed as a recovery measure. Electra" and the clumsy "Strange It is true that corporation profits in the biggest Interlude." As such, the welcome industries jumped tremendously from the first quarcan be appreciated, for certainly ter of 1933 to the first quarter of 1934. But the these Freudian studies were a little thin to the palate and a little hard on the back-side. The critics should have demanded that the fresher character-reading of "Ah Wilderness" be balanced by a corresponding intellectual awareness. But they themselves are so steeped in bourgeois ideology that they canbourgeois ideology that they cannot see the retrogression of the march, according to the May 1934 issue of the O'Neill.

Let us examine the play as an of L., "events took a different turn (towards inart form. What is it that held its creased unemployment) ... Unemployment increased loseness together? Here is where George Cohan, "The First Actor" and composer of "Over There" enters. His affection for and understanding of the character of Nat Miller give the play a core about. Miller give the play a core about risen and also minimum wages in some industries; which all of the snailish action but on the other hand, average weekly earnings have flows. When his wife sets up little not grown and the buying power of labor has been wails of anguish every once in a workers so hard that large masses have been driven of Richard, it is Nat Miller who to open revolt, which is a contributing factor in the saves the situation. He changes his present big wave of strikes. According to the position unconcernedly, hesitates a American Federation of Labor report of May 1934, ittle before answering her cries of "the individual worker in industry made no gain distress, and then says something whatever in real wages from March 1933 to March utterly banal. But his manner, so 1934. His average weekly wage increased 9.7% but thoughtfully absent-minded, redeems the lines. His poise and timing are perfect.

Hours of labor have indeed been shortened in It is true also that in the above many industries but it is very significant that, as cited scene the audience knows the American Federation of Labor bulletin points that everything is well with out, "not only was the average decrease in hours in Richard, that his innoncence has industry during the last year less than 21/2 hours a saved him from the tart. Certainly, week" but that "hours are being lengthened as pro-

ductive activity increases and it is a question whether the gains will be held." It is clear today that no substantial recovery or relief can be expected from the NRA.

NRA AND COMPANY UNIONS

The most alarming sign on the labor front since the NRA is the menacing growth of Company unionism. In the six months following the enactment of the NRA, the number of companies operating company unions jumped 180%, while the number of companies having agreements with genuine union increased only 75%. At the beginning of this year, about 45% of the industrial workers were under the drivelling and adolescent nonsense yoke of Company unions and 45% more worked that last scene in which the comunder open shop conditions so that only 10% of the plete and undivided John Loving workers were to be found in genuine trade unions. lies prostrate before the figure of It is the irony of the situation that Section 7a, still Jesus Christ has no equal. It is an being hailed in some quarters as the great charter eloquent commentary on the delabor, has been turned into a weapon against terioration of a significant dramalabor and has operated as a boomerang serving as tist. the cover under which this alarming growth of com-pany unionism has taken place. As far back as last July, General Johnson made a public declaration over the panaceas of science and the open shop was the only form of the relations between labor and capital recognized under the NRA. "An open shop," he declared, "is a place where any man who is competent and whose services Church alone removes his fear of are desired is employed regardless of whether or death and restores the chaotic not he belongs to a union. That is exactly what world to sanity. Even this solution, the law says. The statute cannot be qualified. Is anything clearer than that needed?" And on Labor Protestant minded, money-making Day, addressing the Illinois Federation of Labor in very city, the NRA chief announced publicly: "If an employer should make a contract with a particular union to employ only members of that union, that would in effect be a contract to interfere with worth have their being. How the his workers freedom of choice of their represen- Marxists would dispose of this fortatives or with their right to bargain individually mula goes without saying. which is contrary to law." The notorious merit clause in the Automobile code, giving the employers the absolute right to hire and fire, shows what the that "Ah Wilderness" was written NRA has meant in practice for such an important immediately after the putrid "Days section of American labor. The ineffectiveness of Without End." If the former is any Section 7a by itself is painfully demonstrated in the indication of what O'Neill is to do Weirton case where the company, backed up by the in the future, we can dismiss him steel trust, has for months brazenly denied the most as a significant force. In "Ah Wilelementary right of collective bargaining to the derness," he cashed in on a smallsteel workers.

(Continued on Page 8)

the one he presents to the world, peror Jones." As for his relevant there are several other well-writ- inexperienced and obvious way that O'Neill has the intellectual harshly scoffs at the timidity and ten episodes, Richard's boyishly slows up its pace. And then when stature of a five year old. Science weakness of John, the spiritual forces and the operation of the exaggerated account of his esca- the play is fairly under motion the and communism—yes O'Neill has inner self. But to no avail. John New Deal, that appears to be out pade amongst them, these are the alter ego is hanging about, em- flirted with communism—were Loving's roots are too firmly held in of the question. He rationalizes bricks and mortar of each and barassing both the play and the tried in the agony of soul which the earth of superstition and his bankruptcy in a high-sounding every play. One demands more than this mechanical kind of skill. It most Americans in the field of literature, O'Neill is in "Days Without End" even not content to secure effects in a stituted no solution. Thus when his the materialistic Loving. Father with that luxury, and find it sufthis is not forthcoming. O'Neill's subtle way; he must use a black- uncle, Father Baird returns after Baird's Christian patience and El- ficiently dramatic and in harmony concern with masks and split per- board pointer. The same failing ex- a long separation he finds John sa's desperate illness win the day, with any deep rhythm of life.' sonalities is manifested here in an plains the tediousness of "Strange Loving sick with struggling over and John finally succeeds in van- Well, he has found his happiness, alter ego. As a consequence, the Interlude" and "The Great God the road to take. His formal self, quishing the "devil" in him. For and we have the sorry results.



WENT TO PITT COLLEGE by Lauren Gilfillan. The Viking Press, N. Y.

This book was written by a

oung woman brought up in a "so-

ial service" environment. Since say that the book is not well writ-ten and the picture we get is not a else should a sane person take a chance of acquiring syphilis withis an interesting, well written, sympathetic story. She captures some living people and some real life—the miners' children, a bega half day in the pit are well done. DELEGATE ROSENTHAL: I think that was a ries away of utter poverty, denate her cast off high-heeled slippers, I can't see what else she

Somehow, perhaps on account of suspicion justified or no on the part of the miners, she saw little of the class conscious working class movement. What little she saw, she portrays not very sympathetically. It is all very well to attribute the actions of the young organizer to her suppressed emotions, but surely somewhere in that terrible town there was courage and vision and devotion to the cause. To these the author gives very little mention. Certainly there are no signs that she herself, on coming out from pit college came to understand the class struggle any better than when she arrived

O'Neill makes his decision carefully and explicitly. He has looked Platonism, Communism and Concivilization. Rockefeller's God, ag-gressive and mercenary, would sneer at it for retiring from the world of affairs where all men of

It is rather interesting to note change solution and received the The outrageous auto agreement which provides slightest return on his dramatic gifts. No more will he write a snarling, bitter "Hairy Ape," an angry, forceful "All God's Chillun Got Wings" and an exciting "Emcomment on contemporary social

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Biro-Bidjan

WO worlds—the old and the new. All things, all phases of life reveal the startling contrast. In the old decaying world of capitalism, anti-semitism raises again its ugly head. In the new young world of socialism, anti-semitism is liquidated forever.

It is no longer merely in the backward, semi-feudal, barbarian lands that anti-semitism shows itself. It is in the lands of high civilization and culture, such as Nazi Germany. Like a pestilence the plague of anti-semitism spreads from land to land throughout the

Nationalism was a progressive force in the youthful period of capitalism; today it is a curse. The curse of anti-semitism begets its inseparable opposite, bourgeois Jewish nationalism. Anti-semitism drives the Jew back into the ghetto; Jewish bourgeois nationalism would accomplish segregation on a world scale, a world-ghetto in

"There are two nations in every modern nation . . . there are two national cultures in every national culture." Zionism subordinates the "progressive nation" to the "reactionary nation," the proletariat to the bourgeosie, socialist culture to the anti-culture of a capitalist world in decay. Zionism builds the rubbish of national oppression into its very foundations, for Zionism is founded on the dispossessing of the Arab and the negation of Arab self-determination. It plays catspaw to British imperialism. As in all forms of national reaction today, Zionism begets its own fascism (revisionism) within its own ranks!

Only one land is solving, only one class can solve, the Jewish question.

The first week of the existence of the Soviet government witnessed the "Declaration of the Rights of the Nationalities of Russia." With a single revolutionary leap, Russia passed from the worst land of Jewish discrimination and persecution to the best land of Jewish equality and freedom.

In the years of the building of the new Socialist order the Soviet Union tackled the problem of bringing the declassed Jewish merchants, peddlars, Talmudical scholars, brandy distillers and luftmenschen, and above all the Jewish youth, into the basic industries, thus ending once and for all the isolation of the Jews that had set them apart in an enforced ghetto as a "peculiar people." Colonies like Kalinindorf, Stalindorf, New Zlatopol, Freidorf and Biro-Bidjan, brought the Jew into agriculture. Industrialization brought the Jew into industry. By the end of the first Five Year Plan, over half the Jews in the Soviet Union were wage-earners in productive indus-

try! The age-old Jewish problem was a problem no more!
On May 7th, 1934 Biro-Bidjan was proclaimed a Jewish Autonomous Region with the prospect, upon further growth, of becoming an Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic, one of the equal partners in the free union of people called the Soviet Union.

Decaying bourgeois nationalism brings anti-semitism in Germany, and Arab-Jewish race war and Fascism in Palestine. Proletarian internationalism brings economic rehabilitation, freedom and equality, and the preservation and extension of all that is progressive in Jewish culture or nationality.

Two worlds-one dying-another, and better, being born!

LOOK AROUND YOU!

You will see a deep ferment in the labor movement; feverish organization, phenomenal trade union growth, bitter and bloody strikes, widespread disillusion with NRA, a tenseness-ness which promises deep and decisive struggles.

In the ranks of the revolutionary movement there is division and the sharpest clash of conflicting thought. The Communist movement is divided. Even the Socialist movement for years smug and cynical, is rent by political dissension.

WHAT IS BEHIND ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS?

If you want a clear Marxist analysis of the problems facing the working class in the U.S.A. and abroad, you must read

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Zimmerman's Minority Report

(Continued from Page 7)

for the turning over of lists of union members to a board including representatives of employers and thus establishes a national, government-approved blacklist, this auto agreement, which gives official recognition and thus legalizes the company union as a form of collective bargaining, shows what grave dangers the NRA has in store for the workers if they are not ready to militantly defend their unions and their interests.

RIGHT TO STRIKE CHALLENGED

The NRA has openly dared to challenge the right of labor to strike, a right, without which no trade union can exist. At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, Senator Wagner, chairman of the National Labor Board, did not hesitate to declare: "The first charge upon labor is that it abandon the philosophy of strike in its relation with employers. The crucial point is that the strike is never more than a protest. It has no constructive force. It creates hundreds of new problems but cannot solve a single one." At the same convention, General Johnson thundered: "Labor does not need to strike under the Roosevelt plan. The plain truth is that you cannot tolerate the strike. . . If you persist or coutenance the strike, public confidence and opinion will break down and destroy

MENACE OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE

A very grave challenge to trade unionism embodied in the NRA is the possibility it gives for government interference in the inner affairs and proper functions of the unions. Let me remind you that even in the Cloak trade the NRA attempted to interfere and even held public hearings on the question of initiation fees. I need not emphasize how dangerous may become this attempt to deprive the unions of their independence unless labor crushes it in its very first stages.

In the most influential circles of the NRA, opinions are being advanced favoring the turning of our unions into government agencies, a tendency which bears within itself the seeds of Fascism. As far back as last September, General Johnson himself urged "overhead control of labor as responsible to government" for our trade unions.

PROGRESS THRU MILITANT ACTION

The great expectations aroused by Section 7a proved a tremendous stimulus to the revival of trade unionism. Instead of utilizing this opportunity to build up their organizations and to fight for improved conditions, many labor leaders contented themselves with hailing the NRA as the great charter of labor that would automatically bring them all sorts of benefits. Not only did they fail to realize the dangers in the NRA, but they even spread the illusion that the NRA would be the means of solving the problems of the workers and improving their conditions. They did not drive home to the workers the necessity of having strong fighting unions upon which they could depend; on the contrary, they tended to make the workers place their entire confidence in the official operations of the NRA. The sad plight of the textile workers today is only the consequence of dependence of the union leaders on the NRA rather than on strong, militant organization and aggressive action. President MacMahon of the United Textile Workers even went so far as to boast, at the A. F. of L. convention, of the strikes that he had prevented or called 'No man nowhere has tried more determinedly than I have," he said, "to avoid chaos in the industry. In my office there are not hundreds but thousands of appeals from the workers demanding that they be allowed to strike. The vast majority of those appeals have come from the South."

The tremendous growth of our organization and the improvement of conditions in the various markets have come as a result of an entirely different practice, of a policy of aggressive strike action and dependence only on the forces of the union. In fact, the rebirth of our union really began months before the NRA was enacted into law. This can easily be proven if you remember the Philadelphia dress strike. The report of the General Executive Board, Page 71, informs us:

"If the term, rising from the dead, may be used in regard to any of our unions within the past year, it can rightfully be applied to our Philadelphia dressmakers organization, Local 50. The experience of Local 50 in 1933 was nothing short of resurrection and most remarkable of all was the fact that the revival movement in the Philadelphia dress industry had preceded by several months the general recovery movement which spurred on trade union activity all over the land and in our own International Union. In a historic sense it became therefore the forerunner of the great strike movement in our industry last year and its splendid example acted as an inspiration and driving force for our union in the other markets."

Can anything more be required to prove that we do not owe the revival of our union simply to the NRA but rather to the aggressiveness of our union. Especially today when the grim realities of the NRA are coming to the fore with the passing of the honeymoon stage, is it necessary for our International to adopt a correct and realistic estimate of the NRA, a policy justified by our experiences in the last year, especially in the dress trade, a policy that will help insure militant action by our organization.

Instead of singing praises to the NRA and presenting gifts to President Roosevelt, we must realize the dangers and counteract the illusions of NRA. We must train our members to have faith only in their union and rely only on their organized strength for defense of their interests. We must never for a moment forget that the whole NRA was initiated and developed primarily as a means to save the foundering ship of capitalism.

NO PARTICIPATION IN CODE AUTHORITIES

The Darrow Report has fully borne out our contention that the code authorities are nothing more nor less than executive committees of powerful trade associations of employers, concerned primarily with promoting their own business interests. What labor can get under the codes is not dependent upon its representation in the code authorities but rather on the strength of its organization since these issues are determined not by the votes in the code authorities but on the picket lines. For labor to become part and parcel of the code authorities means for it to share responsibility for their decisions, which may often be the worst blows against unionism. It means for labor to mortgage its muependence and to lose the advantage of treedom of action and suddenness of attack. Labor must confront the NRA machinery as it confronts employers associations, being prepared to back up its demands with its orgenized might but refusing to become part of it. By participating in the code authorities we promote the illusion amongst the workers that their problems can be solved within these bodies thus undermining tneir faith in unionism.

OUR DUTIES TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

3. In arguing against our statement on the NRA, the majority of your committee declares that our union must not even attempt to lay down policy for the general labor movement of this country. I regard this viewpoint as basically and dangerously wrong. Only if we view the NRA from the stand-point of the labor movement as a whole is it pos-sible to see it in a clear light and to frame policy accordingly. That is why we must not shirk the responsibility of contributing actively to the working out of an effective program for the trade union movement of the country. Our International is today the third largest organization in the American Federation of Labor, one of the largest trade unions in the world. It is therefore, our solemn duty to throw our full weight in the direction of progressivism and militancy in labor's ranks. Our statement lays down a clear and definite orientation for American labor at this crucial moment. therefore urge upon this convention to bear all these considerations in mind and to endorse the minority report.

WHITHER THE SOCIALIST PARTY?

WHAT happened at the Detroit Convention? WHY did the "Old Guard" lose control? HOW militant are the "Militants"? WHO are the present leaders of the S. P.? CAN the R. P. C. make the S. P. revolutionary?

JAY LOVESTONE

on the S.P. Convention

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STEEL MEN TO DEFY

(Continued from Page 3)

The whole labor movement, every friend of labor, will watch with bated breath the developments in the steel industry. The committee has shown a degree of militancy and a refusal to bend the knee before the steel barons and their agents in Washington, born of decades of oppression and degradation in the steel mills. Pressure from the "responsible leaders" of the government and the A. F. of L. may come. To yield would be discount of the steel with the the steel wit would be disastrous. The tasks involved in a strike against these industrial "feudal lords" are indeed difficult. Yet precisely this will have to be achieved if the steel workers, if the whole trade union movement is to go forward. The steel industry is the back-bone of the open shop and campany union. It must be broken. To accomplish this the whole labor movement must be aroused in support of the steel workers.