A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Paterson Unions Amalgamating

Paterson, N. J.

The Paterson silk workers are rapidly approaching amalgamation. The experiences of the workers themselves have driven them to take steps to abolish the age-old condition of craft division. Up to the present there are functioning Paterson 8 local unions (Weavers, Loom Fixers, and Twisters, Warpers, Reed Makers, Designers and Card Cutters, Harness Builders, Label Weavers, Ribbon Twisters) These meet separately handle their own grievances and work under separate agreements

As a result of the 1933 general strike, one agreement was signed covering all crafts. Under these circumstances closer cooperation between the crafts became a vital necessity. Under Keller's intelligent handling of this problem the possibilities for amalgamation were increased manifold.

After months of discussion with the active workers in the various crafts a joint meeting of the Ex-ecutive Boards of the various crafts was held. Keller introduced the subject with a talk on the merits of industrial unionism. The discussion proved that there existed sufficient clarity and agreement to proceed with the drafting of a plan of action. The following plan was agreed to and has been placed before the General Executive Board of the U.T.W. for approval.

- 1. A central headquarters for all local unions be opened.
- 2. 75c per member, per month go into a central treasury.
- 3. All organizers be paid from the central treasury.
- 4. One Joint Board of all crafts be set up.
- 5. Equal representation from
- each craft on the Joint Board. 6. One from each craft executive
- on the Joint Board. 7. Joint Board to set up all sub-
- committees.
- 8. Joint Board to designate chairman for general membership meetings.
- 9. Quarterly membership meet-
- to vote by ballot on the nominees capitalist world. for Manager proposed by this com-
- organizers.
- 12. Membership of each craft to elect craft Executive Board.
- 13. Craft membership meetings
- once a month. 14. Each of three major crafts (Warpers, Weavers and Loom Fixers) to be equally represented on the Relations Board.
- 15. Each craft maintains its charter and its present funds (Death Benefits, etc.)
- 16. Shop as the basic unit of the
- 17. All crafts in the shops meet together, act together on all shop pacts with several governments at matters and grievances.
- 18. A general drive to organize the unorganized to be begun immediately.
- 19. A weekly union paper to be
- 20. The name of the organization to be—The American Federation of Silk Workers, Paterson District.

In the Next Issue:

- 1. The Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party.
- by Socialisticus
 2. Guerrilla War in Cuba. by Ellen Ward

Demand Freedom For Thaelmann

Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the Communist Party of Germany is the first of 6,000 anti-fascist German workers, to face the Nazi courts on July 2. Defeated in their attempts at "legal" assassination of Dimitroff and Torgler by the mass pressure of the working class, the fascist butchers are now determined that Thaelmann does not go free.

Every class conscious worker, every working class organization must help to intensify and broaden the campaign to halt the bloody hands of fascism. Send your protests now. Secure post cards and signature lists, participate in picketing demonstration and help raise sufficient funds to send a delegation of American lawyers to defend Thaelmann and the other victims of Fascism.

For all supplies and material apnlv at National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, 870 Broadway, New York City.

Great Interest In Training School

Application for the three weeks training course being established by the New Workers School (July 9 to July 31) have been pouring in ever since the announcement of the plans for the school. To this date the following applications have been accepted: 4 from Canada, 3 from Detroit, 3 from Chicago, 2 from the Pacific Coast, 2 from Boston, 2 from Hartford, 1 from Fort Wayne, 1 from Philadelphia 1 from the Anthracite Coal fields and 5 from upper New York State. 25 applications are on hand from workers in New York City.

Most of the out-of-town students are hitch-hiking in order to avail themselves of the opportunity to become more effective fighters in the class struggle.

One friend of the New Workers School has sent in \$10 to help finance the Training School. Another sympathiser has volunteered to take care of 3 students during

the duration of the school term.

The New Workers School apnumber of workers to render the very heavy voting is in itself an necessary aid to complete this task. indication of that—workers are

COMPANY UNION GRIPS STEEL INDUSTRY

The American Iron and Steel In-| afraid not to vote. stitute has just published the results of the balloting in the various steel mills, showing that out of over 193,000 ballots cast almost 75% supported the company union.

"These figures" says the Insti-tute statement, "clearly confirm the position of the steel industry that strike talk by union leaders was not supported by the vast majority of employees.

In order to fully understand the meaning of these results, in which over 90% of the eligible workers participated (In the case of Jones and Laughlin almost 100% of the workers voted—15,665 out of 15,740) we must turn to the Weirton Steel.

There it was proven beyond any shadow of a doubt that it is a myth to speak of a free and vol-untary election "inside" of a fac-tory. Even were there no other element of coercion to enter into peals to all friends and to all those the election, the very fact that the interested in having a group of voting is being done on company workers trained for the big strug- property under the eagle eyes of gles ahead, to contribute as liberalthe numerous straw bosses and
ly as possible. Many of these workers coming to the school have
gven up their jobs to attend. We is sufficient to provide a backare sure there must be a sufficient ground of fear and insecurity. The

But was there no coercion in the balloting? Is there any reason to believe that conditions for a free and voluntary choice were any greater in the U.S. Steel and the Republic Steel Corporations than they were in Weirton Steel? In the latter case numerous workers stated in signed affidavits that the

"... Defendant (Weirton Steel Company) employed var-ious measures of coercion, in-timidation and interference, including discharges, lay-offs, demotions and changes in condition of employment, and threats thereof: it threatened the closing of plants, the transfer of work and the reduction of operations. The management engaged in individual and collective solicitation and urging, held mass meetings, gave special inducements and made coercive speeches; it engaged in misre-presentation and espionage."

After listening to all the evidence in this case Judge Nields is forced to admit that

"It is true the company took an active part in advising its employes to vote for the nomi-

nees of the company union . . . "The President of the company appeared at a number of meetings, as did other officers and foremen of the company. Such meetings were held nearly every night for three weeks prior to the elections."

These were the conditions in Weirton Steel and it is safe to assume that conditions in other steel mills are no diferent; that Weirton Steel is not the exception but the rule. There is not a man or woman in the labor movement who will take seriously the claim that "company unions are favored by the overwhelming majority of the

employes.' The results of this balloting, however, prove that those in the labor movement who babble about the increase of democracy in American industry are either outright agents of the bosses or are so near sighted as to be utterly useless in the labor movement. In either case the labor movement must rid itself of these elements. The results further prove that the entire officialdom of the A. F. of L. is sowing of illusions among the criminally guilty of either aiding masses, to the true nature of each or passively observing the spectaof these diplomatic-political events. cle of the workers in a basic industry being shackled with the chains of company unionism, without liftthe mind of the masses, that has ing a finger to arouse the labor been neglected in slovenly and shameful fashion in some of the It further proves the utter futility of depending on the Roosevelts. Johnsons or Wagners to outlaw company unionism.

All labor and social legislation are belated recognitions of the accomplished facts. The eight hour day was won thru militant struggles. Only then did it receive its recognition in law. So is it with the struggle against company unionism.

The trade union movement must be placed on war footing. dead-rot of burocratic leadership must be discarded, must give way to a more militant and aggressive leadership from the ranks. The trade unions must be recast along industrial lines and must be prepared organizationally, morally and financially for the battles that

Russia and the League

It is altogether proper and ne-cessary that the Soviet Union should utilize every difference between the imperialist powers to prolong peace. The leaders of Soviet foreign policy have been ever on the alert to detect every difference, however small, to drive an entering wedge into even the slightest fissure in the anti-soviet front; and in the process Soviet diplomacy has scored notable victories and prolonged beyond its own hopes and dreams the period of unstable equilibrium, of armed peace, the "breathing spell" for defensive preparation, socialist con-ating committee. The membership revolutionary forces in the non-

Is League Entrance a Desertion 11. Crafts to select their own Of Communism?

It is now becoming apparent that in the pursuance of the above policy the Soviet government is preparing to cooperate more closey with, perhaps even to enter the League of Nations. Does this involve anything new in principle? Does it, as the Trotskyites are intimating, imply any abandonment of the principles of Communism?

In our judgment it does not. The same motives which have led the Soviet Union to enter into diplomatic relations and non-agression pacts with government after government, justify its entering into once (regional pacts). or with all the governments of the world to-gether (Kellogg Pact). Has not a life and death struggle between

by BERTRAM D. WOLFE

participated in, nay forced its way into, conferences called by the League, e.g. the disarmament conferences, the economic conferences? Beginning with the first delegation sent in Lenin's time to a conference in Convey and conferenc a conference in Geneva, and continuing until the latest diplomatic victories of Litvinov, the Soviet government has pursued this policy with notable success in the prolonging of peace, the exposure of diplomatic comedies and plots, the utilization of these world platforms to speak to the masses of all lands and present the Soviet position, the fomentation or utilization of differences inside the ranks of the imperialist powers.

Who Uses Whom?

Naturally all such activities in volve certain dangers. In all di-plomatic relationships there is al-ways a hidden question: Who uses The bourgeois statesmen entering into negotiations with the Soviet Union pursue their own bourgeois aims. Within certain limits, e.g. the mutual advantages of certain forms of trade, these aims may even not be in direct contradiction with each other. But these limits are extremely narrow and unstable. Fundamental for the wide range and the long run is an irreconcilable antagonism of in-terests, maneuvering and temporthe Soviet government repeatedly two classes and two social orders

| Soviets Must Guard Against Sowing Illusions

For these reasons, the Soviet government must be ever on the alert, lest its activities, its participation in conferences and treaties, be used to sow illusions in the mind of the masses as to the nature of such conferences, treaties, institutions and governments. Diplomacy may postpone wars, but it is the masses who suffer in and fight wars, and who turn imperialist wars into civil wars. Soviet diplomacy has the double task, not an easy one, on the one hand, of postponing war and defending the Socialist Republic by diplomatic means, and on the other of preparing the mind of the masses, and preventing

It is this second requirement, avoiding the sowing of illusions in statements recently issued by Soviet and above all by Communist International leaders, on the question of Soviet entrance into the League of Nations.

Stalin On The League of Nations

Thus we can quite agree with Stalin when he says with due cau-

"If the League is only the tiniest bump, somewhat to slow down the drive toward war and (Continued on Page 5)

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THE GROUP AT WORK

by D. BENJAMIN

Big Meeting Oa "ine Expensed Lenin"

attended an open meeting arranged by the Downton Unit of the CPO spoke on "The Expelled Lenin."
Many SP and CP members were present and a very lively discussion took place. The results of this Right, Militants, Revolutionary Boston Holds sion took place. The results of this meeting were 2 new members, \$4 Policy Committee) and pointed out worth of literature sold, and a collection of \$17 to help the CPO minded and left-going workers in the SP minded as series of successful educationpublish a new edition of Lenin's the SP.
"Left Communism."

CPO Membership Meeting

One of the best attended membership meetings of the CPO was held on June 14, with Comrade Lovestone reporting on the "Detroit Convention of the SP." The great number of questions asked to Aug. 15) for 500 subs. The first of 50 subs. The first of the special Relief Association.

Down Town CPO Discusses United Front And Workers Age

The Downtown Unit CPO has arranged a series of educational meetings for its own membership. At one meeting attended by over 90 members of the unit Comrade Benjamin spoke on the "United Front and Some Recent Lessons." The discussion was on a high level with some 12 comrades participating. Special emphasis in the discussion was given to the CPO's

was addressed by Comrade G. F. ticipated in the mass meeting and Miles editor of Workers Age, who heard representatives from the reported on the Editorial Policy various participating organizations of Workers Age. Discussions on Frank Palmer of the Federated this topic are being arranged for Press presided over the meeting. other units.

COMM. IS ORGANIZED

In response to an appeal from Harold Robins and Andrea Gras, New York workers sent to Sing Sing on framed charges of felonious assault because of their activ ities in the recent New York hotel strike, the united front Robins-Gras Defense Committee has been organized to launch a fight for their appeal. The Committee has temporary headquarters at 22 E. 17 St., Room 731 and has issued a call to all workers to aid it in its

fight.

Robins and Gras, when tried for beating-up a hotel straw-boss, proved alibis, were never satisfactorily identified showed that the sole witness against them had con-tradicted his own testimony, and presented a number of fine character witnesses. The hotel bosses. however, were seeking victims and Judge Corrigan, a steady enemy of the workers, helped see that they got them in Robins and Gras. Notice of appeal has now been

The organizations now making up the defense committee are the American Workers Party, Communist League, Communist Party Opposition. General Defense Committee. Il Martello. Org. Comm. for a Revolutionary Workers Party. Poale Zion Left. Provisional Commfor Non-Partisan Labor Defense. and Socialist Party. Invitations have been sent to the Amalgama-ted Food Workers Union, which led the hotel strike, A. F. of L. locals in the industry, and the I.L D. to join up.

According to P. Fisher, temporary secretary, the workers must remain in iail several years unless a stiff fight is made. Legal redtape necessitates immediate raising of \$400. The Committee is distributing collection lists and will soon take other steps. All trade unions and other workers organizations are asked to aid.

800 at Mass Meeting O.1 SP Convention

About 800 workers attended About 800 workers attended a CPO mass meeting at Irving Plaza on June 19, at which Jay Lovestone stoke on on May 23 two hundred workers attended an open meeting arranged in New York. Comrade Bert Wolfe poke on "The Expelled Lenin."

About 800 workers attended a CPO mass meeting at Irving Plaza on June 19, at which Jay Lovestone sponsoring organizations but finally sent Roger Baldwin to speak spoke on the "SP Convention." A for it at the mass meeting. The Socialist Party tho participating stated that it would have withdrawn had the Communist Party work of the Convention, analyzed

Workers Age Sub Drive Makes Good Beginning

The N. Y. District has launched showed the keen interest of the week's quota of 50 subs was more membership in this topic. The ap- than realized, 70 subs having been Educational Work

the best agents for Workers Age.

Foledo and Minn. Strikes Bring Successful Joint Action

A successful joint action against participation in the May First the use of troops in the Toledo and Conference and Parade. The next educational meeting May 31st. Over 800 workers par The following are the organiza-tions which participated in this mass meeting: Communist Party ROBINS-GRAS DEFENSE (Opposition), Socialist Party, I.W.W., American Workers Party, Communist League, Left Poale Zion and the Non-Partisan Labor

Defense.
The Communist Party was in

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where you eat **TODAY**

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vited but refused to participate The American Civ.l Libertie

Union refused to be among the

al meetings. On May 17 a meeting About 40 subscriptions to Workers Age were secured and a considerable amount of literature was on June 7, I. Zimmerman spoke on the "Outlook Of Trade Unioninsm." Over 100 were present at this meet. ing. For the near future a meeting is planned on the "SP Convention The Boston comrades are also

membership in this topic. The appeal of the chairman for financial assistance for the work of the group resulted in \$300 in cash and pledges.

In Montreal

We are glad to correct an inaccuracy in our column of May 15. Yaker and S. Tiger are tied for second place with 8 each. Special of the educational work now being montion must be made of our control of the educational work now being montion must be made of our control of the educational work now being montion must be made of our control of the educational work now being montion must be made of our control of the educational work now being montion must be made of our control of the educational work now being montion. mention must be made of our carried on by the Workers Educa-Amalgamated and Furrier com-rades for the good showing they have made to date. In addition the furrier comrades have sold a Buhay instructor, attendance 30. minimum of 100 copies of the last Course in contemporary world 3 issues of Workers Age. Sarah events attendance 75. In addition Gross Eva Schlachter, Rose Cohen a singing society has been organand Celia Lichtman rank among ized and is making good headway. (Continued on Page 7)

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WHERE DOES THE I.L.G.W.U. STAND?

Comrade Herberg describing the recent convention of the International gressives, even if it did not always Union and estimating its results sympathy in more tangible form from the viewpoint of the progressive tendency within the union.

Sive tendency within the union.

The viewpoint of the progressive tendency within the union.

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The viewpoint of the viewpoint of the viewpoint of the constant of the constant of the constant of the viewpoint of the vi This will be followed by another keep them. But here too the last the struggle against racial discrimment of Germany. This will be followed by another keep them. But here too the last ination and jim-crowism and the mobilization against Fascism. It Trade Questions of the convention in the light of the basic trade union line of the Jim-Crowism Communist Opposition.—Editor.

The last convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, held in Chicago towards tne beginning of June, was one of the most important labor gatherings held in recent months in this country. Its significance is this country. Its significance is who had no business whatever to especially great from the point of view of the radical stream in the labor movement to whom this convention brought experiences worthy of the most careful considerations. The whole convention brought experiences worthy of the most careful consideration in favor of racial equality and labor solidarity that will long be remembered by those that the fects of technical progress in the loss at alabor gathering. The whole loose a powerful and lasting deconvention, moreover, was very monstration in favor of racial equality and labor solidarity that will long be remembered by those that the most careful consideration in this country, but also in letting fects of technical progress in the industry (the problem of "special machines") with a view to working out an effective policy.

The most careful consideration in this country, but also in letting fects of technical progress in the industry (the problem of "special machines") with a view to working out an effective policy.

An important dispute broke out and important market of the wo-look of the effects of technical progress in the industry (the problem of "special machines") with a view to working out an effective policy.

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An important dispute broke out and important to make a study of the effects of technical progress in the industry (the problem of "special machines") with a view to working out an effective policy.

An important to make a study of the effects of technical progress in the industry (the problem of "special machines") which is a view of the working of the machines in this country to the problem of "special machines" in this country to the problem of "special machines" in this country to the problem of "special machines" in this country to the problem of "special machines" in this countr thy of the most careful considera-

The 1.L.G.W.U. came to this convention 200,000 Strong, the time largest union in the American Feueration of Labor, one of the biggest labor organizations hi the world. When we consider that one local union today, the Italian Dressmakers Union Local 89 of New tork, has almost as many members as the whole International and answers dealing with the principles and tactics had two years ago, that is, about of the International Communist Opposition; the 40,000, we lirst pegin to appre- crisis in the Communist International; relations to case the tremendous grown of Social-democracy; problems of trade union work; the organization of women's garment workers since the faterular the United Front, etc. days last summer. But the 1.L.G. big problems, many of which, we the fact that the overwhelming majority of the need not be surprised, centered around the basic question of NRA membership of the Communist Party is new in the recisely because the NKA appear- revolutionary movement.—Editor. ed in its most favorable light in the women's garment trades, precisely because the cloak and dress codes are certainly the best on WHAT IS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST record, was it necessary for the convention to avoid ali one-siders and superficiality in viewing the NRA, to examine the NRA in a broad and realistic manner, to make clear the implications of the NKA in the coming period of labor struggle in the women's garment industry as well as in the country as a wnole. Before the convention too stood the big task of giving a positive answer to the many industrial questions facing ciples and aims alone constitutes the actual guartne workers, of reorganizing the antee of loyalty to principles. And vice versa, talse structure and functioning of the tactics, i.e., the constant application of incorrect union in the direction of greater democracy and effectiveness, of actively using the mounting influence of the International in the American Federation of Labor in the interests of greater progressivism and militancy.

by which the bourgeois state machinery, having Two definitely crystallized tendbeen overthrown by the successful armed insurrecencies made themselves feit in various ways at the convention: at the tion of the working class, is to be smashed comextreme right, the old entrenced pletely; the means by which the socialist economic burocratic clique, which has neither order is gradually built up to supersede capitalism learned nor forgotten anything in and to bring about the abolition of all classes. the last two years, and, at the left, b) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat assumes the progressives, headed by Charles
S. Zimmerman and embracing the
big delegation of Dressmakers

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat assumes
the form of a Soviet Republic. The aim of communism is the destruction of the chaotic capitalist Union Local 22 of New York and economic order through the abolition of private quite a number of delegates from ownership and the substitution thereof of a planned other locals. The three or four socialist economic order which will transform the "Left Group" delegates (that is, those under the influence of the official Communist Party) played absolutely no role whatever at the convention, except to discredit their own ideas and once in a convention. their own ideas and, once in a c) The bourgeois state, in whatever form it may while, to make themselves the butt appear (monarchy, republic, or Fascist corporate while, to make themselves the but appear (monarchy, for lasts) to possible of ridicule by the absurdity of their proposals and the lack of ordinary common sense in their methods. Nothing more need be said to the dictatorship of the working class, the Soviet Republic, cannot be a peaceful one. Building of the

labor movement. Their enthu- of the working class.

We publish below an article by siasm and loyalty, their spontan-

Tasks of the Convention

W.U. came to the convention with of the latest developments in the Socialist Party and but in tactics, i.e. over the means for realizing their common principles and aims. The application of the correct means for the realization of communist prinmeans, inevitably leads to the abandonment of principles. owing:

Two Main Tendencies

Between the conservative burocratic clique at one extreme and the progressives at the other were quite a variety of intermediate but state where the progressive and the progressives at the other were quite a variety of intermediate but state must first overthrow and smash the bourgeois vaguely defined elements, with state machine, that is, must destroy the ruling whom it proved possible for the class' organized forces of suppression. This can progressives to cooperate at var- be accomplished only by the use of force. The imhous points. But especially were mediate struggle of the proletariat for the estabthere the so-called "new elements", delegates representing scores of thousands of recently organized women's garment workers and themselves frequently new to the themselves frequently new to the professional to the professiona

tional Ladies Garment Workers prove possible to translate their from invisible.

Against Fascism and

We are beginning herewith a series of questions

These are of particular value at this time in view

CHAPTER I

1. How do the policies of the Communist Opposi-

The Communist Opposition and the Communist

nternational do not differ in principles and a ms

2. What are the basic principles and aims of

The basic principles of communism are the fol-

a) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the means

countries?

Communism?

tion differ from the policies of the Communist

International and its sections in the various

by WILL HERBERG

is not necessary to recount here on industrial questions the conthe splendid efforts of the Local vention made a number of impor-It must be plainly declared that 22 delegation which resulted not tant decisions. The progressive their stand for piece work as such. the tone of the convention was not only in having the whole conven-altogether wholesome nor was its tion officially boycott the hotel in week, for higher minimum scales mise" carried but it was obvious spirit such as to make possible the which it began its sessions because and against the recent NRA order most fruitful solution of the problems facing it. More than half of the sessions were devoted to the resolutions against racial discriminates against racial disc most indiscriminate speech-making, nation in the labor movement ever structing the general executive general strikes and organization

party is democratic centralism.

of the Communist Party.

the tactical line of Leninism.

as an Organization?

and in other countries.

(Opposition)?

committing the I.L.G.W.U. to ini-structing the G.E.B. to initiate a tiate and take part in various forms campaign to include the week work

of anti-Fascist struggle, including system in all collective agreements "political" showmanship was far from invisible.

or anti-rascist struggle, including at the first possible opportunity. In fighting fund of at least \$50,000 opposition to this, the resolutions It was therefore doubly signi- to aid the victims of Fascism, the committee recommended a "com-

including far too many personages presented to a labor organization board to make a study of the ef- campaigns in virtually every trade

sloppy and sentimental hero wor- who took part in it. The mobiliza- on the question of week work. The And it was not simply na- tion against Fascism too reached progressives introduced a resolutural jubilation spontaneously run-ning over; the cunning hand of adoption of a very good resolution superior to piece work and in-

d) In the struggle for power, the working class

nist Party and the Communist International?

a) The winning over of the members of the Com-

munist Party and of other sections of the Comin-

(Continued on Page 7)

derwear, and other trades and in a number of cloak and dress markets thruout the country. In this day and age, when so many union leaders regard it as their particular mission to suppress and evade real struggle of any sort, such action on the part of the I.L. QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

relies on the international solidarity of the world No Progress On proletariat and especially on the only existing pro- Organization Questions letarian state—the Soviet Union. The defense of On "organizational" questions,

each particular case be left to the

joint board or local involved. But

most of the opponents of the Local

22 resolution, and these included Dubinsky, Heller and Nagler, took

enough that the progressive fight

The convention took important

action in authorizing a series of

ted outerwear, white goods, un-

the Soviet Union, as a proletarian state in which that is, questions affecting the Socialism is being built, is the absolute duty of the working class in all countries. The defense of the Soviet Union is an indispensible element of the pro-Socialism is being built, is the absolute duty of the structure and functioning of the a distinct step backward. The e) In the struggle for power, as well as during very important progressive resoluthe building of socialism, the proletariat needs the tion for the reorganization of the leadership of a communist party. The communist union along more industrial lines party is that part of the working class which possesses clear consciousness of the aims, principles and to the prolatorian revolution and fights for roads to the proletarian revolution and fights for their realization in an organized manner. The action of the communist party cannot replace the ac- sentation at conventions and joint tion of the working class. The mission of the com- boards was flatly rejected along munist party is to lead the proletariat to the social with the proposal that no organ-revolution as a class except president and secretaryf) The organizational principle of the communist B. On the other hand, the offig) The communist movement of each individual cial clique did put thru, against country is subordinated to the international com- the sharp opposition of the promunist movement. The Communist International gressives, constitutional changes providing that local elections be the world organization of the communist party held every two years instead of anserves this purpose. Democratic centralism also con-stitutes the organizational principle of the Commupervise local elections. It is not difficult to see the motives be-Why did not the Communist Opposition, in hind these acts which limit demothe controversy over tactics, submit to the cracy and restrict the rights of the decisions of the leading bodies of the Commu-

'Compromising" Local 1a) Because the issues involved are over such tac- Local 17 Issue tical problems as will determine the very existence

Of course, the old Local 1-Local

of the Communist Party.

b) Because these decisions signify a breach with vention altho in a new form. For years the maintenance of Local c) Because these wrong decisions are not a re- 17 as practically a dual local of sult of democratic centralism, i.e. of free discus- cloak operators had been a fessult of democratic centralism, i.e. of free discussion by the party membership within the framework of communist methods, but are autocratic decisions of the leading bodies of the Communist Parties of the various countries of the Communist International. two locals, the establishment of one 4. What is the Communist Party (Opposition) local of cloak operators. But instead of approaching the question The CPO is not a new party. It is an organized this way, the ruling powers at the communist tendency. The Communist Party (Oppo- for the "voluntary amalgamation" convention brought in a proposal sition) is not a new party because it has no other principles and aims than those of communism, because it has no other purpose than the correct apwars to occur. Not even a perfuncplication of these principles and aims in the U.S.A. tory attempt was made to hide the essentially 5. What is the goal of the Communist Party (Opposition)?

clique, motivation behind this thoroly futile and meaningless plan. So far had the leadership of Local 1 forgotten its "progressive" protestations, so far, indeed, had it forgotten its own pledges to the tern to the correct communist tactics; in other words cloakmakers in New York, that it the winning over of the party members and the members of the Communist International to these piece of disgraceful jobbery. It was left to Zimmerman to make a b) At the same time, however, as long as the of- militant fight for the traditional ficial Party and the Communist International are using false tactics, the Opposition systematically enough to the applause of more than one of the Local 1 delegation! and energetically strives to give leadership to the struggle of the working class and thus to win foltion action has only thrown the lowers within the working class as a whole, as well Local 1-Local 17 issue into the (Continued on Page 6)

Roosevelt's New Recovery Measures cost \$77,000,000. It is being financed by the PWA and was started four months ago. Lady Bountiful has emptied her horn of plenty

Washington, since the Blue Eagle squatted on the Capitol, pre-sents itself outwardly as a sevenring circus for the befuddlement of the masses. Inwardly, however, the serious business of dictating governmental policies is skillfully executed by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, It must be amusing to these gentlement to maximulate the commerce. It must be amusing to launched. Writing in the February antics of General Hugh Johnson particularly his mock thunder of "cracking down"—and simultaneously issues orders to chief officethree measures, without further "cracking down"—and simultant ously issues orders to chief office-boy, President Roosevelt. Tragedy delay:

1. "In the rehabilitation of interpretation of interpretation of interpretation of interpretation of interpretation."

The Latest W:inkles

But the show continues to turn more sour with the passing of the costs.

2. "In the modernization of railweeks. The snickers become louder as the much-vaunted recovery road equipment, with resulting improvement in service and the remeasures fail to conjure that duction of costs of operation.
elusive prosperity from out of chaos. So—"Quick Watson, the chaos." In the elimination of slums and improvement of housing conneedle!"—and two more "recovery measures" are injected into the economic system thru further sub- The Glass-Barkley Bill sidies to Big Business. This brings us to the latest wrinkles in the "New Deal": the Glass-Barkley Chamber, early in May, where Bill and the National Housing Act.

And thereby hangs an interesting pounded, the Administration with

As far back as September, 1933, sevelt submitted the National and perhaps earlier, the Administration was planning to enact the speedy approval. two measures mentioned above. The National Housing Act Undoubtedly the Administration was retaining these measures as trump cards. In "Nation's Busi-

The following are excerpts from

the GP and has affiliated with the struggle.

CHICAGO, Ill.

er in the course of the pre-conven- the purpose of driving out the

Communist Party (Opposition). The workers simply accepted the

in the trade unions. Some of the build strong oppositions within the

are against the reactionary policies trying to lead them out of their

Progressive Miners of America, rate the correctness of the above which was captured by a reaction-contentions. Let us take the in-

winning away their membership, miners' union, although it pursued

an article sent to the Daily Work-

In this article I wish to discuss

some of the questions raised in my

unit in the discussion on our work

sharp questions were: Why did

we have only 20 delegates out of 1600 at the last UMWA conven-

tion when it is undoubtedly true

that the workers in the UMWA

of their leaders, as is shown by the

militant strikes in the face of the

treachery of the Lewis machine?

Why didn't the miners join the

National Miners' Union in Southern Illinois, when they revolted a

gainst the Lewis misleaders, instead organized a new union, the Analyzing Some Recent Bills

issue, Mr. Harriman discovered that the road to recovery lies in the revival of the capital goods luring of private capital is a

my of operation and reduction of mortgages. For both these meas-

road equipment, with resulting im-

And thereby hangs an interesting tale. It will illuminate not only the character of the Roosevelt Administration but the method of Big Business in its dictation of governmental policy. To get an unchstructed view we must side step. obstructed view we must side-step the Administration's liberal facade struction Finance Corporation. This moment. However, granting for the struction Finance Corporation. This the Administration's liberal facade — Leo Wolman, Donald Richberg et., al; forget the antics of Johnet., al; forget the antics of Johnson and the ballyhoo of the publicity men.

Hatching Governmental Policy

Federal Reserve Banks to loan in the construction, the vital question of whether this amount would be sufficent to set the wheels of industry going in pre-depression style still stands.

Federal Reserve Banks to loan in the construction, the vital question of whether this amount would be sufficent to set the wheels of industry going in pre-depression style still stands.

Frank

How Not to Work in the Unions

by JACK STEELE

gainst us, that we were not in-

terested in building the unions, but

wanted to disrupt them in order

to build the dual unions, the rev-

olutionary, industrial unions. We

therefore, failed in our attempts to

reformist unions. The workers re-

iused to rally to us in our fight

against the reactionary leadership,

because they did not trust us, be

cause they thought that we were

unions, which had taken them

years to build, into newly created

unions, which did not possess their

Some Telling Facts

A few facts will help to illust-

sympathy or following.

-Editor. accusations of the reactionaries a-

limited insurance of building and loan associations (\$100,000,000) and a guarantee of \$200,000,000 for improvement loans, advancing dustrial plants to promote econo- credit as well as the insurance of ures it is alleged that they will of industry and thus millions will be put back to work. The durable umber, cement, coke, etc., normally employ over five million

Will It Work?

Naturally the Durable Goods Invication for the durable indusdustries Committee is jubilant over the bill. In this bill, which the Ad-

In a recent statement, Frank Housing Act to Congress for C. Walker, executive director of the National Emergency Council presented the following table showFormer aggregate construction \$11,000,000,000

Present aggregate 3,000,000,000 construction Former residential construction

many times to the roads, and fur

Evaluating these measures from the standpoint of being agencies

ing the crisis. NRA has accelerated

this process. New machinery, re-

dies of men and machines, re-equip

ment of offices-all the factors for

raising productive capacity have forged ahead. Steel plants, textile

productive levels, largely because

ples: Chrysler, General Motors,

now produce as much manufactured goods as 100 men, working 50

Let Mr. Harriman tell you: "On

ther gifts are in the offing.

for recovery, we are justified in believing that all they can possibly Present residential accomplish is another boomlet of 300,000,000 construction the nature experienced some If the Housing Act is actually months ago. These measures alone cannot 'effect the millenium for capable of sending a flow of credit to the tune of \$1,500,000,000 into even a temporary spell, for the following reasons: 1.) inadequate of aggregate construction would still be far short of the pre-depressums; 2.) fewer men to be returned to work; 3.) low wage levels; sion levels. It is obvious that of the and 4.) the fact that some time ures it is alleged that they will 5 million workers dependant upon stimulate the durable goods sector the entire durable goods sector only ures begin to affect the economic a small proportion would be rearteries. From a relatively long-range viewpoint there is economic turned to jobs. But this is not all. goods industries, comprising iron and steel, nonferrous metals, auto-and materials the number will be dynamite galore in these measures. and materials the number will be Technical Progress mobiles, and locomotives, ships, still further reduced. Far from be-Industry has been placed on ing a boon to small home-owners, more and more efficient levels dur-

No Union Rates Provided

or workers of the slums, it will

shortly be seen as nothing more

It is apparent that mass purchasing power will not be raised to chasing power will not be raised to mills, machine shops, shoe facthe "prosperity" levels. The Adtories, etc., have all reached higher ministration has taken care that this shall be the case beyond any this shall be the case beyond any of labor-saving devices, (American shadow of a doubt. As the Journal Machinist Dec. 1932). Some examf Commerce puts it (May 16):

"As far as labor is concerned Great Northern, Goodyear, New prevaling opinion is that the Haven R.R., and Remington Rand. Government will exempt this Further, they "could resume 1929 work from the rule that all Gov-production without increasing their ernment work must be done at pay-rolls to 1929 proportion." In union rates. This would intro-other words production is capduce normal local wages about able of reaching pre-depression 40 per cent below nominal union quantity with depression employe wage scales and could easily be just fied, it is said, since the Using Labor Bureau data, Stuart largest part of the expenditure Chase found in 1933, "that not involved is to come from private more than 71 men, working not sources in any case." (My em- more than 43 hours a week, can

Gift To Business The Glass-Barkley Bill authorizing loans totaling 580 millions to industry is another gift to Busi-have grown constantly longer ness. While it is being proclaimed during this crisis, and now the as a life-saver for small business, NRA is speeding up the process. we doubt whether the little fel- What objective are the moneygranted only to "going concerns." This alone would bar most of these many of our industrial plants the associated them with the dual unionists, the members of the NMU who were fighting the UMstifle their wails of protest against production costs down to practictheir mistreatment under the Blue able minimums, must discard old Eagle. Still, the N.R.A. sheds no machines and install new machines tears over their fate and may con- and processes which science and sible, to maintain life. With com- | morrow. This is what we mean

dustry as regards building the TUUL union, so that our main work in this industry takes on for the moment mostly the form of a the moment mostly the form of a to undertake rationalization venture.

The constitution of the moment mostly the form of a to undertake rationalization venture.

The constitution of the depression must be under the N.R.A., has been forced to undertake rationalization venture.

The constitution of the depression must be under the N.R.A., has been forced to undertake rationalization venture.

The constitution of the depression must be under the N.R.A., has been forced to undertake rationalization venture. tinue to turn a deaf ear to the invention have devised. The chalrevolutionary opposition." (My tures in their plants wherever posemphasis—J. S.). Such policy and sible to maintain life. With comorientation means that after we build up a somewhat strong opposition movement within the sum of 580 million however is of ones we have evamined) are sown sum of 580 million, however, is of ones we have examined) are sowdwarfish size compared to normal ing the seeds of greater economic followers into the NMU. This will lead us into the same position was are in now As long as this bill to be an effective instru- near future without any over-

ary leadership just as bad as stance of the miners. Early in Lewis? Why did the workers in 1928, before we organized the The Garment Industry the needle trade industry flock to the ILGWU and the Amalgamated, while our NTWIU did not gain and calling of the Save The Union in membership, but in many sections was actually liquidated?

This conference, held in Pittsburgh on April 1st large masses of organized workers, we lead them into the AFL, the 1928 This conference was attend-Reasons For Isolation

In my opinion, one of the most important reasons for the decline of our influence in the trade unions has been our dual unionist value of the most unions has been our dual unionist. Strike taking place at that time, to receive the most of the most unions has been our dual unionist. Strike taking place at that time, to receive the mass indepentively isolated us from them. In the needle trades industry, with the exception of the furrier's trade. The question, however, presents the needle trades industry, with the exception of the furrier's trade. The question, however, presents the needle trades industry, with the period before 1929 was to bring then into the AFL. An example of the above is the Passaic strike, as trike lasting 13. policy which led to our relative organize the unorganized, to oust and has made effective work on where after a strike lasting 13 policy which led to our relative isolation from the masses of organized workers. Despite all resolutions adopted at ECCI, CC, and DC plenums and section conferences that we must intensify our work in the AFL, our influence work in the AFL, our influence continued to decline, because our morphers could not have two faces.

Organize the unorganized, to oust the Lewis machine and to take over the union. Had we followed up this policy of being the best fighters against the capitalists in their efforts to smash the mass made effective work on the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the part of the part of the part of the part of the par members could not have two faces. realized the objectives and deci- when we are urging these very such a procedure; if they would not One, a TUUL face, which meant a dual union opposed to the exist- we organized the NMU, which al- NTWIU? ing reformist union, its purpose being to destroy the old unions by hopes of becoming the mass

T.U.U.L. Or A. F. of L.

the masses from the UMWA. Today it hardly exists. The comrades who remained in the UMWA portion of it. Loans are to be Harriman Tell Us tion discussion in the CP. The writer has since been expelled from the CP and has affiliated with the structure of the could not effectively fight the lewis machine, since the workers as a weapon of militant class associated them with the dual Lewis machine, since the workers associated them with the dual

> To remedy the above situation it s insufficient to say that "we received a setback in the mining in-JMWA, we will try to draw our followers into the NMU. This tion we are in now. As long as the NMU continues even a nominthe NMU continues even a nominal existence, this will make our ment of recovery! whelming joy. The Wall Street work in the UMWA extremely litem two in Mr. Harriman's pro- Journal (May 16) declares: "What work in the UMWA extremely rate the correctness of the above the last 5 years shows.

Another instance to show that our dual unionist policy has not but hampered our work and relat- TUUL, or keep them as indepen

independent. We never even con-sidered affiliation with the AFL the other face, that of an opposi- a militant and working class pol- tion in the reformist union, with icy, has not been able to win over are we to do with the organiza- tion would of course strengthen dividual unions and the entire

The Way To Strengthen The Opposition

tions under our leadership in fields, the AFL.

Pennsylvania Railroad is getting C.W.A. . . . "King Hunger will electrification and modernization reap still greater harvests as the

projects under way, which will Rooseveltian "smile" lingers on.

liation of workers led by revolu-

Must Drop Dual Unionism

We must definitely give up our olutely develop a strong revolubecause our orientation was to tionary opposition by becoming the strengthen the TUUL and thereby champions of unity, by building Soviet Russia and the League of Nations Its Problems of Foreign Diplomacy

help peace, then we are not against the League. In that on the League of Nations, published in the New York Times, The Da

December 28, 1933.) followed up by a declaration by the Communist International emphasiz"Radek writes on history of "France remained in ing the "colossal deficiencies," as League Nations; shows how sharp-Stalin puts it, of the League. This declaration should have warned the outlook; tascism drops out and masses that the League is a man- takes leading role in war preparaeuvering ground of capitalist di- tions. plomacy, a stage on which clashing imperialist policies find as yet peaceful expression, an instrument, menaces U.S.S.k.—Radek at times actual, and at all times potential, for anti-Soviet and anticolonial policies, and a puppet show for the mystification of the

healthy a state that when Stalin tional publishes a blue print of it magnified a thousand diameters. crudities of expression, the follow-up "explanations" of Radek for the benefit of the Communist press of danger it is the chief duty of a Great Britain And Italy the world, magnified the slight crudities into a monstrous distor-tion that has nothing in common with Marx'sm except the abuse of Gone

Radek's Dialectics

Nations" was cabled to all party pansion in the present historical papers throughout the world. It stage . . . Firstly, the small pows thus not the formal statement of ers remained in the League. They the Soviet government entering in- are aware that in the case of a

man: Professor Sheldon, Profes-

sor Sheffield, Mrs. Wm. Z. Rip-

ley, Mrs. Cheeks, Miss Lodge, and

The Daily Worker for June 1.

Communist analysis to warn.

"Imperialist Expansionists

ierence.

and spoke of the necessity of es- committee, consisting of five mem-

against the League. In that event I would not say we would support the League. I would say that if historical events were such that the League became a brake upon or an obstacle to war, it is not excluded that we should support the League despite its colossal deficencies." (From his interview on the League of Nations, publications and deception.

by BERTRAM D. WOLFE ing in externals a certain annermence of the organical structum." (1 his "discovery" of Radek's will inevitably sow illusions in the minds of the masses of the British die-hards." france, no party in faw deception.

The danger of the organical structum." (1 his "discovery" of Radek's will inevitably sow illusions, and content the masses at the fact that under imperialism the governments of "small" switching into an alliance party of the danger of the organical structum." (1 his "discovery" of Radek's will inevitably sow illusions, and content the British die-hards." france, no party in faw switching into an alliance party in faw switching into an allian

December 28, 1933.)
1934 publishes the Kadek story as capied from Moscow without com-

According to Radek:

2. "What does the League represent now?" asks Radek, and

nations are in general but the puppets of the imperialist policies of tne larger ones.—B.D.W.).

"France remained in the For Peace" League," continues Radek,

the countries ailied with her,

against which are directed the aggressive policy of fascist Germany and countries siding with the latter. France naturally detends the interests of French capitalism . . . But defense of these positions demands defense of peace, because 1. The League of Nations, thanks France can hardly hope that in What a conclusion to give to the to the withdrawal of Germany and case of war all powers that helped Japan has proved "incapable of be- her defend her positions during the But the Communist International did not follow up with such a declaration. On the contrary, the adjust its interests and direct its geois liberal journalist based updeclaration. On the contrary, the transfer against the U.S.S.R." on the extremely unstable relation healthy a state that when Stalin A strange sort of "dialectics" of forces at the moment go any sneezes, the next day the International that does not take into account the further? The superficial and temextremely unstable and fluid na- porary must of course be taken into its component parts, as to all ture of imperialist alliances and an- account, but not so as to obscure If Stalin's statement had a few tagonisms. Divided today, they for a moment the basic and long-

Bide Their Time

in the League. These countries are longer a fascist land! preparing to participate in the right for the re-division of the Party Members Must Radek's Dialectics answers: "Two powers have with-Radek's article, entitled "Dialectics" answers: world, believe that the time is not Demand Correction!

Radek's article, entitled "Dialectics" answers: which were the yet ripe to come over to the side It is high time the tics, History and the League of chief tendencies of imperialist ex- of the powers preparing a fresh membership demand that the Daily Communism" by Lenin.

"The danger of the organization of war against the U.S.S.R. emanates now not from the League of course, there are no "die-hards" ir France, no party in favor of Fascist Germany against the Soviet Union, on the basis of giving Germany the Polish corridor and Poland a slice of the Ukraine!)

The League "An Instrument

But the culminating piece of vulgarity and non-Marxist thought and language is Radek's conclu-

"Those powers remained in the League, who are interested in the maintenance of peace." What a sentence to appear in every offi-British and American On Hand French, workers! Here the temporary and superficial has triumphed completely over the basic and fundapress as a shameful sower of bourgeois pacifist illusions as to the armed-to-the-teeth capitalist lands except only Germany and Japan. It needs only the finishing touch of the Daily Workers headline writer who declares:

Bide Their Time

"Finally," continues Radek,
"Great Britain and Italy remained tions."

"Fascism drops out and takes the leading role in war preparations."

Apparently, Italy is no

Radek be repudiated, and that the Communist International speak clearly and openly on the perfectly rapprocnement to the League of Nations, on the temporary nature and extreme instability of those reasons, and the fundamental cantions and the imperialist policies that are pursued by its remaining members. Stalin's remark on the 'tiniest bump" was valid. But Radek has elevated the bump into a veritable Himalaya of peace, lt s far more serious than Browder's error on Japan a few years ago, which the international corrected under our pressure. It is more dangerous, for Radek is not entire International that is in danger of sliding down the path of pacifist illusion and unconscious

of certain great powers.

New Literature

The Literature Department of the CPO has been very busy of late. During the last month 3 new Next For American Labor." a 5c pamphlet by Jay Lovestone. "The Road To Communism," the quarterly theoretical organ of the International Communist Opposition. Price 35c. "Where We Stand," Vol. 1. including the platform and other programmatic material of the I. C. O. This sells for 25c.

apology for the imperialist designs

In addition the following publications are under preparation: "The Roosevelt Program" by Jay Love-Party Members Must
Demand Correction!

It is high time that the Party

The Revolt in Austria" by Will Herberg; "The Revolt in Austria" by Will Herberg; "Where We Stand" Vol. 2 in 2 parts. There is now on the press a CPO edition of "Left"

Socialist Red Baiting

What with the sharpening econ-Labor Education in Boston What with the sharpening economic struggles in the country; the wave of bitterly fought strikes that in all cases it has been the A conference on workers educa- gram committee reported. During which is sweeping the country; the A conference on workers educagram committee reported. During
tion was held on May 26th at the
Hotel Bradford, Boston,
were the following trade unions
were present: Central Labor
Union, the State Federation, DisUnion, the State Federation, D

gram is necessary to develop new Communism.

the Provisional Committee, of which Mr. William Seligman was chairlogether with the Provisional Com- goes the rest of the bourgeois mittee was accepted by the Con- press one better. From the back- The hotel strike in New York was wash of the radical movement he wash of the radical movement he has fished out a former socialist Food Workers of the World but

tablishing a workers educational bers, of which Professor Sheldon is chairman. A program committee At the evening session, the pro- Sandberg is chairman. A commitmembers of the TUUL and independent unions that their place is in the organizations where the great mass of organized workers great mass of organized workers are found. They must be missing the missing them into this movegreat mass of organized workers are found. They must be with these workers and win them for our revolutionary policies, since we cannot win them by calling upon them to join our TUUL unions. them to join our TUUL unions. We must organize all the sincere progressive elements within the reformist unions and lead them to fire Greens, the Wolls, the Lewsoft the Greens, the Wolls, the Lewsoft the Greens, the Wolls, the Lewsoft the greens and the rest of the reactionary is sea, and the rest of the

all labor takers and accept the revellance of ment and Politics; Social Science; in the labor struggles of the recent our party.

| American Govern- reviews the growth of violence of the recent practically no influence in the comes the apologist for terroristic strike. What attacks were made repression and murder of workers.

Union, the State Federation, Dis-trict Council of the Building educational program to bring these Trades, District Joint Council and locals of the United Shoe and Sciousness, page 1975. The University of paid scribes of capitalism axy of paid scribes of capitalism by these exceed the speed limit, he is in Leather Workers Union, Steel and time when trade unions are being have been rushed into the front deep ignorance of developments in Metal Workers, Furriers Union, Cooks and Waiters Union, Stone Couters, Machinists Unions, and governmental agencies. It was shoot their poison arrows of haindeed and in a comparatively few pointed out that an extensive pro- tred, sometimes of ridicule, at months this was worn out exposing a-Justice of the Peace.

There is insufficient space to ex pose all the stupidities in Cole man's article. A few will suffice. ley, Mrs. Cheeks, Miss Lodge, and several other educators. Miss Halo several other educators. Something in the Executive Several other educators of the Morkers of the World but state's evidence against Communist. Providence in the Amalgamated Food Workers of the Amalgamated Food Workers of the Amalgamated Food Workers of the Morkers of the Amalgamated Food Workers of the Amalgamated Food Workers of the Amalgamated Food Workers of the Morkers of the Amalgamated Food Workers of the Morkers of the Morkers of the M nist Party members.

Yes sir, the same Mac who was of five members, of which Mr. Sam Sandberg is chairman. A committee on organization of five, of which Mr. William Seligman is chairman.

Sandberg is chairman. A committee on organization of five, of which Mr. William Seligman is chairman.

Coleman mentions the shoe work-strike in Lynn, Mass. and the silk strikes of New Jersey as other examples of Communist in-secretary of the Central Labor other examples of Communist in-secretary

resulted from police interference

"A woman shrieks, rolls over on the pavement, crying, 'He kicked me,' and pointing at an amazed young policeman some distance away. Other women, young and old, and a few youths surround the officer. He waves his club. Someone in the crowd hits him. In a moment he's the center of a velling mass.

Now listen to a conservative Coleman mentions the shoe work- trade unionist of Toledo, Ohio.

> "Never in my twenty-five years of activity with union labor have I seen the men aroused to their present pitch. A Communist may throw the first stone, but labor med whom I used to consider conservatives now are ready to do almost any-

ises, and the rest of the reactionary misleaders.

Only through such tactics can we revolutionize the masses so that they will reject from their midst all labor fakers and accept the revolutions and Politics. Social Sciences of Mew Jersey both of arousing the plural of this word for fear of arousing the plural of this word for fear of the weavers and the silk dyers were enrolled in the United Texture of the Peace.)

With the calm and judicial demeanor befitting his office Mac labor fakers and accept the revolutions and Politics. Social Sciences of New Jersey both of the mass of trade unit hists to-were enrolled in the United Texture were enrolled in the United Texture w

the Soviet Union among the work-

ers is not lacking. It is most like-

ly that there is more sympathy for

enough beer to start them singing.

Everything was fine and dandy

ESTIMATING AUSTRIA'S REVOLUTION

It would be futile to attempt to describe the heroism of the Austrian workers in their desperate fourday struggle against the much more numerous and better-equipped forces of the Heimwehr. We can only bow our heads in reverence and in admiration. Nor must we omit to record that, once the battle was begun, the leaders of the Social-democracy, whatever had been their uncertainty and hesitancy before, took their places in the front lines, if indeed they were not to be found in the dungeons of Dollfuss. It was not their personal devotion to the cause of labor that was wanting; it was their Marxist clarity and firmness of revolutionary principle that were missing.

Workers Ranks Not Divided

In Austria the leadership of the Social-democracy among the workers went practically unchallenged. The labor movement was not split into a Socialist and Communist section whose mutual struggles could paralyze the fighting power of the proletariat. Labor was thoroughly united under the banner of Social-democracy yet there is considerable evidence (see the report in the Deutsche Freiheit of February 25, 1934) that only an insignificant fraction of the Social-democratic workers, less than half of the Schutzbund even, came out on the streets to fight the last-ditch battle against Fascism. The demoralization bred by long years of hesitation, compromise and surrender, had sapped the political vitality of the Social-democratic masses and had left them passive in the face of the awful emergency. Vienna only underscores the lesson of Germany with its divided labor movement: The vitally necessary, the unity of the working class is not in itself sufficient for victory. Only unity on Communist principles can lead to victory. This is the lesson of Russia in November 1917. Unity on Social-democratic principles can lead only to defeat and disaster. This is the lesson of Austria in February 1934!

Could the insurrection have succeeded? The economic and social conditions in Austria were such as to make a proletarian revolution both necessary and possible. The working class was thoroly organized in its party, trade unions and other branches of the movement. Yet the vitally necessary "subjective" factor was lacking-revolutionary training and energy among the broad masses and revolutionary clarity and firmness of principle among the leaders. The many years of "democratic Socialism" had taken their toll!

Bankruptcy Of Social-Democracy

The four-day armed struggle of the Austrian workers against the hordes of Heimwehr Fascism was almost exclusively a Social-democratic action. Practically all who fought and died in those great days were Social-democrats and their leaders, political and military, were all prominent Social-democratic officials. The official Communist Party of Austria was no factor at all in the situation, while the official Communist press all over the world could find nothing better to do than to indulge in an orgy of shameless misrepresentation

Yet, paradoxically enough, the Austrian events con-

by Will Herberg

stitute the most striking demonstration of the utter bankruptcy of the traditional viewpoint of Socialdemocracy and a most convincing confirmation of the basic principles of Communism.

In their fundamental aspect, the Austrian events went far beyond the immediate struggle against Fascism. For four days there was revolution in Austria-civil war between the proletariat and the hourgeoisie! It is precisely the revolutionary character of their own acts that caused such consternation among Social-democratic spokesmen. So ingrained had their reformism become that it led them to the point of repudiating the revolutionary character of their own

Austro-Marxism Crushed

For the Social-democrats, the Austrian Socialists included, have always championed in their theory and in their propaganda, the well-known standpoint that in modern democratic society the political class struggle is to be conducted along "civilized and democratic" lines, largely thru the medium of the democratic institutions which provide the road to "peaceful revolution." The Linz program of the Austrian Socialdemocracy, adopted in 1926, formulated this conception in classical fashion: "In the democratic republic, which guarantees every citizen full freedom to agitate for his viewpoint and places the power of the state in the hands of those able to win the majority of the people for their ideas, we aim to win power in the state thru peaceful, constitutional means, thru the ballot, thru winning the majority of the people for our ideas." How completely has this conception been annihilated by the Austrian events! In the Austrian republic, the supreme virtues of which were so touchingly described by Bauer in 1923, power has come into the hands of a reactionary gang without a majority in the democratic institutions of state, with only a minority of the people behind it, but with decisive military power at its command. And the party with the largest representation in the democratic institutions of the state, the party representing the vast majority of the Viennese proletariat, is outlawed and hunted like a wild beast, not because it didn't have enough votes but because it could not muster enough mass force at the decisive moment. What decides? Votes in parliament or the real relation of class forces outside of the talk-shops?

And in truth was there ever a more striking confirmation of the revolutionary Marxist, i.e., Communist thesis that, in existing society, the class struggle continues to rage in more or less concealed form until it bursts out into open civil war, into violent revolution? Was there ever more striking confirmation of the Communist contention that, as class relations grow strained, as the political crisis grows acute, parliamentary democratic institutions tend rapidly to fall into complete insignificance, if they are not contemptuously brushed aside altogether, so that it is the sheerest folly for the proletariat to rely upon them for the seizure of governmental power?

Democracy or Dictatorship

Suppose the Austrian revolt had triumphed militarily and had avoided defeat at the hands of foreign intervention? What next? Would the Austrian Socialdemocracy have permitted the capitalist class to remain in possession of the means of production? Would it have restored the constitutional forms of parliamentary democracy on the basis, perhaps, of a coalition government with the "constitutional" wing of the Christian Socials, Dollfuss's discarded party? In other words the question is placed: Bourgeois democracy or proletarian dictatorship?

To attempt to restore parliamentary democracy after it has been crushed in the vise of contending class forces, means to restore the political base of operations of the bourgeoisie, to open the way for the counter-revolution, to reestablish the very system within which the forces of Fascism arose and grew

"Pure Democracy"-In Disgrace

That the fresh blooms of "pure democracy" have grown somewhat stale and withered in the poisonous atmosphere of Fascism, appears clearly enough from the new Prague program of the German Social-democracy in which a "virtual dictatorship" is spoken of to replace Fascism. Apparently even the German leaders, with their ear to the ground to catch the turn of mood among the workers at home, are beginning to lose their enthusiasm for the moth-eaten heirlooms of Social-

With Germany and Austria before him, who can today champion parliamentary democracy as the governmental form of the workers state, who can today challenge the utter validity of the Marxist doctrine of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat as the political form of the transition period from capitalism to communism?

The practical refutation of reformist Socialism contained in the Austrian events extends beyond these questions of fundamental principle to the closely associated questions of policy and tactics. The whole philosophy of reliance upon the "non-Fascist" bourgeoisie, the whole doctrine of the "lesser evil," the whole conception that strangles political struggle by limiting it to the halls of parliament, now stands completely discredited in the light of what has happened in Germany and Austria. The basic principles of reformist Socialism have again been tested and have again been found wanting!

And Austro-Marxism? For years the leaders of Austrian Social-democracy have been assiduously advertising the special virtues of their brand of Marxism-real, genuine revolutionary Marxism, we are assured, happily avoiding the excesses of opportunistic Social-democracy, on the one hand, and extremist Communism, on the other! But how has Austro-Marxism stood the crisis? Has it not exposed itself as the fatal art of finding "Marxist" reasons for vacillation, selfparalysis and defeatism? In no fundamental respect do the principles and policies of Austro-Marxism differ from those of German Social-democracy, so thoroly discredited today!

The ILGWU Convention | ent proletarian standpoint on the NRA. The iuil statement of Comcoming developments in the labor tion, at every stage of the pro-

(Continued from Page 3) arena of "political" manipulation, American labor movement. which certainly bodes no good for Unanimously the conv the cloakmakers.

Role In The A. F. of L.

The progressives scored their biggest success in committing the linternational to an active and forward-looking program in the A. F. of L. The convention too endorsed the progressive proposal calling the upon A.F. of L. to join introduced by Local 22, substantiality demanding a complete change of lateral late resolutions were declarations for the reorganization of the Ameri-Sharp Discussion On NRA largement of the executive coun- question of the NRA. It was pri- lines. of these nineteen resolutions were adopted by the convention! It seems to me that this action taken by the convention is of the very en by the convention is of the very lowed up, will make the international a powerful influence for pro-

gressivism within the genera Unanimously the convention Role In The A. F. of L. zations into one powerful union, requesting also the establishment

marized as follows: 1. The NKA has failed as a recovery measure, Real Convention Begins came out in tavor of the amalganation of all needle trades organianing power nor substantially reducing power nor substantially reducing unemployment nor seriously
improving business. 2. Under the
improving business. 2. Under the

cil of the A. F. of L., for the organization of the basic industries, the basic estimation of the basic industries, to marily a question of the basic estimation of the basic industries, to make the progressive movement to meant a shift towards progressive movement to meant a shift towards progressive estentially the same—to for the struggle against company unionism, for a Labor party, for a La unionism, for a Labor party, for the national organization of the national administration in the G.E.B. and, especially to obtain adequate representation in the G.E.B. and, especially to obtain adequate representation in the G.E.B. and, especially to obtain adequate representation of the authoritative attitude of the authoritative attitude of the authoritative attitude of the organization, to organization organization, organization organization, organization or

rade Zimmerman was published in movement will drive our basic class ceedings, on every issue. There is the last issue of The Workers Age; struggie position home into the not the slightest doubt that the in its main outlines it may be summing of American labor!

progressive movement emerged from the Chicago convention much

front of the A. F. of L. on basic national) but it rejected that sections, etc. 3. Under the NRA, maintain the strict independence ment. But it is at least equally front of the A. F. of L. on basic industrial and organizational questions and instructing the I.L.G.W. U. delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to put up an active fight for these proposals. Among these for these proposals. Among these for the proposals. Among these for the proposals and willing to fight for an interest of the proposals. Among these for the proposals and willing to fight for union federation.

Indicate the A. F. of L. on basic into the resolution urging that it is at least equally and willing to fight for. Unions must therefore not rely on the union federation.

Indicate the A. F. of L. on basic into the resolution urging that it is ready and willing to fight for. Unions must therefore not rely on the union federation.

Indicate the A. F. of L. on basic into the resolution urging that is ready and willing to fight for. Unions must therefore not rely on the union federation.

Indicate the A. F. of L. on the progressive tendency in all convention "politics" and caucus-union and willing to fight for union, the convention topy the deavest of the dressmakers represents the deave that, in some very important respects, especially in those convention "politics" and caucus-union in the leadership of the union federation.

In the progressive tendency in all convention "politics" and caucus-union politics and willing to fight for unions, etc. 3. Under the NRA, maintain the strict independence in the strict independence in the progressive tendency in all convention "politics" and caucus-union in the leadership of the progressive tendency in all and willing to fight for. Unions and willing to fight for unions, etc. 3. Under the NRA, in the strict independence in the strict independence in all abor can get only what it is ready and willing to fight for. Unions and willing to fight for. Unions and willing to fight for. Unions and willing to fight for unions, etc. 3. Under the NRA, in the strict independence in all abor can get only what it is ready and in the strict independence in the strict independence i bor must deal with the code author- union, not only because the new whole the Chicago convention regities and NRA bodies as essential- weight of the dressmakers in the istered no deep change in the Inthe reorganization of the American trade union movement along industrial unionist lines, for the enbecause, under present conditions, ces within it. The fundamental

The Lesson of "Stevedore"

by NOEL CHAMBERS

As part of the work of educa-Harlem New Workers School on May 29th got fifty of its students and friends out in a theatre party to see the Theatre Union's latest them for this attitude, but it is the interest it deserves and it is hoped that the group interpreted its significance and extracted the

play. This therefore is not the place for an analysis of its artistic be kept hating and fighting negroes merits. For our purpose, it would be much more profitable to go into a consideration of the series of men and women have therefore social problems with which the learned to hate the Negro with perplay deals, because these problems feet hatred. No wonder then some are vital and upon their proper negroes believe that the battle of

future welfare of society. proach to many of the serious problems to which the contact between Negroes and whites has given rise, and so effectively have the authors torn away the veil of disguise which capitalistic instituwhen the wretched conditions drive some few militant negroes to raise the alarm that a white "Prostitutevirgin" has been raped is sufficient excuse for rounding up every militant negro and persecuting him as bitterly as could be imagined.

But it is most interesting to find in this corrupt social environment, a few white people—the radicals—who realize that not Death only, but also exploitation and hunger have no regard for color, and therein the problem of white worker and Negro worker becomes to recognize that they cannot ef-fectually throw off their shackles age as real men. without the complete alliance and confidence of the black worker. Of course, even in the ranks of the radicals are to be found some who like the rascal in Stevedore will refuse to have anything to do with negroes. They perhaps feel that point out the case of the poor al Communist Opposition considers the extension of whites in South Africa who be- its influence among the great mass of workers as cause they refuse to admit blacks the most effective way of demonstrating in life the to their unions are today socially correctness of its tactical strategy and of winning degraded, servile and impotent in over the rank and file members of the official Comany fight against their exploiters. munist Parties for its line and thus assuring the The fact is that they now form a

permanent vagabond class. The ebb and flow of confidence and mistrust among the negroes continue persistently, they will consequently lead of the problem. Many negroes feel

A. F. T. SCORES RACE DISCRIMINATIONS

magnificent blow has been struck (Opposition) become strong enough, then, the Comagainst race discrimination when munist Party (Opposition) would become a Comthe American Federation of Teachmunist Party, in the full sense of the word. In ers, scheduled to hold its national this situation the Communist Party (Opposition) convention in Chicago decided to would utilize its improved position to hasten Comchange its convention headquarters from the Medinah-Michigan Club munist unity, that is, to bring all Communists into which segregates and otherwise one united Communist Party. The Communist Op- plicit or tacit support of sundry capitalist economic fascism, etc. etc. position is clearly aware of the fact that in one or industrial democracy schemes. discriminates against Negroes. The action of the A.F.T. follows country only one communist party can exist. The

splendid example of the official Party leadership is splitting the communist I.L.G.W.U. at its recent national movement. The Communist Opposition wants to convention. Local 22 of the unify, save and strengthen the Communist Party against the working class.

I.L.G.W.U. which initiated the of the United States

e) The Social democracy move against the Medinah-Michigan at the I.L.G.W.U. convention also called the matter to the attention of the A.F.T. which immediately responded to the fight against racial discrimination and

between blacks and whites—that the wolf which but yesterday was tion which it has undertaken, the chasing the flock demented can play, Stevedore. The play excited important to know that the bitter-

that there can be no association

a day. Pride of race is a very Stevedore needs no boosting. It can stand on its own legs. We have the verdict of much competent opinion that it is a remarkable

their benefit to join. This state of things naturally facts that one cannot fail to see that these evils are the result of the social system, the laws, and the institutions under which these people live. The white people sincerely believe that they are divined to learn that the fight is at bottom a fight to remove all fetters, and many are quite willing to extend the hand of friendship and offer their heartiest cooperation to all the heralds of revolt and propose ly appointed to lean back on arly appointed to lean back on ar-bitrary cushions of racial privilege. They are slowly realizing that in So encrusted is their race prejudice that they feel they must forever live as a dominant caste among Negroes. Now, wherever such a state of mind flourishes, the Negro, as is very pointedly shown in This is only the starting noint of as is very pointedly shown and organic development. The goal their voices in protest. Then, just have served the purpose. Negroes must be built into the permanent social structure of the future: and truction of this infamously bad workers. society that has produced this mass of social evils with which they are it present afflicted. In the past white people have admired negroes

realization of world Communist unity.

of the United States.

ist Party?

c) If the false tactics of the Communist Party

position) differ in principle from the Social-

Group Life

(Continued from Page 2) To Nazi Germany

Members of the CPO have into Hitler Germany. The following Communist Party (Opposition). the terror preventing the workers organizations have already acted favorably in this campaign: Confavorably in this campaign: Convention of the International Ladies

Garment Workers Union: Dress
Grant deals with matters which the structive —Editor

His letter deals with matters which the structive —Editor

His letter deals with matters which to the structive —Editor

from expressing it more openly. One night in a bar some of the boys from the ship had had just Garment Workers Union; Dress- structive.—Editor. makers Local 22 ILGWU; Teachers Union Local 5: A Local of the International Association of Machinternational Association of Machininists; 2 branches of the Workers only seaport. The first thing that uproar; the barmaids almost plead-

be sent to anyone interested.

Lithuanian Opposition Cooperating With CPO

as is very pointedly shown in Stevedore, becomes a very convenient target for the vengeance and all the bad passions of the worthy goal and worthy of every-white race. Especially is this true in times of economic stringency. used only as temporary scaffolding for the CPO against Hertz. In men are organized but are under that his speech was rebroadcast to be discarded as soon as they Branch 368 B. Shlachter representations of the constant terror exerted by police the U.S. of the constant terror exerted by the constant terro

themselves with every movement that has for its purpose the destance of this inference had workers.

the trade union question, indicating groszy per hour (6 to 9 cents). A groszy per hour (7 to me was a Swedish instead by the local branch of the groszy per hour (8 to 9 cents). A groszy per hour (8 to 9 cents) a groszy per hour (8 to 9 cents). A groszy per hour (8 to 9 cents) a groszy per hour (8 to 9 cents). A groszy per hour (8 to 9 cents) a groszy per hour (8 to 9 cents) a groszy per hour (8 to 9 cents). A groszy per hour (8 to 9 cents) a groszy per hour (8 to 9 c

How does the Communist Party of the U. S. Revolutionary proletarian internationalism, is there-

and hence the Communist Party of U. S. (On- fore, impossible on the basis of social democracy.

a) The Socialist Party (Social-Democracy) works ism. It is a bourgeois workers party.

capitalist economic order.

all, by means of universal suffrage.

e) The Social democracy subordinates its foreign

policy to that of the bourgeoisie of each country.

f) Social democracy consequently has broken

basically with the principles of revolutionary Marx-

A Letter from Sweden

The first port we came to here till they began singing the Inter-

by A. SAYLOR

The writer of the letter is a Members of the CPO have introduced resolutions against credits
marine writer of the letter is a

Communism and the Soviet Union
to Hitler Germany. The following

A copy of this resolution will all the imports in this city is scrapiron and other war material. Anthis pessimism Stevedore is a ches and fractions, support of the riers and street-car conductors. casion of Swedish Flag Day. He disguise which capitalistic institutions usually cast over the true facts that one cannot fail to see that these evils are the result of

Discussions in the branches are paid for by the Polish bourgeoisie. cracy. It was a "nationalistic peonow proceeding on the basis of the For this sort of thing there is no ple's" speech of the first rank.

This also holds true for the CP-controlled I.W.O. Comrade B. Shlachter presented the line of the CPO against Goldman for the CP. Shlachter presented the line of the CPO against Goldman for the CP.

Committee on Unemployment in Chicago; Workmens Circle Branch 546 N. Y.; Slovenian National Benefit Society Branch 204, Anthracite.

only seaport. The first tning that uproar; the parmaius annost pleaustruck me was the tremendous amount of scrap-iron being unloading on their knees that we stop singing the International because defrom ships of all nationalities, judging by what I could see I should say about 70% or 75% of most as much as Polish there. After a week in Gdynia we proother thing that struck me was the ceeded to Sweden and there the great number of Polish, yes, Poship had to be repaired. Most of lish sailors that I saw in the the crew was paid off and I pro-The Central Committee of the streets of Gdynia. It looks like ceeded to Gothenburg. . . are vital and upon their proper solution depends much of the future welfare of society.

In Stevedore we have the apbranches a circular letter with sug- got a navy. Wherever you turn, vice here even under a Socialgestions on methods of cooperation wherever you look, in Gdynia, you Democratic regime. causes some pessimism among those who are honestly working for improved conditions, but for improved conditions, but for improved conditions, but for resentatives, cooperation of bran-

> organized for the protection of and stove pipes of royalty and aristolack of money, but when it comes "Today is a day when all party to paying the workers for their labor there seems to be quite a scarcity of it.
>
> I ouay is a usy much to paying the workers for their labor there seems to be quite a opinions should today rally around opinions should today rally around

ted the CPO against Luvin of the spies and provocateurs. Their ormay have gotten a taste of it.

CP. may have gotten a taste of it.

When I arrived in Gothenburg the first leaflet that was handed

who conceal their real thoughts or Over 200 workers were present and unemployed and poorly paid work- tion of the city and is also a smile through oppression and in- the discussion had to be continued ers are forced to live in would be stronghold of the official Cominiustice. Today the Negroes must over 2 meetings. A great deal of a disgrace to any of the American tern party. It also happened that worker and Negro worker becomes be prepared to change all that and support for the "Hoovervilles". Generally among the Seamen's Institute where I to recognize that they cannot ef-Soviet sentiment, but sympathy for of the square so that the first mass meeting that I had the "pleasure" to witness was the larg-QUESTIONS and ANSWERS est fascist gathering ever held i Gothenburg if not in the whole country. The square and the side-

people, mostly workers; there were on the basis of utilizing the bourgeois state, bour-approximately 6.000. The speech this is the best way to avoid a metamorphosis. To these we can as within the Communist Party. The Internationcist variety. Their flag is the same b) The social- democracy maintains the possibilias the Hitlerites except that the ty of a peaceful transition to socialism within the framework of the bourgeois democratic republic, by means of bourgeois democratic methods; above blue are the Swedish national col-

> c) Since the social democracy thus protects the bourgeois state and the capitalist economic order, it actually is suppressing the class struggle of to an abandonment of communist principles to a destruction of the connection between the party, on one hand, and the working class and its action, on the the bourgeois class, the bourgeois parties and the were approximately 4.000 workers the class structure. One of their leading lights there. Under such conditions the Communist Party capitalists. To the social democracy the class strug-by the name of Senander spoke. of U. S. (Opposition) will then become the Communist Party. Should the ultra-left sectarian tactics collaboration. The highest form taken by such class international and mechanical the lead the official Communist Party to further weakness and isolation and should the Communist Party
>
> collaboration in the political field is the policy of ultra-left line is. I could have coalition, cabinets which may be open or hidden, sworn that he had gotten his com-(toleration). In the economic field the Socialist munist schooling from Hathaway Parties' class collaboration policies manifest themselves in support or toleration of reactionary and corrupt leaders, in fostering illusions or even giving his speech was typical of any that corrupt leaders, in fostering illusions or even giving these American leading lights active support to all sorts of capitalist substitutes might make: the name calling, the for proletarian class struggle; for example, to im- sterile and dry approach, social-

> > From what I can see, a strong d) The social democracy condemns the forceful Communist Opposition is sorely armed seizure of power by the working class. At needed in this country if it is not the same time, it supports the use of bourgeois force to go the way of Germany. The ugly head of fascism has already shown its face here.

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July 1, 1934.

Rumblings in Germany

THE echoes of the worsening economic conditions in Germany are becoming audible enough to alarm even the Nazi kingpins. Witthe declining foreign trade, the collapsing currency, the goldsterilization of the Mark, the multiplying rude manifestations of unrest among the Storm Troopers, the growing disillusionment among the middle class folks, and the ominous signs of reviving resistance among the proletariat, as shown in the heavy defeat inflicted upon the NSDAP in the recent "elections" for factory trustees.

It is in this atmosphere that Hitler's juggernaut of "justice" is being prepared for riding over Thaelmann, that the trial of the leader of the Communist Party of Germany is being "prepared" in the worst sense of Nazi savagery. It is likewise in this atmosphere that many liberals and socialists are enthusiastically looking forward to Papen and the Junker-Monarchist clique to restore to them the very Weimar democratic constitution which so admirably helped the Nazis come to power. Even some official Communists are becoming articulately hopeful that Papen and his Hindenburg will set the ball arolling, as the first page, if not, the first chapter, in the destruction of Fascism in Germany.

It is these two events which are most significant of trends in Germany just now. Let no one deny the growing seriousness of the economic crisis in Germany. Fascism has dismally failed to solve the inherent contradictions of German capitalism. It has only aggravated them. Things are bound to come to a head. But they have only begun to come to a head. Von Papen's address at Magdeburg is only a sign and at most a symbol of what's brewing in Nazi Germany It is under no circumstances and cannot be the fire that will turn Hitlerism to ashes and painful memories. Nothing more politically assinine is conceivable to us than to look for a destruction of German Fascism thru a fight between the decadent reactionary Junkerdom, aristocracy and the reactionary degenerating rabble constituting the Nazi party bureaucracy. At most, such fights are very helpful and secondary to the decisive factors and forces in the situation.

If and when Hitlerism is to be overthrown in Germany it will be not by Monarchists, not by "light-seeing" bankers like Schacht, not by jealous generala but by an aroused and revolutionary proletariat. Papen undoubtedly would like to displace Hitler. He always did. But Papen was unable to hold the Chancellorship when the Nazi Party was weaker, rent by inner dissension, and dangerously dis-pirited. Schleicher undoubtedly was as brainy, ambitious and powerful a general as the Reichswehr has had or has today. when Schleicher was Chancellor he couldn't muster half a Reichswehr regiment to keep Hitler out of the chancellorship. Apparently our self-confessed brilliant liberals and deluded and misleading Socialdemocrats can never learn that history is not a record of intrigues, not a mere sort of mystery stories but a story of bitter conflicts between classes

The mounting discontent in Germany is of inestimable importance. The Nazis are not blind to it. They recognize that constantly aggravated economic conditions spell a narrowing of the mass social base of their support and power and that this will hasten their doom. But contrary to the wishful thinkers in all camps the Nazis are no They smell the danger and understand that their real and mortal enemy is not Papen or the ever-more senile Hindenburg but the awakening working class. Hence, the Goebbels and the Hitlers will soon let loose floods of oratory and oceans of demagogy against "the monocled barons and arrogant monarchist reactionaries who are forgetting their proper place." This will be done not so much to hurt them as to try to hold on desperately the disillusioned lower middle class and discontented working class. In this hypocritical game the Nazis will have the support of the big industrialists.

And the axis of the whole Hitler drive to the "left" to counteract the Junker malcontents who always looked down upon the Nazis as rabble, as upstarts without tradition or ability, will be a new fierce attack on the rising underground movement of German labor, especially communist and trade unionist. Here enters the Thaelmann trial as a factor. The Nazis have already taken steps thru the reorganization of their judicial machinery to avoid certain "errors" they made Reichstag fire trial. Nor must one forget for a moment that Dimitroff and his comrades were saved from the Nazi butchers only by the international solidarity of labor, particularly by the pressure of the Soviet proletariat and its mighty Bolshevik government. Yes, it was "Moscow interference" that made Hitler shrink from wielding the axe!

On the eve of the Thaelmann trial we must all join hands-communists, socialists, trade unionists and unorganized-to close our ranks to save Comrade Thaelmann. It is not a person who is on trial in this case. It is a whole class, it is the working class under Nazi terror and fire. In France the National committees of the Communist and Socialist parties have apparently come to some sort of an agreement for common action in a campaign to rescue Thaelmann. The CPO proposes that the CP, SP, and we join forces to take the initiative for launching and building an effective broad Save Thaelmann campaign. This will be the first step in preparing the ground for a mighty genuine anti-Fascist united front.

The American working class can do much to influence affairs in Germany to take a sharp turn for the better, to help undermine and bury Hitlerism. Not thru the Papens and Hindenburgs does the road to German working class freedom lie. Only the revolutionary German working class, aided by the militant solidarity of the international proletariat, can usher in a new day, a day of socialist freedom in Germany. We in the U.S. must at least do our part-and

Trade Union Notes

Auto Workers Press For Industrial Unionism

At the recent conference of federal locals of automobile workers, held in Detroit, the proposal for the merging of all locals into an delegates to the A. F. T. conventional transfer of the delegates transfer of the A. F. T. conventional transfer of the delegates to the A. F. T. conventional transfer of the delegates trans International Union was defeated tion. The only oppositionist comafter severe pressure brought to bear by President William Green gressive E. Davidson, who secured of the A. F. of L.

So great, however, was the desire for joint action and for one National union that Green was forced Acts In Paterson to compromise by permitting the establishment of a United Automobile Workers National Council.

It is clear that this national body will have no power whatever, except to advise the A. F. of L. heads Despite the smoke screen on the desires of the automobile workers. It would be a serious error to believe that with this decision the question of industrial controlled National Textile Work-unionism is closed for the auto ers Union in a struggle against This decision, wrested workers. from the A. F. of L. burocrats, must be used to further the movement for industrial unionism in the trade union movement as a This will undoubtedly be one of the main battle issues of the coming A. F. of L. convention. The federal locals must be prepared to do their part to supplant the present form of organization with the industrial form, which will permit more effective struggle for the economic demands of the work-

Results Of Elections In Teachers Union

positions in the union do not even represent 5% of the membership. More recently the Rank and File only opposition in the union, that the Progressive Group had lost whatever influence it had in the union. Both claims have been disproved by the recent elections in which about 1100 members parti-

The administration polled an average of 711 votes or 66.9%; the Rank and File Group received 190 votes or 17.8% and the Progressive Group polled 161 or 15.2% of the total vote. As compared to the opposition vote in previous elecof 33% of the vote represents an increase of support. This increase

members to the Executive Board This represents an increase of one for the Progressives but no in gressive E. Davidson, who secured 273 votes.

Musteites In Anti-Union

A number of Musteites, mem bers of the American Federation of Silk Workers, have been disciplined by the union for their destruc-

Despite the smoke screens laid down by the Musteites the case is a relatively simple one. They united with the members of the C.P. ers Union in a struggle against their own union. They went on the picket line of the North Transfer of the Nor picket line of the N. T. W. U. in a strike declared because the employer hired a member of the U. T. W. The revolutionists of the N.T. W.U. did not strike when economic issues were invoved but were ouick to declare a strike against the U.T.W. worker. This case was so clear that a number of members of even the N.T.W.U. refused to recognize the strike and remained at work together with the members of the U.T.W.

Under these circumstances with their strike collapsing the CP supnorters received with open arms, the aid of the little clique of dis gruntled Musteites. These people The administration of the Teach- marched on the picket lines with ers Union has claimed that the op-signs condemning the union, of which they are members, as a scab union and the manager of the union, Keller, as a scab herder. Group has insisted that it is the This present anti-union activity is merely a continuation of the dual unionist attitude of the Musteites during the last general strike. Muste supported the N.T.W U. "strike" and was even scheduled to address their first strike meeting. fact that Muste lacked the courage to show up at that meeting does not change the facts in the least. Muste never repudiated the leaflet announcing him as a sneakm thus admitting his participation in it.

No self respecting union can per tions, the total opposition strength mit its members to commit such breaches of elementary union loyalty. No union member can per however is mainly confined to the mit himself to embark on such a Progressive Group, the Rank and course as the Musteites followed, File Group making smaller gains. unless he is determined to split Each of the oppositions elected his union.

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What Next For American Labor? Jay Lovestone Communist Party (Opposition)

The inauguration of the NRA in 1933 unleasned a mighty tidal wave of strikes and unionization that lashed out across the United States from coast to coast. "As if over night, the American trade union movement has grown to be the biggest in the world, next to that Soviet Russia.'

The NRA which was first hailed as a champion of labor is increasingly revealing that its objective is the destruction of unionism thru transforming "the working class unions of the A. F. of L into virtual Fascist 'corporate unions'."

The three barriers to a more powerful trade union movement

These are the characteristics of the new period of development which the American labor movement has entered, writes Jay Lovestone, in this pamphlet distinguished by its clear grasp of decisive factors and its unpretentious style.

The victory or defeat of American labor thus hinges largely on these two primary factors that will determine the road labor shall travel:

"These are: First, the desire and ability of the revolutionary workers, the communists, to work constructively inside the conservative A. F. of L. unions for their transformation into militant industrial unions; secondly, the industry and ability of the revolutionary and more progressive workers to take the leadership in educating and assimilating the millions of new A. F. of L. members, the hundreds of thousands of workers who have been nouring and will continue to pour into the unions."

Labor's apathy is gone and greater battles are impending. The answer to, will labor meet victory or defeat will depend on how quickly the communists and progressives apply themselves to the tasks set forth. A model of clarity in thought and exposition, the writer avoids writing "down to" the workers; and in a clear, forceful style delineates the key factors in the labor movement, so that, any literate worker can comprehend the tasks ahead.

-S.H.

Where We Stand Vo. 1 Communist Party (Opposition)

While many of the documents contained in this book have been available to the serious student of Communism, the need for a collection of these basic documents between two covers to facilitate a clear understanding of the crisis in Communism and the platform of the International Communist Opposition has been of long standing.

The significance of these documents lies in the fact that a high level of theoretical analysis of the cardinal problems before the Comfrom abusive invective and couched language appropriate to its sober, realistic contents. nowerful searchlight it illumines the dark caverns of the roots of the crisis and reveals the antidote for the poisons of Communist Party impotency.

In this volume the position of the ICO on Trotskyism, Centrism, New International, etc., is clearly defined. It is invaluable to Communists and constitutes a fitting reply to the literary small fry maligning the International Communist Opposition.

-S.H.

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