

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Is America Heading for Fascism?

Is America heading for Fascism? At one time not so many years ago it was mere routine for the official Communist press of this country to label every sign of reaction or repression as Fascism. Today it seems to be taken as a matter of course in radical circles* that the "New Deal" program and especially the National Industrial Recovery Act, involving as they do, the unprecedented accentuation of the power of the Executive and the extensive control of economic life by the Federal government, are steps on the road to Fascism, if not Fascism itself. The question is not a minor one; least of all is it, as some claim, a mere question of terminology. The cardinal error of the official Communist leadership in the German situation was its persistent, even obstinate refusal to recognize the nature of Fascism and its insistence upon crying Fascism at every turn of German politics. Its failure to meet the Fascist menace when it did appear in its real form was an inevitable consequence. No adequate understanding of politics is possible today without a real grasp of the nature of Fascism.

What Is Fascism?

There is altogether too much of a tendency to regard Fascism as a "measure" or a "policy" which can be adopted at will or upon necessity. But this is totally false and misses the whole point. Fascism is a definite, tho not inevitable, stage in the political development of post-war capitalism. The primary questions that face us are, therefore: Under what circumstances does Fascism arise, grow strong and triumph? What is the social character of the Fascist movement and of the Fascist regime? What is the disposition of class forces making for Fascism? What role does Fascism play in contemporary capitalist society?

A Marxist analysis of the experiences in Italy and Germany and a realistic study of the lessons of history, especially of Bonapartism in France, will throw a good deal of light on these questions. Fascism arises when, under the impact of a deep all-national economic and social crisis, it has become impossible for the bourgeoisie to continue to rule society thru its accustomed organs (the traditional political parties, parliamentary democracy, etc.), while at the same time, the proletariat, tho a formidable social force, is not in a position to seize political control. Under such circumstances, the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, headed by its intellectual vanguard, impoverished, tormented, uprooted as a result of the crisis, bitterly disillusioned with "things as they are", "the system," in Hitlerite terms, yet alienated also from the working class because of the latter's incapacity to make a practical bid for power, are driven to an apparently independent social movement, of an oppositional and even pseudo-radical nature. In accordance with the historical character of the petty bourgeoisie, the official outlook of this movement is a hopeless confusion of the most

* Compare J(ames) B(urnham)'s editorial "Comment" in "The Symposium", July 1933 and Abelard Stone's "Roosevelt Move to Fascism" in "The Modern Monthly" of June 1933.

Where Does the Recovery Act Lead?

by Will Herberg

glaring contradictions and the most obvious quackery, all held together by an intensely reactionary nationalism. In accordance also with the historical character of the petty bourgeoisie, it looks for salvation to the Savior-Leader (Hitler, der Fuehrer; Mussolini, il Duce) with his special gospel and panacea. In an act of incredible self-deception, it raises aloft the banner of private property as the firm foundation of its "Third Reich." It stands in the most uncompromising opposition to socialist collectivism, to the political parties that represent it in one form or another; it counterposes its own brand of "National-Socialism"—"Socialism" raised on the foundations of private property! It savagely combats the labor movement as a whole, which it blames for the chaos of society. Disillusioned with parliamentary democracy and liberalism in decay, it demands the "totalitarian" state and the monopoly of political power by the "party of national resurgence," called by Heaven and History to its great mission. It shows a demonstrative contempt for conventional bourgeois legality; it organizes its forces outside of the law and uses unstinted violence in destroying the labor movement and in achieving its own ends. But above all does it claim to be an "independent" movement, independent alike from "selfish" capitalism and "destructive and anti-national" communism. Such is Fascism!

The whole imposing structure is shattered at its last point. Under present-day conditions of capitalist

development, with its economic base rapidly vanishing the petty bourgeoisie cannot launch any independent movement, that is, no movement not allied, directly or indirectly, with the capitalist class or the working class and serving the social interests of the one or the other. The consecration of private property shows clearly enough the orientation of Fascism. In fact, it does not require much penetration to see in Fascism the salvation of capitalism in a blind-alley; it is significant of the decadent state of the capitalist order that it must look to a pseudo-socialist petty bourgeois movement to save it. Things have come to such a pass, in fact, that the bourgeoisie, in order to safeguard its economic and social interests, in order to maintain the very system of exploitation, is compelled to hand over direct political power to this petty bourgeois nationalist mass movement called Fascism. The capitalist class usually tries many alternatives before coming to the unwelcome conclusion but in the end it becomes quite clear: "Either Fascism or chaos!" Long ago Marx described a historically similar turn in political development, Bonapartism, in these terms:

"The bourgeoisie declared unequivocally that it was ready to give up its own political rule... if it could only carry on business with confidence under the protection of a strong and un-

(Continued on Page 4)

Needle Trades Plan General Strike in New York

Cloak And Dress Unions Make Preparations For Big Struggle; Cloak Bosses Propose Anti-Labor Code

New York City.

The scores of thousands of dress and cloakmakers of New York City stand before a general strike, according to the decisions of the joint boards and membership of the dress and cloak locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The prospect of a general strike in these trades is of special importance in view of the fact that the suppression of strikes is admittedly one of the outstanding objectives of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

The Dressmakers Prepare

Sentiment for general strike in the dress trade in order to reestablish tolerable conditions, began to make itself felt some time ago. The Dressmakers Joint Board approved the proposal, worked out demands and set in motion strike preparations. These decisions were submitted to a joint meeting of the executive boards of the dressmakers locals, Locals 10, 22, 35 and 89, held on July 12. and were there also endorsed. The demands of the dressmakers include: (1) the 30-hour week; (2) no over-

time; (3) a guaranteed minimum of the present weekly wage scales: cutters \$50 a week, operators \$44, examiners \$26, pressers \$50, drapers \$31, finishers \$26, hemstitchers \$30, cleaners \$20, sample makers \$35; (4) complete jobbers responsibility for conditions in contractors shops; (5) unemployment insurance. It was decided to issue a manifesto announcing a special low initiation fee for dressmakers joining the union at this time. Preparatory to the strike there is to be conducted an energetic organization campaign to unionize the whole industry.

On July 14, there was held a crowded and very enthusiastic shop chairmen's meeting to consider the decisions on the strike. Among the speakers were Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dress Joint Board; L. Antonini, manager of Italian Local 89; Cohen of Local 35; and Chas. S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22. Zimmerman discussed the conditions of the dressmakers and showed that the period of apathy had passed, that the dressmakers were manifesting a militant fighting spirit. If the struggle was carried on properly,

(Continued on Page 2)

Why a Labor Party?

by Herbert Zam

The anti-Tammany and Fusion campaigns in New York in particular and developments thruout the country in general once more, in one form or another, bring to the forefront the issue of a Labor Party.

Sectarianism From Both Sides

In commenting on the results of last Presidential elections we pointed out that neither of the existing political parties inside the working class was able to serve as the means of crystallizing the great dissatisfaction of the workers with the capitalist parties on a definite working class basis. In the intervening months this point of view has been amply justified by events. But the Communist and Socialist Parties still remain callously indifferent to the needs of the workers on the parliamentary field—whether out of sectarian notions or anti-working class ideas is of no consequence in this discussion. The Communist Party, which formally dropped the idea of a Labor Party with the onset of the "third period" of sectarianism, has maintained the position that anything the working class does, without the previous instructions of the leaders of the party, is just too bad for the workers. The workers must act with and around the party or the party will condemn their actions. "Farmer-Laborism", that is, the growing desire of the workers and farmers for independent political action, is viewed by the C. P. leaders as a "great menace."

In essence, the Socialist Party has maintained the same attitude but covered with somewhat more diplomatic language. We have already discussed the sectarian policies of the Socialist Party on other fields. Recently we had perhaps the most striking example of this. The so-called Continental Congress (presumably called to inaugurate the second American revolution) passed in the typical sectarian manner—a united front around the party. True, it was bigger than the C. P.'s united fronts, because the Socialist Party has more influence in the trade unions and other labor organizations but it was not different in manner and method. What could the Continental Congress have done of positive value to the American workers and unemployed? There is obviously one thing which could have justified the birth of the C. C. and that is to stimulate and promote the movement for an independent political party of the workers and farmers based on their organizations. This is what thousands of workers wanted when they sent their delegates to this congress. This was the expressed desire of the farm organizations at the congress. This is what a large portion of the rank and file of the Social-

See the editorial on the UNITED LABOR TICKET page eight

ist Party looked to in building the congress. But this is precisely the one thing the Continental Congress did not do. The ultra-reactionary wing of the S. P., led by Hillquit, declare in words that they are in favor of a Labor Party—if someone else builds it! When a Labor Party has come into existence, then they will stand ready to "cooperate" with it—that is, try to use it! This marks them as practical parasites, quite willing to use what others have produced but themselves unwilling to produce. Basically, this is a position against the Labor Party. This is the position of Green, Woll and Company. They do not dare to say that they will oppose a Labor Party after it is formed. But they do everything to oppose the formation of one and that determines their position.

Labor Party Or Third Party

But the sentiment for a Labor Party, already fairly widespread, is bound to grow. With the Recovery Act placing the full power of the Federal government openly and directly behind the trust, the workers and poor farmers will be compelled to look for a common weapon which they can use and which is compatible with their present political development, at least to endeavor to coordinate their resistance to the increasing encroachments of big capital in every walk of life. To believe that either the C. P. or the S. P. will be chosen, is to believe in miracles. Only the sectarians of the extreme right (Hillquit) and of the ultra-left (Browder) still retain the privilege of believing in miracles. To a realist, there is only one al-

(Continued on Page 2)

BROACH OUT FROM ELECTRICIANS

Washington, D. C.

H. H. Broach, the central object of the opposition movement in the ranks of the organized electrical workers, resigned his position as president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The resignation which took place on July 11, was explained as "due to ill health" but it is everywhere taken to be closely connected with the struggle inside of the union. W. Tracy of Houston, Texas, was selected by the union's executive council to succeed Broach.

Rumors of the pending resignation had been current in New York labor circles for several weeks in view of the sharpening of the struggle of the conservative officialdom of Local 3 against the growing progressive opposition movement in the local. The murder of Henry Godel, a leading militant, some three weeks before, had brought the situation to a climax. It is also hinted that Broach's resignation came as a result of pressure from William Green, head of the American Federation of Labor.

Why a Labor Party?

(Continued from Page 1)
ternative to a Labor Party—a third capitalist party. Whoever, in the ranks of the working class, is today in opposition to a Labor Party, is objectively helping the development of sentiment for a third bourgeois party, is playing into the hands of the old parties.

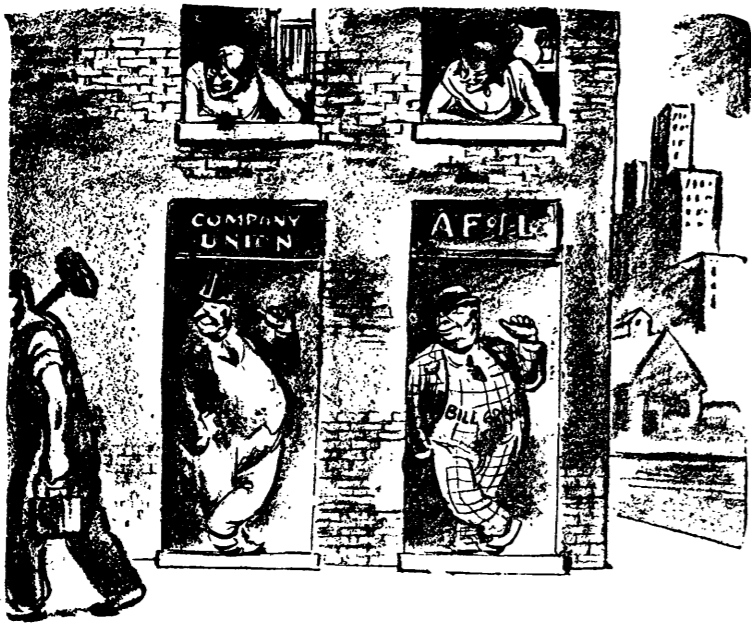
A glance at the unemployed organizations will provide a striking object lesson in this discussion. All shades of political opinion are found dominating the unemployed organizations. An appeal on a partisan basis to the unemployed organizations will result in increasing the disunity and not in promoting unity, which is today the greatest need. The instrument which can serve as one of the most effective means of unifying the actions of the unemployed workers and their organizations is the Labor Party. Out of the million or so workers organized in unemployed organizations and the many millions who are unorganized only a very small proportion are ready to support one of the existing working class parties. To offer them no other alternative means that they will remain supporters of the capitalist parties, or what amounts to the same thing objectively, not participate in politics at all. Surely not even the "leftist" of the ultra-left will maintain that this is the way to develop the class consciousness of the backward unemployed workers.

In New York City, the Labor Party issue is at the present time being dramatized by the Fusion campaign. What is the answer of the workers to this? What is the answer of the C. P. ? Of the S. P. ? Is the ticket of the S. P. proposed as the means of combating the Fusion movement? Is the ticket of the C. P. a means of breaking the workers away from support of the capitalist parties? Is it not clear that, in the absence of a Labor ticket, of a Labor Party (in this specific case a United Labor Ticket), hundreds of thousands of workers and middle class elements will have no other alternative except to cast their votes for the Fusion candidate? (A Fusion candidate who, there is every reason to believe, will be a Tammany tool!) Just as in 1924 the La Follette movement represented a means of means of independent political action by the workers and farmers, so today the Fusion movement is a means of preventing such action by the workers of New York. Just as in 1924 the means of fighting the La Follette movement was not by independent party tickets (as the C.P. did) by supporting La Follette (as was done by the S. P.) but by campaigning for a Labor Party, by setting up a ticket of the workers and farmers against the ticket of the old party politicians and small capitalists, so today the independent party tickets or support of the Fusion movement will play into the hands of the Tammany cohorts. Only a United Labor Ticket, including the political parties of the workers, the trade unions, the organizations of the unemployed, the fraternal organizations, can successfully present the demands of the working class as a whole against Tammany and against the Fusionists.

The New York situation is bound to repeat itself in a thousand cities and localities. Only the Labor Party offers a practical solution to this problem because the Labor Party is today the sole means of uniting all the workers in common, independent political action against the capitalists and their parties.

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THE NEW PARTY TRADE UNION LINE!



The cartoon above, which appeared in the "Daily Worker" of July 13, captioned "The Same House But Two Doors" is the convincing proof that all the talk of a change in the sectarian and union-splitting tactics of the official Communist Party is a shameful fraud. The company union, which is no union at all, and the A. F. of L. are here

pictured as two doors to the same brothel!
The policy of the official Communist Party today as it has been for over four years, a policy of deserting, disrupting and splitting trade unions. The Communist Opposition is the only Communist force today that stands for trade unionism, trade union unity and militancy!

NEEDLE TRADES GENERAL STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

he pointed out, if it was carried out not timidly but with vigor, it would be crowned with success. The National Industrial Recovery Act, he warned, had spread many illusions that the workers would get better conditions "with the help of Washington." This was a big mistake. Without a strong union the dressmakers would get nothing. The only means was a general strike. Now that the cost of living was rising every day, Zimmerman insisted, it was more than ever necessary to fight. No patent medicines but only the picket-line and the union could be of any help, declared Zimmerman, to the great applause of the shop chairman. The meeting enthusiastically approved the strike decisions and demands.

No code has as yet been proposed by the employers in the dress industry. The recently organized National Dress Association, a group of manufacturers and job-

bers, dominated by the open-shop elements, has so far proposed a \$14 minimum wage for unskilled labor! The demands listed above stand as the position of the workers for which the union is determined to fight!

The cloakmakers are in a somewhat different position. By a referendum vote of two to one some time ago, they defeated the proposal to drop week work from the union demands and accept piece work. The workers stood overwhelmingly for week work in spite of the fact that the leaders of the cloak union gave no leadership and, in some cases, even took a stand for piece work! Great dissatisfaction is today being expressed with these leaders, especially with the general manager, I. Nagler, whose resignation is being demanded from many sides. His championship of piece work, it is pointed out, makes it impossible for him now to lead in a vigorous struggle for week work.

The Cloak Code

The employers in the cloak industry have elaborated their code, which fully confirms the contention that the workers are not going to get any Santa Claus gifts from the Recovery Act. The proposed code not only demands piece work which means the sweat-shop and the destruction of all union conditions, but it also calls for a 30%-40% reduction of wage standards and the 40-hour week. The 40-hour week is now established in the cloak trade and yet there is heavy unemployment; it is obvious that there will be no substantial reemployment at all unless the maximum working week is materially reduced, at least to 30 hours. The officials of the I. L. G.

The Group at Work

Statement of Former S. P. Member

by Milton Singer

Hartford, Conn.

About a year ago, I was on the verge of joining the Communist Party, but after witnessing a few "hunger marches," "demonstrations" and other adventures, always with the same faces, shouting the same phrases and meeting with no response from the masses of workers, I was for a while disgusted. I asked myself the question: "Where else to go?"

I went to the Socialist Party. There I found a number of young people who felt the same as I did about the C.P. The principles of Communism we agreed were correct but the way the official Communists were doing things was definitely crazy and irresponsible. The young comrades and I agreed that the principles of S. P. for gaining power and form of government after taking power were misleading, ineffective and wrong. Still I believed that I could do effective work here and joined with the hopes of winning over the other members to my stand.

Soon after a Y.P.S.L. branch was organized and with the help of the more militant comrades, I became organizer. We were able to capture all leading positions. Then I thought we were getting somewhere, but I was mistaken. As soon as there was talk of organizing a Marxian Educational Society in Hartford, talk of uniting with the Y.C.L. and with another group that we heard of for the first time, the Communist Opposition, we had the W.C. and the right wing of the S.P. on our neck. Thru the effective work of the C.P.C. we organized Marxian Educational Society. And thru the insane political line of the Y.C.L. every attempt to have a united front failed, giving the right wing element a swell opportunity to give us a horse-lag.

By that time we had the reactionary elements in the S.P. and W.C. frightened. They branded other comrades and myself as Communists and disrupters. They tried to break up the M.E.S. but failed. The right wing and center united and, to a large extent, nullified all effective work to reach the workers. At the next elec-

W. U. have already come out in vigorous opposition to the code and its provisions.
The cloakmakers too have held their joint executive board and shop chairman's meetings on the same date as the dressmakers and there too the decision for a strike was enthusiastically endorsed.
The whole labor movement will watch with great interest the events in the cloak and dress trades of New York for they represent the first case of a large-scale strike movement developing under the new conditions produced by the Recovery Act. The revolt of the needle trades workers will go a long way towards encouraging the trade union workers in other industries, dispelling their illusions about salvation coming from the codes and stimulating them to militant class action.

A similar fate awaited the Trotskyites on Tuesday, May 30, when Comrade Lovestone addressed the open forum of the Workers Educational Society on the subject: "The Crisis and What Is Ahead For the Workers in the United States and Canada." At this lecture, which was attended by 200 workers, the speaker estimated the most recent developments concerning the workers of the United States, laying special stress on the period of the "New Deal."

In conclusion one could not help but remark that while the official party comrades utilized every opportunity at both lectures to criticize the lecturer and the Opposition movement in general, yet, when Lovestone revealed the detrimental role of the Socialists and the phase-mongering of the Trotskyites, they sat back and smiled in agreement and satisfaction.

Both lectures were very well received and left a good impression on those workers who attended.

Dave Breslow

tions, I lost the position of organizer and other left wing leaders also. By the sheer stroke of luck I got the position of Educational Director of the S.P. The study classes I led on the Communist Manifesto in which it speaks of a program entirely alien to the S.P. weren't taken with good grace. Topics for lectures of a real revolutionary nature poured salt on their wounds. Constant propaganda for united fronts made fur fly and as far as the right wing and center was concerned I was ostracized.

I knew that I would soon have to resign or be expelled. There was and still is a campaign to expel all active revolutionary workers and the Hillquit bunch is very effective in this work. Where should I have gone? The C.P. was still having their "marches" and "demonstrations" and the same people, busily attending them, all trying their best to substitute for the "masses of workers." The C.P.-O., on the other hand, was doing very effective work among the unemployed and employed as well, as in the anti-sweatshop campaign, busy doing educational work. I joined it, a small, healthy growing group in contrast to the definite signs of stagnation in the S.P. and to the acrobatics of the C.P.

I joined the Communist Opposition and stopped wasting time trying to revolutionize the S.P. It's an impossible task.
Milton Singer

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN MONTREAL

Montreal, Canada.

Lovestone spoke on Monday, May 29, 1933 to an audience of 400, on the topic "Storm Centers of the World." In a review of the political situation of the world, Lovestone touched upon the role of the "New Dealer" and indicated the politics played by the European governments in connection with the Roosevelt regime.

Lovestone dealt at large with Germany and its role on the political arena in so far as Italy, the other stronghold of Fascism, and Austria are concerned. Especially was the possibility of Germany's annexation of Austria stressed. In such a case, said Lovestone, the flirtation between Italy and Germany would cease. In other words, Hitler and Mussolini can hang best together if they hang separately.

When the period of questions and discussion came up, the Socialists sought an opportunity to blame the coming of Fascism in Germany entirely on the Communists. But they did not succeed in convincing the workers in the audience of this; for in Lovestone's summary they were shown not only the falsity of their statement but they were also given some material to think over, much of which they failed to read even in their own press.

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Dave Breslow

The National Recovery Act at Work

Some Experience for the Workers

As the first to be approved and applied, the Cotton Textile Code will surely play a big role in the future application and operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act. A careful study of this code would be worth the while of any worker. It would certainly serve to let in a fresh breeze of realism to dispel the fogs of illusion.

1. "Applying the proposed minimum of \$13 for the North and \$12 for the South," declared General Johnson in his statement, "it has been calculated that the average mill wages thruout the country would be increased to 30% and hours reduced over 25%." But what we are not told is that, the 30% increase in hourly wages—and that is the basis of calculation—is almost outweighed by the 25% cut in hours. But even the slight increase in buying power that may emerge is swallowed up by the rapidly rising cost of living. It will surely not take long for the textile workers and others to see this fraud.

2. The rawest deal has certainly been gotten by the colored workers in the textile industry. A ready-made code was under consideration, John B. Davis, executive secretary of the Negro Industrial League, protested against the exclusion of cleaners and outside workers, mostly Negroes, from the minimum wage provisions. In the A. F. of L. it must be recorded that the trade union leaders present at the public hearings did not raise their voice in support of this protest. Now, in the President's order confirming the textile code, the brutal discrimination against the Negro worker is specifically confirmed, with the cynical promise that the matter is to be reviewed by January 1, 1934. We may expect that this

precedent of official jim-crowding will be carried out in other industries as well.

3. If the cotton textile code and the hearings that preceded it are any indication at all, the A. F. of L. certainly has little to look forward to in the future as far as "benefits" under the Recovery Act are concerned. All of the carefully propagated illusions about a "golden age" for labor are turning into ashes. Thruout the proceedings General Johnson took occasion more than once to point out that "the Recovery Act Administration is not going to be used for unionization" and, when all the shouting was over, the very weak textile unions found themselves bound hand and foot by government decree, they stand opposed to the most powerful combination of textile capitalists ever known in the history of the industry, the employers organized in the trade association set up under the Recovery Act. There are indications that even the conservative union leaders are beginning to feel that they did not emerge with colors flying and that everything will be so rosy in the future as they had let their members believe.

4. The whole theory and practise of the Recovery Act is based on the systematic raising of prices. "The domestic policy of price-raising," declared Secretary of State Hull at the World Conference, "is paramount." At the same time, the road to recovery, as blazed by the Recovery Act, is alleged to be thru the mass increase of buying power by means of reemployment and wage increases. That the two

clash is obvious on the face of it and it has become positively striking as reflected in the textile code.

According to the figures of the A. F. of L. the income of the working class increased about 7% in the three months preceding June 1933. But in approximately the same time, according to the report of the United States Department of Labor, the prices of all commodities rose over 11%. Investigations conducted by the New York newspapers show that from April 1 to June 15, prices of meats jumped between 15% and 50%, while vegetables rose about 40%. In the short period of one month, April 15 to May 15, Labor Department figures indicate that many vegetables rose from 16% to 40%, lard 13%, evaporated milk 12%, butter 11%, and so on. And now the price of bread is notoriously shooting up, with increases of 1 1/2c to 3c on a 5c pound-loaf already enforced and more coming.

It is only too clear that the unrestrained sky-rocketing of prices has far and away swallowed up whatever rise in total money wages there may have taken place in recent months.

Will it continue so in the immediate future under the Recovery Act? The evidence of the cotton textile code, of the sub-station standards proposed in the few trade codes already made public but, above all, of the general \$14 minimum for male workers hinted by General Johnson himself, certainly gives little hope of a change for the better in the future.

In his statement on signing the Recovery Act, President Roosevelt made the liberal use of the "spiral"

along which this country was going to mount to prosperity. Yes, we are sliding along the spiral—only downwards! "If we get too far ahead of our purchasing power," General Johnson has been frank enough to confess, "it will mean a new collapse. . . ." And that is precisely what we are heading for under General Johnson's own benevolent auspices.

The Trade Unions And The Recovery Act

The real aspect of the Recovery Act as far as the trade unions are concerned, is becoming ever clearer. It is not so easy now, after the textile code experience, to pass off the act as the highway to the unionization of the unorganized. "This Administration," the General has been repeatedly quoted as saying, "is not going to be used as a means of unionizing any industry." And the cotton code is the proof. An emergency executive meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, reported in the "New York Times" of July 11, "disclosed widespread fears that the acceptance of codes would open non-union industries to forcible unionization. . . . General Johnson has repeatedly asserted that the Recovery Administration would not let itself be used for unionization. . . . He pointed today to the cotton textile code as an example of this policy."

As a matter of fact, as the legal bulletin of the Chicago Employers Association is not slow to recognize, "the act sets up no right to organize that labor has not heretofore enjoyed." Labor is, however, robbed of rights and privileges won thru many years of hard struggle. The worst sort of class collaboration is forced upon the

workers by the government and the right to strike is more than threatened. "It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress," runs Article 1 of the National Industrial Recovery Act, "to induce and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision." And, as if to allow no doubt at all on the question, General Johnson has announced: "Manifestly the purpose of this act is to create and preserve harmonious relationships and to prevent industrial strife and class conflicts."

When the coal and steel codes come up for consideration, the last clauses of the alleged "benefits" to labor will be dissipated. All the more reason is it, therefore, for the labor movement to bend its energies to utilize the present breathing spell for a vigorous organization drive all along the line.

President Roosevelt As Employer

General Johnson ought really to have a few words with President Roosevelt. The Recovery Act Administrator regularly fills columns of newspaper space with his loud appeals against "cutting the purchasing power of labor." At the same time, President Roosevelt started his "New Deal" by giving the postal employees a 15% wage cut from April 1 to June 30, raising the total cut over 1931 to 28 1/3%. And now, as if that weren't enough, Roosevelt has continued the 15% cut to December 31 and has ordered an additional nine days "vacation" without pay, making the slash equal to a 25% reduction in pay. In the same issue of the New York newspapers in which this action was announced there were glaring headlines: "Staples Rising; Housewife's Purse Already Hit." A fine example the Federal government as employer is setting!

Austria Foreign Politics Sharpen Domestic Crisis

Vienna, Austria.

The peculiar disposition of forces in Austria today makes the course of development in this country of extraordinary significance for Europe and for the world at large. The labor movement has much to learn from what is happening in Austria these days.

In spite of the surgical operation performed after the war, Austria is still an important country in European economic and political life. Austria is the concentration point of the Balkans. At Vienna, the highways, railroads and airlines of the Balkans cross. Austria is the bridge between the whole Danube region and Western Europe. The big European power that has decided to distraction by over its rivals. In Austria itself internal development has followed the German model. The profound economic, social and political crisis has stirred up the masses of the people, driven to distraction by the Austrian patriotism; the failures of the Social-democracy and of Communism to meet the situation has made pretty inevitable the upsurge of a powerful wave of Fascism.

But the "normal" course of development, development along the German road, is considerably complicated in Austria precisely because of the latter's peculiar position in European affairs. Austria today is the scene of a bitter struggle for hegemony between Germany and Italy, and the Fascist movement is split along these lines. The Nazi wing, led by Frauenfeld and in the closest contact with the German Hitlerites, has made Pan-Germanism the basis of its agitation. The Heimwehr, led by Prince Starhemberg, boasts of its pure Austrian patriotism; but it is most obviously operating under the patronage of Mussolini; it is bitterly opposed to all "Anschluss" endeavors. A savage struggle rages between both of these Fas-

(Continued on Page 7)

Jobless Face Starvation as New York City Officials Threaten Relief Stoppage

New York City.

The announcement that he would call a special session of the State Legislature to enact measures authorizing New York City to levy additional taxes for purposes of unemployment relief, was insisted upon by Governor Herbert Lehman on July 16 in a letter to the Board of Estimate. The legislature will probably convene some time towards the end of the month.

The money raised on these new taxes is to be set aside exclusively for unemployment relief. In Tammany circles the doubling of the 1% state sales tax and even a 2c tax on the 5c transit fare are spoken of.

The unemployment relief crisis in New York City was brought about by the failure of the Board of Estimate to make any provision for the relief of the jobless for

the month of July. Wages of work relief employees were cut off and there was a serious prospect that all home relief would be stopped likewise. Furthermore, the failure of the city to make any appropriations endangered the \$2,000,000 grant from state funds.

A large delegation of the Association of the Unemployed, together with representatives from the Workers Committee on Unemployment and the Workers Unemployed Leagues, gathered at City Hall on the morning of July 11, to protest to Mayor O'Brien and the Board of Estimate against the failure on the part of the city administration to provide funds to enable the relief bureaus to continue home and work relief for thousands of unemployed workers

and their families.

Hundreds of unemployed workers crowded the stairs and corridors of City Hall in an effort to present their demands at a meeting of the Board of Estimate scheduled to be held today. When it was discovered that the Board of Estimate meeting had been called off, a joint committee of the three organizations was chosen to take up the matter with Mayor O'Brien in his office. Meanwhile the unemployed workers who had become indignant at the callousness of the city officials left the building and assembled at City Hall Park and held an open-air meeting. Later the delegation to Mayor O'Brien came out and reported that the Mayor had refused to see the entire delegation and had also refused to agree to take any

(Continued on page 6)

Germany "Second Stage" Of Fascist Drive Sets In

Berlin, Germany.

The long foreseen "second stage" in the Nazi overturn has begun. In a series of declarations issued by Hitler and his chief lieutenants during the first two weeks of July, it is repeatedly emphasized that the "national revolution has been definitely concluded"; there being no political parties left besides the National-Socialist organization. The radical promises of the Nazis in the period before the seizure and even immediately after, which deluded many workers and lower middle class people into believing Hitler would inaugurate "real German socialism", are being repudiated and the Reichs-Chancellor has ordered that "all interference with industry cease." Openly and without any attempt at disguise, Hitler is working intimately with the heads of trust capital to "stabilize the economic situation"; that is, to suppress all signs of unrest and rebellion in the ranks of the workers.

The transformation of Hitler from a "demagogue" into a "statesman", as capitalist opinion here gleefully greets it, symbolizes a natural stage in the development of Fascism after the seizure of power. This same turn of events, however, has aroused considerable resentment among large sections of the Nazi members and followers who demand a "second revolution" and "drastic measure against the capitalists" to bring about some benefit to the masses. A definite oppositional sentiment or tendency seems to be developing among the National-Socialists, unformed, unorganized, unled, as yet more of a mood than anything else. The heavy hand of official repression is already being felt. Any talk of the "second revolution", any "interference with industry", will be punished as "insurrection against 'The Leader.'"

HELP THE "WORKERS AGE"!

Hear Ye! Hear Ye! A special one month Sub and Sales Drive—July 20 to August 20—is being initiated by the "Workers Age"! We set no unachievable goals! We outline a few small, but necessary tasks! We ask the cooperation of our readers, our sympathizers and each and every individual member of the Communist Opposition! Every one get set and ready to go—here's your job!
NEW YORK CITY: Downtown Branch, 30 subs; Brooklyn Branch, 20 subs; Bronx Branch, 20 subs; Harlem Branch, 10 subs; Youth Branch 20 subs; Total: 100 subs.
The organizations out-of-town will be assigned their quotas. In the meantime, get started! Get renewals! Get new subs! Get more news stands and book stores to sell the "Age"!

We will report your results! Who will set the example?
The last issue of the "Age" was ALL SOLD OUT! That's the way to do it! And from Boston comes a rush call for one hundred additional copies of the "Age" but we have none to send them—all sold out! Our comrades there working in the shoe industry are setting an example for all comrades to follow. We're referring to the needle trade particularly! The last issue of the "Age" had articles on Local 22, Local 1, and the furriers but not a word from the comrades for ADDITIONAL copies. Special mention must be made, however, of the good Eva Shlachter, Bella Engels, M. Druth and Celia Lichtman! We need more such examples!

Where are the furriers? Why so little response? This is a challenge!
The Youth and Harlem Branches have been doing some excellent work in selling "Ages" before the Stadium with good results! Keep it up! Comrade Hannah Wucher is setting an example.
From Montreal comes a request for additional copies of the "Age"! From Comrade Birchman in Fort Wayne: "Send more copies of the 'Age' for special work amongst the Proletarian Party members..." From Los Angeles—the same! There's no mistake—the drive is on! Who will rank first in subs and sales? Let's hear from you!

JOIN!

JOIN the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition) and do your bit towards uniting the Communist movement on the basis of effective, realistic Leninist tactics!

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

SUBSCRIBE!

SUBSCRIBE to the "Workers Age", official paper of the Communist Opposition, and keep informed as to all developments of interest to labor at home and abroad.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

DELICIOUS FOOD? GOOD SERVICE? go to
Field's
RESTAURANT
523 Sixth Avenue
N. Y. C.

German Social-Democracy Today

Some Current Tendencies and Tasks

by A. P.

Berlin, Germany.
The situation within the German Social-democratic Party today is extremely complicated because the party is breaking up in all sorts of ways and new groupings and line-ups are setting in. Moreover, the development varies considerably in the different states and provinces. In the following we can attempt to give only an outline sketch of the recent developments in the German Social-Democracy.

Chief Tendencies

The following are the chief tendencies and lines of development: First, there are two sorts of Socialist deserters: the kind which publicly deserts and goes over to the Nazis and the kind which deserts by going back to "private life". The number of deserters of the first kind is much higher, both absolutely and relatively, among the Socialists than among the Communists. Those going over to the Nazis come from all levels of the Socialist organization, from the top officialdom down through the levels of middle and lower functionaries, down even to plain party members. Socialist trade union leaders who "stand guard at their post" play a leading role in this movement of desertion to the Nazis. The "Newcomer Socialists" must also be referred to at this point. This is the name given to those who, for careerist reasons, joined up with the Socialists after November 1918 and who, for the same reasons, are today going over to the Nazis. Often, deserters to the Nazis say quite frankly that they are doing so in order to hold on to their jobs. Many of them, however, inform against old party comrades. Consequently, mutual mistrust rages within the ranks of the German Social-democratic Party. Nobody can be sure that his old-time comrade of yesterday is not an open or a disguised Nazi today.

The second type of deserter, namely, those who withdraw to "private life", make up a large group. This group comprises officials who had been elected to all sorts of public bodies. Now, they simply refuse to have anything to do with political activity. The policy of marking time and of opportunism is being followed by an influential section of the S.P.G. This tendency is characterized by the effort to hold together the party, if needs be illegally, but, at the same time, any and every effective weapon against the Fascist dictatorship, such as distribution of illegal literature is renounced. In other words: "Keep mum!" and follow the prevailing winds after your own fashion. To this end, they play with the idea of being "front soldiers" on the new national scene; the patriotic note is struck. An example of this tendency was the readiness with which the Socialist fraction in the Reichstag applauded Hitler's speech on foreign affairs. But this group, advocating policies of passivity toward the Fascist regime is quite vigorous and ready for action when it comes to dealing with party members who are ready, on their own or together with Communists, to carry on active illegal work. Probably most of the old Socialist leaders and officials left in Germany are advocates of this policy of marking time and of fitting in with the demands of the Fascist regime.

A Bourgeois-Democratic Opposition

A third tendency is that of revivifying the Socialist movement as a Social-democratic, that is to say, a bourgeois-democratic opposition to the Fascist dictatorship. The leaders of the movement are the younger Socialist functionaries, especially the group known either as "Activists" or "Newcomers". The primary demand of this group is for the removal of the old Socialist leadership. Nevertheless, a section of this old leadership is showing itself quite ready to join up with this new movement. An attempt is being made to give the movement a leftist appearance. For example, it is declared that the value of bourgeois democracy has been exaggerated. Furthermore, attempts

are made, in the style of Otto Bauer, at coquetting with the notion of proletarian dictatorship. Perhaps this tendency can best be summed up in the formula: Reconstruction of the German Socialist Party on a centrist basis, that is to say, radical talk garnishing reformist first principles. Undoubtedly, this tendency is the most dangerous obstacle in the way of freeing the minds of the Socialist rank and file of the illusions of reformism.

The Tendency To Communism

There is undoubtedly a strong tendency among Socialist workers of Germany today to move in the direction of Communism. For after the smash-up of the view that passivity and acceptance among large sections of the workers that bourgeois democracy was a snare, that the way of revolutionary seizure of power was the only way open to the workers and that the dictatorship of the proletariat must be set up against the dictatorship of the Fascists.

But there are many severe obstacles in the way of further winning the workers to Communism. Among these are the ultra-left policies and the bureaucratic methods of the Communist Party of Ger-

less, the main lines of further development can already be discerned quite clearly.

To accelerate this tendency in the direction of Communism, the following measures are essential: 1. The reform of the Communist Party: the complete and frank abandonment of the remnants of ultra-left policies of the C.P.G.; the abandonment of bureaucratic methods of party government; the renovation of the leadership of the C.P.G.; the genuine participation of the rank and file in the selection of officers and in the determination of tactics and strategy in the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship.

2. Firm opposition to current liquidation tendencies which are springing up under the slogan of "new" or "second" party (Trotsky, S.W.P.).

3. Firm opposition to the centrist, "Activistic" tendencies in the Social-democratic Party of Germany.

4. United front tactics; setting to work at once to organize illegal trade unions, that is to say, the rebuilding of class trade unions functioning in the first place as cadre groups in organizing and leading the class struggle on the industrial

front.

The Communist Opposition was the first to direct attention to these measures. The hour has struck for putting these measures into effect.

Further discussion of the situation in the Social-democratic Party and an examination of the position and role of the Socialist Workers Party will be found in another article from Germany in a future issue of the "Age" —Editor.

times even before it takes power, destroys all organizations of labor. Not only that, but it proceeds inexorably to establish the one-party "totalitarian" state, dissolving all non-Fascist social organizations of any nature, no matter how useful they may be. The course of events in Italy in the last ten years and in Germany in the last four months are evidence enough of this.

Who will maintain that Roosevelt is doing anything of the sort? 7. Fascism in power immediately destroys all parliamentary and all democratic institutions and proceeds to rule the land through an iron dictatorship exercised by the Fascist party, dominating all institutions and organizations of any sort.

The Executive dictatorship of President Roosevelt is frequently likened to this feature of Fascism. But the analogy is altogether fallacious. The concentration of power in the hands of the Executive is a natural tendency of parliamentary democracy in its last stages and, when the situation is especially critical, as during the World War, for example, the power of the President of the United States is well-nigh unlimited. The capitalist class, quite properly regards the present situation as grave and emergency as war time and is ready to draw the logical political conclusions.

8. Under the impact of well-known economic influences, Fascism drives towards the liquidation of the present situation as grave and emergency as war time and is ready to draw the logical political conclusions.

It is here that Roosevelt's Fascism is frequently found. The National Industrial Recovery Act is quite correct in its aim of regulation of a highly organized capitalist economy by the state-fostered and the sharp defeat suffered as a result, disfigured and alienated the petty bourgeoisie and gave impetus to the Fascist movement. In Germany the disastrous divisions in the labor movement, the reformist capitulation policy of the Social-democracy and the suicidal sectarianism of the Communist Party, had the same effect: the working class was itself demoralized and rendered passive and the lower middle class elements were driven away into the waiting arms of Fascism.

In the United States the whole problem has no meaning today because the labor movement has never reached the stage where it could even dream of making a bid for power.

4. Fascism on the way to power appears as an uncompromising pseudo-radical popular movement, bitterly opposed to the traditional parties of capitalism. It makes extensive use of a reckless radical demagoguery, appropriate to the historical development of the country. In Germany, with a Socialist tradition, it is National-Socialism; in Italy, with a syndicalist tradition, it championed a kind of "National-Syndicalism."

This very fact alone shows how totally false it is to regard the Roosevelt regime as Fascism. Where is the Fascist movement? The Democratic Party? Did Roosevelt come to power as the head of a movement bitterly opposed to the traditional parties of American capitalism?

5. The Fascist movement preaches contempt of conventional legality as a principle and organizes its own extra-legal armed detachments (Black-Shirt Militia in Italy, Brown-Shirt Storm-Troops in Germany) both as a weapon of power against the bourgeois parties and as a means of suppression of the labor movement.

In this connection it is even more absurd to regard Roosevelt as an American Hitler or Mussolini.

6. Fascism in power, and some-

There is a significant revival of trade unionism in New England, a revival brought about by the crisis and an avalanche of wage cuts which reduced wages to about 25% of 1927-28 scales. The result was a deep-going and spontaneous revolt against the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, which had become a hindrance in the struggle for improvement of conditions, and an outlaw strike wave, which spread thru every shoe town of any size, with the exception of Brockton. This strike wave resulted in the crystallization of a new union, the National Shoe Workers Association, with some 15,000 members and an excellent leadership.

The second tendency, coming from a group of delegates to the Planning Board who are influenced, whether they know it or not, by the representatives of the official Communist Party and its Shoe Workers Industrial Union. This tendency was represented at the convention by M. Klarfeld, who is the Planning Board member who has not only fostered dual unionist split sentiment but has even attempted directly to precipitate this fratricidal struggle thru its frantic efforts at an immediate call for a new union.

At its first national convention in Brockton, June 17 to 20, the National Shoe Workers Association made a number of momentous decisions which may go far to change the whole trade union map in the shoe industry.

The shoe workers are suffering from altogether too many unions (not unionism) which, keeping the workers divided and separated into many different groups working at cross purposes, makes a united stand against the bosses very difficult. This condition the workers realize, full well, and the result is that there has developed a burning desire for amalgamation. From its very inception the National Shoe Workers Association sharply raised the question of amalgamation with the Shoe Workers Protective Union in opposition to the leadership of both organizations hindered any rapid progress in that direction. The pressure of the workers resulted, however, in the establishment of the Planning Board, a body which consists of elected delegates from locals of the National, the Protective and other unions, whose aim is to force the amalgamation of all unions into one.

This board has to its credit the keeping of the amalgamation movement constantly before the front, thus making it difficult for the leadership of either union to scuttle the campaign. This is the positive side of the work of the Planning Board. It presents, however, also signs of danger in the direction of dual unionism.

Two Tendencies
There exist within the Planning Board two distinct tendencies. The progressive forces (those who are in the majority at the convention of the National Shoe Association, headed by the group consisting of Paul and Michael Salvaggio, Sidney Jonas, Vincent D'Orazio, William Richards, etc.) stand upon a platform of genuine amalgamation of the whole union and under no circumstances parts of unions. They believe the mission of the Planning Board to be that of agitating for the amalgamation of all shoe workers unions by bringing to bear the full pressure of the rank and file of all organizations. It was this group that actively supported the resolution on amalgamation at the N.S.W.A. convention. Under this resolution an authoritative committee was set up with the instructions of the convention to negotiate with similar committees from other unions for amalgamation because it was the unanimous opinion of the convention that amalgamation would not be brought about by negotiations between officials. In the discussion of this resolution, the functions of both the Planning Board and the Provisional Committee were carefully defined. The Planning Board is definitely recognized as an unofficial rank and file agitational instrument for amalgamation; the Provisional Committee the official negotiating body. Thus the two bodies will supplement each other in their activities. The most significant provision in the resolution is that no agreement that this committee may reach can become binding unless it is first adopted by the membership of the respective unions. The delegates correctly

defeated a motion introduced by Delegate Klarfeld asking the General Executive Board of the N.S.W.A. to instruct all locals to send delegates to the Planning Board. Such a motion, if enacted, would have undermined the influence and effectiveness of the Planning Board because the strength of the Planning Board lies in the fact that it is a voluntary, unofficial rank and file agitational movement.

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The Shoe Workers Are Organizing!

Amalgamation Comes to the Fore

by Shoe Worker

Boston, Mass.

There is a significant revival of trade unionism in New England, a revival brought about by the crisis and an avalanche of wage cuts which reduced wages to about 25% of 1927-28 scales. The result was a deep-going and spontaneous revolt against the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, which had become a hindrance in the struggle for improvement of conditions, and an outlaw strike wave, which spread thru every shoe town of any size, with the exception of Brockton. This strike wave resulted in the crystallization of a new union, the National Shoe Workers Association, with some 15,000 members and an excellent leadership.

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There exist within the Planning Board two distinct tendencies. The progressive forces (those who are in the majority at the convention of the National Shoe Association, headed by the group consisting of Paul and Michael Salvaggio, Sidney Jonas, Vincent D'Orazio, William Richards, etc.) stand upon a platform of genuine amalgamation of the whole union and under no circumstances parts of unions. They believe the mission of the Planning Board to be that of agitating for the amalgamation of all shoe workers unions by bringing to bear the full pressure of the rank and file of all organizations. It was this group that actively supported the resolution on amalgamation at the N.S.W.A. convention. Under this resolution an authoritative committee was set up with the instructions of the convention to negotiate with similar committees from other unions for amalgamation because it was the unanimous opinion of the convention that amalgamation would not be brought about by negotiations between officials. In the discussion of this resolution, the functions of both the Planning Board and the Provisional Committee were carefully defined. The Planning Board is definitely recognized as an unofficial rank and file agitational instrument for amalgamation; the Provisional Committee the official negotiating body. Thus the two bodies will supplement each other in their activities. The most significant provision in the resolution is that no agreement that this committee may reach can become binding unless it is first adopted by the membership of the respective unions. The delegates correctly

defeated a motion introduced by Delegate Klarfeld asking the General Executive Board of the N.S.W.A. to instruct all locals to send delegates to the Planning Board. Such a motion, if enacted, would have undermined the influence and effectiveness of the Planning Board because the strength of the Planning Board lies in the fact that it is a voluntary, unofficial rank and file agitational movement.

est menace to the welfare of the shoe workers and that, unless this tendency is curbed by the shoe workers themselves, it will lead to worse disruption and demoralization than is the lot of the shoe workers today. A few facts will prove that this menace is real and does not arise from the imagination of the writer.

Prior to the convention of the National Shoe Workers Association and T.U.U.L. people circulated a resolution among the delegates to the Planning Board calling for the convocation of a convention to which were to be invited delegates from all local unions, from individual shops, mass meetings of unorganized workers and from meetings of groups of unemployed "shoe" workers. The source of this resolution was its aim of packing and controlling this "convention" that it died unmentioned by its drafters.

During the very sessions of the National Shoe Workers Association convention the official Communist Party attempted to railroad a resolution at the Planning Board

A Grave Menace
It is the writer's opinion that this tendency represents the grav-

In Defense Of Free Public Education

THE DRIVE AGAINST MILITANT TEACHERS

by P.

New York City.

The past few months have witnessed a growing attack on the part of the Tammany-controlled educational authorities of New York City against those teachers who, in the face of the miserable retrenchment program introduced by the bankers and real estate owners, in an attempt to saddle the burden of the economic crisis upon working class children, have stood up bravely and militantly in defense of the system of free public education won by the efforts of American labor after many decades of struggle.

Beginning with transfers to hard and out-of-the-way schools, which did not have the desired intimidatory effect, the campaign has broadened out to outright expulsions. The first victim was Isidore Blumberg, of the Teachers Committee, who was expelled from the ranks of the National, the Protective and other unions, whose aim is to force the amalgamation of all unions into one.

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The second tendency, coming from a group of delegates to the Planning Board who are influenced, whether they know it or not, by the representatives of the official Communist Party and its Shoe Workers Industrial Union. This tendency was represented at the convention by M. Klarfeld, who is the Planning Board member who has not only fostered dual unionist split sentiment but has even attempted directly to precipitate this fratricidal struggle thru its frantic efforts at an immediate call for a new union.

At its first national convention in Brockton, June 17 to 20, the National Shoe Workers Association made a number of momentous decisions which may go far to change the whole trade union map in the shoe industry.

The shoe workers are suffering from altogether too many unions (not unionism) which, keeping the workers divided and separated into many different groups working at cross purposes, makes a united stand against the bosses very difficult. This condition the workers realize, full well, and the result is that there has developed a burning desire for amalgamation. From its very inception the National Shoe Workers Association sharply raised the question of amalgamation with the Shoe Workers Protective Union in opposition to the leadership of both organizations hindered any rapid progress in that direction. The pressure of the workers resulted, however, in the establishment of the Planning Board, a body which consists of elected delegates from locals of the National, the Protective and other unions, whose aim is to force the amalgamation of all unions into one.

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meeting calling a convention to set up a new union. It is significant that the fighters for this resolution were official Communists who are members of the National Shoe Workers Union. The only explanation is that the dual unionists attempted to dramatize their desire for creating a new, a dual union.

This effort is continuing even after the convention, despite the fact that a committee was elected by the convention of the National Shoe Workers Association to negotiate with the Protective for amalgamation.

What would result from the effort to launch still another union? Even the official Communists are not so naive nor have they been carried away on their "successes" on the trade union field as to believe that they can sweep the field clean. The best they can hope for is to get a split-off group from both units to go with them. And then what? Split local unions, divided shop crews, shop snatching and mutual slugging. This is the case in other unions (New York furriers, New York dressmakers) where such policies have been applied.

The total false conception of the official Communist Party that the Negro people in the United States form a separate nation, a national minority striving for self-determination in the so-called Black Belt, would lead logically and inevitably to a reactionary nationalism, to a communistic tainted with the reactionary philosophy of racism. The June 3, 1933 issue of "The Liberator", the paper of the League for the Struggle for Negro Rights, confirms these contentions to the hilt.

"The Liberator" reports, in a characteristically lying and distorted manner, the attempt of the I. L. D. bureaucrats to destroy the Roy Wright Branch of the I. L. D. because it had stood solid in defense of the non-partisan character of the Negro organization. In the course of its indecent ravings, it makes the following significant remarks:

"Jenkins, a Negro, supported white supremacy ideas by ruling down the section representative, and by expelling a young white woman" happened to be a member of the branch and entitled to take the floor in accordance with the rules. The "young Negro woman" happened to be one of the disrupters, to whom, nevertheless, all courtesies and privileges were extended. But nevertheless it is "supporting white supremacy ideas" to let a member of the branch speak rather than the "section representative"! Is this not the crudest appeal to race prejudice? Has this any relation at all to the spirit of proletarian class solidarity, wiping away all distinctions of color or race? To criticize the leaders of the I. L. D. in Harlem has become a crime because they are colored! To criticize the national leadership of the I. L. D. is to become a "Negro" because the secretary is a Negro! In what does this differ from the demagogic cries of the Garveyites that the Emperor of Abyssinia was to be attacked for their oppressive acts because he is black, both they and the Negroes? Are we to be permitted to criticize Dr. Moton and Representative DePriest? They too are Negroes. Is not the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. much more Negro than the leadership of the I.L.D.? How dare the "Dark Worker" criticize the N.A.A.C.P. To "The Liberator" it is not a question whether the policies of the I. L. D.

Teachers Union issued a statement condemning the actions of the Board of Education.

It is our belief that a broad campaign of various groups, including

The New York Free Mooney Meet

Another Free Tom Mooney United Front Conference was held in New York on June 25, at Irving Plaza, for the purpose of establishing a local Tom Mooney Council of Action, in accordance with the decisions of the recent national conference in Chicago.

Dead Sea Fruit

This conference was smaller in size and, in its policy, approach and methods, even more sectarian and undemocratic than the conference held in New York last March. The Communist Party policies bear dead-sea-fruit. Each successive united front grows narrower in proportion as the number of issues grows greater.

Over 300 delegates from 74 organizations were present. Only a dozen A. F. of L. locals were represented! As against 15 delegates from all A. F. of L. unions, there were 30 delegates of the official Communist Party, 44 of the I.L.D., 59 from the I. W. O., 11 from "block committees," 26 from workers clubs and foreign language fraternal organizations. A fine-tooth comb would be needed to discover the non-Communist organizations!

The resolution presented by the conference leadership did not make the fight for the release of Mooney and Billings the basis of the conference but combined a whole series of issues, including the defense of the Scottsboro boys, the struggle for Negro rights, the fight for the release of Sam Gochak and of Sam Weinstein, and of other class war prisoners, the defense of the Fur Department of the N. T. W. U. against the attack of the police and the A. F. of L. officials, the support of the striking bakers and the defense of workers arrested for demonstrating against the Hitler representative, Hans Weisbord. In addition, the resolution contained a retreat back to the old position of the "united front from below" of the official Communist Party and proposed to involve particularly the "A. F. of L. locals and branches of the Socialist Party."

The Position Of The C.P.-O.

B. Herman, the delegate of the Communist Party (Opposition), warned against the narrowing down of the fight for the freedom of Mooney and Billings by the introduction of all sorts of extraneous issues which could appeal only to the most advanced sections of the labor movement. While the Chicago national conference had attempted to combine the Free Mooney movement with the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the New York conference went even further and was attempting to make a combined I.L.D. and Trade Union Unity League. To the argument, constantly repeated by the official party's speakers, that the struggle for the release of Tom Mooney could not be separated from all other struggles of the workers, therefore necessitating their inclusion as conditions for joining in the fight for Tom Mooney, Herman answered that the connection was just as clearly evident in the case of other struggles of the workers, such as the defense of the Soviet Union and the fight for the official leadership that their inclusion would hurt and narrow the fight for Mooney and not help it. The fact had proven the harmful results of the policy of "omnibus united fronts" on all issues plus the "united front from below"; the representation of A. F. of L. locals and non-Communist organizations, small as it was before, had declined sharply!

The Communist Opposition delegation presented amendments proposing to broaden the united front by making the actual basis of the movement the fight for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, asserting that solidarity with other class war prisoners and the other struggles of the toilers should not change the character of the conference and proposing to address appeals to the Central Trades and Labor Council, and to

Sectarianism Kills a Great Movement!

the Socialist Party of New York as well as to the local organizations.

The delegates of Local 22, I.L.L. G.W.U., Bella Engels and Louis Nelson, correctly attacked the extremely injurious sectarian effort to drag into the conference the internal disputes in the trade unions, as in the case of the furriers, and make them the basis of a Tom Mooney conference.

The reply of Robert Minor, the main reporter and generalissimo of the gathering, revealed unbelievable depths of infantile sectarian stupidity and inane demagoguery. He hailed the "united front from below" as the only weapon for the release of Mooney. The "Love-letters" he barked, were the bootlickers of the trade union bureaucrats. However, reminding himself of the constant new turns of the Communist International, he remarked: "Of course, we can send letters to officials of the labor movement. We can even sit with them at the same table. Did I not sit at one table with the chief of police of New York, when it was necessary? In a similar manner, I will meet with Norman Thomas." This Minorian conception of the united front with Norman Thomas and the chief of police is the latest painful contribution to official Communist "theory."

This flow of concentrated stupidity did not exhaust the vast reservoir of Robert Minor. To prove that the exclusion of extraneous issues was a betrayal of the workers, he insisted that "the Love-letters propose the same basis for the release of Mooney that the capitalists do when they offer him a pardon on condition that he refrain from the class struggle!" Reminding himself that Mooney was framed up in connection with the "united front from below" of the official Communist Party and proposed to involve particularly the "A. F. of L. locals and branches of the Socialist Party."

Bureaucratic Repression

The conference was handled in the most bureaucratic fashion. No credentials, resolutions or nominations committee were chosen from the floor. Minor, a Communist official, openly delivered orders to

the chairman and to the conference delegates from the proceedings. He ordered the gathering not to elect representatives of the various Communist oppositions to the executive committee of 25 and his instructions were dutifully executed by the obliging party delegates. The executive was packed with delegates from the Womens Councils, Unemployed Councils, League of Professional Workers, Alteration Painters and other favorite mass organizations chosen at all party conferences.

The role of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action ("Mustelites") and of the Trotsky opposition was that of a pitiful tail-end to the sectarian course of the official party. The C.P.L.A. delegate declared that "unless you support the furriers fight you cannot fight for the liberation of Tom Mooney." The Weisbordites demanded that the resolution on the conference was collecting passengers (like an omnibus collecting passengers) it should also contain a passage on the issues relating to unemployment. This was rejected, although, according to party logic, it representing a "betrayal" and "neglect of the struggles of the unemployed."

The members of the Communist Opposition, unintimidated by the lynching spirit deliberately engendered by the party bureaucrats and disregarding the outrageous boogie and threats hurled at them in this conference, fought through the resolution for a policy that alone could broaden the Free Tom Mooney movement to include the mass organizations of the American workers and thus make it an effective weapon in the liberation of Mooney and Billings.

AND IN DETROIT AND THE ANTHRACITE

Supplementing the account of the New York Mooney Conference, we present reports of latest developments in Detroit and the Anthracite to illustrate the inevitable consequences of the disruptive sectarianism of the official Communist Party today dominating the Free Mooney movement.

Slovenian Society Congress in Chicago

Chicago, Ill.

The convention of the Slovenian National Benefit Society, held from May 22 to June 2, was well organized by the Socialist-controlled Executive Board before it convened. The convention committee was pre-arranged; a list of names was proposed to the delegates upon their arrival. The Socialist-picked committee was elected because the other two groups at the convention were not organized. One of these groups was a "center" group, dissatisfied with the Socialist machine but undecided for an energetic fight. The other group was a left wing group, composed of Communists and progressive elements. The relation of voting strength was about as follows: Out of a total of 209 votes, the Socialists had from 72 to 80, the left wing group between 40 and 45 and the rest to the "center" and the "independents."

The left wing group was not organized. The South Slavic Section of the official Communist Party had not worked hard before the convention. At this convention the official C.P. and the Communist Opposition worked together. The representative of the C.P. worked in full harmony with Frank Vrataric of the C.P.-O.

The real fight of the left wing group against the S.P. machine was to continue having this organization as its auxiliary to cover up corruption and to reserve jobs for

its members. The left wing did not score any victory at this convention except that it established itself as a real constructive group fighting in the interests of the membership.

The "center" group hesitated to support us in the fight because they were afraid of the accusations of the Socialist machine, especially in view of the way the Socialists had pictured this group before the convention. These arguments were knocked out of the Socialists hands at the convention; and the sentiment of the membership was with our fight.

The biggest cry that the Socialists are making is that they have lost five seats on the Executive Board. Previously the board had been composed of 10 in which there were 16 Socialists; now the Board has 19, of which 10 are Socialists. The two lists for the Executive Board were distributed by the Socialists and the "center" group; the left wing did not have a list at the convention. The attempt was made to formulate one with the rank and file delegates but this was overruled by the leaders of the "center" group. Comrade Rimac of the official C.P. was the only one of the list for the Board of Trustees and he received 71 votes. Later on, rank and file delegates agreed to support Com-

THE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS IN N. Y.

(Continued from page 3)

steps to overcome the present emergency.

"The Association of the Unemployed," stated Jack Rubinstein acting organizer, "is alarmed by the manifest indifference shown by Mayor O'Brien. All he does to meet the present crisis is to cry: 'Confidence! Everything will come out all right!' Our Association, a non-political, non-partisan organization, co-operated with the two other unemployed organizations in an attempt to get a joint audience with the Mayor on the relief crisis. But for reasons best known to the Mayor himself, he refused to see a delegation of the joint unemployed organizations."

"From all indications it appears that Tammany Hall, with Mayor O'Brien as its smoke-screen, is attempting to use the miserable situation of the unemployed as a football in order to put across a sales tax on foodstuffs and other necessities which the majority of working people depend upon.

"In the face of rising prices, the placing of a sales tax on foodstuffs and the cutting of the basic wages of work relief workers as much as \$10 a month, which has already been made public, will only serve to fan the flames of discontent.

"The Association of Unemployed is determined that, in view of the present Administration indifference to the sufferings of the unemployed, we are going to do everything in our power to go before all friendly labor organizations with the aim of uniting the unemployed and employed on an impartial, non-political basis to organize a monster demonstration such as New York has never seen."

A CORRECTION

We have received the following statement as a press release of the Association of the Unemployed.—Ed.

New York City

The Association of the Unemployed wishes to take this occasion to correct the impression unwittingly created by reports in several of the metropolitan newspapers on July 12, 1933, that the unemployed delegation appearing before the Mayor on July 11 was a Socialist delegation. As a matter of fact, the delegation was a joint committee of three unemployed organizations.

In cooperation with the Workers Committee on Unemployment and the Workers Unemployed League, the Association of the Unemployed acted with the specific understanding that all political opinions as well as affiliations would be laid aside and all efforts be concentrated upon preventing the city cutting relief.

We would like to point out that Mr. David Lasser did not represent the Socialist Party; he was the chairman of the joint committee of three unemployed organizations.

The Association of the Unemployed, in its program and statement of principles, emphatically declares for the non-partisan character of the unemployed movement. We are just as emphatically opposed to the formation of a Socialist-controlled unemployed movement as we are to the formation of a Communist-controlled unemployed movement. We believe that no good will be done by dividing the unemployed according to their political affiliation. It so happens that none of the representatives which represented the Association of the Unemployed in the delegation which visited Mayor O'Brien, were members or followers of the Socialist Party. We would appreciate if your publication would oblige us by presenting this item to your readers and so help us to change the wrong impression created.

WATCH FOR IT
The New Workers
School will soon
Announce its
FALL TERM

LOGIC OF GARVEYITE COMMUNISM

(Continued from page 5)

are right or wrong, are helpful or harmful to the cause of labor defense; it is only a question of whether the leadership of the I. L.L. is white or colored. What is this if not the grossest "racialism", the crudest Garveyism? Such is the logic of the false doctrine of "self-determination!"

"What Is the Communist Opposition?"

by B. D. WOLFE

10 cents
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WORKERS AGE
51 West 14th Street
New York City

Spanish Political Parties And the Recent Crisis

We publish below some paragraphs from the June 15, 1933 issue of "La Batalla", the central paper of the Iberian Communist Federation, issued in Barcelona, Spain. The Iberian Communist Federation ("Maurin group") is closely associated with the International Communist Opposition.—Editor.

Barcelona, Spain. During the recent crisis, the position of the Right was completely clear. It demanded another government and the dissolution of the Cortes. Reaction has its logic.

Unfortunately, however, such logic is not so easy to find in the workers movement.

"El Socialista" (a Socialist Party paper) advocated a return to the former situation.

"C. N. T." (an Anarcho-Syndicalist paper) broke a lance against the return of Azana and limited itself to what is really the same as coming out in favor of Lerroux (the candidate of the Rights).

"Mundo Obrero" (the official Communist Party paper), on time as usual, demanded a government based on Soviets. Since there are no Soviets in Spain, not even in prospect, this slogan was far from revolutionary.

Thus, in practice, the official Communist Party went lining behind the Anarcho-Syndicalists and behind the Fascism of "La Tierra."

The only correct slogan at this moment was that which our party, the Iberian Communist Federation, launched: "Out with the bourgeois ministers from the governments!"

TROTSKYTES SPLIT IN SPAIN

Barcelona, Spain. The Trotskyist organization is copied after Stalinism: bureaucracy, dictatorship, imposition of "leaders," etc. And, sure enough, the same causes produce the same effects.

There is a crisis in the official

Austria

(Continued from Page 3)

Austria has taken the German road in another sense also. The Dollfuss government (resting on the Christian-Social Party) is the Austrian equivalent of the von Papen regime. It is a desperate attempt of the Austrian bourgeoisie to stave off the "last resort" of Fascism. But with this difference. In Germany von Papen was practically isolated from all vital forces in political life; in Austria Dollfuss has succeeded in utilizing the conflict of Fascist tendencies as well as the conflict of foreign orientations, to win the support of the Heimwehr movement. In the nature of the case, this alliance cannot last very long but, for the time being, it lends the Dollfuss regime a certain stability by serving as its extra-parliamentary base.

And here again considerations of foreign policy enter directly. Italy stands openly behind the Dollfuss-Heimwehr combination. Behind the Austrian Nazis, in bitter opposition to Dollfuss, French opinion is characteristically divided in view of the coexistence of Franco-German and Franco-Italian antagonisms. The French Left, especially the Delors group, is inclined to a compromise with Mussolini and therefore to conditional support of Dollfuss; the main thing, in its eyes, is to stave off German influence in the Danube regions. The French Right, on the other hand, tends in the opposite direction. While not urging any formal support of Hitlerite aspirations, it holds that the paramount thing is to refuse all concessions to Mussolini, to "block the attempts of Italy to raise itself into a first class power, to become a rival of France, and the Heimwehr" to checkmate both Italy and Germany thru the consolidation of a block of Austria, Hungary and the Little Entente, is proposed. French conservative policy is aimed, therefore, at breaking away Dollfuss (and the Heimwehr) from Italian influence and bringing them under the aegis of French imperialism. So the situa-

tion stands today.

The historical bankruptcy of the Austrian Social-democracy is even more striking than that of the German party. Relatively the strongest organization in the Socialist International, parading its "left" its "Marxist" pretensions upon all occasions, it is capitulating withal even a struggle. The "Marxism" of Otto Bauer is an arsenal of arguments for political passivity, for doing nothing in the face of the enemy.

The Communist Party of Austria is practically non-existent or, organizationally and completely non-existent politically. Its fantastic sectarianism has become a by-word and a scandal. It is completely out of the picture as far as current developments are concerned.

A. R.

Read Spread

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WORKERS AGE

C. P. Unemployed Council Wrecks Federation

Chicago, Illinois.

On July 8, 1933, at Mirror Hall, there took place a conference to establish the Cook County Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America. There were present representatives of the Workers League, of the Communist Party-controlled Unemployed Council of the I.W.W. Unemployed Union, and of two branches of the Workers Committee on Unemployment ("Borders movement"). The Chicago Workers Committee had been represented at the recent national conference but had not affiliated to the Federation. A letter had been sent out by Borders the several days before the meeting. The Workers Committee not to attend this Cook County conference; two branches, however, did so on their own initiative.

The situation which this conference faced and which still exists today was very grave indeed, and emphasized strongly the need for the unity of the unemployed. Relief benefits constantly reduced; over 30,000 families taken off the lists altogether because of the refusal to sign the "pauper pledge" to send their sons to the forced labor camps; the complete spread of evictions and the shutting off of gas and electricity; the

historical bankruptcy of the Austrian Social-democracy is even more striking than that of the German party. Relatively the strongest organization in the Socialist International, parading its "left" its "Marxist" pretensions upon all occasions, it is capitulating withal even a struggle. The "Marxism" of Otto Bauer is an arsenal of arguments for political passivity, for doing nothing in the face of the enemy.

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Upon a vote, the majority won. A chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer and a committee of seven were elected. The workers League members refused to participate on the committee but did help to place Satir, a Trotskyite, on the committee to the displeasure of Guss and Company.

The result of the whole conference was that the Unemployed Council simply named another committee to cover up its own organization.

A. R.

ence must consider ways and means of meeting this situation and preventing the dissipation of any opposition movement in the direction of Trotskyism.

SWISS OPPOSITION IN CONFERENCE

Schaffhausen, Switzerland.

On June 30 and 11 there took place here a plenary session of the National Committee of the Communist Party of Switzerland (Opposition). The most important point of discussion was the estimation of the present situation and the general tasks of the Communist Opposition in view of the events in Germany. A resolution was adopted by a vote of all against one. The resolution reads in part:

"1. The defeat of the working class in Germany is characterized especially thru the following features: Political bankruptcy of the coalition policy and reformism, capitulation and collapse of the trade unions, catastrophic defeat of the ultra-left course of the C. P. G. and the leadership of the Comintern. Ideological and organizational destruction and disintegration of the proletarian bodies as the effect of the victory of the Fascist dictatorship and the growing bloody Fascist terror. The heavy defeat of the working class in Germany cannot, however, do away with the fact that neither the Social-democracy nor the Communist Party is as yet thru in the minds of the workers. They still exist and numerous signs today already confirm the fact that, in spite of all disintegration and illegality, there are visible tendencies of consolidation and activity. At the same time, moods and sentiments are growing in Germany to look for a way out of the present situation by creating a new proletarian party independent of Moscow and the Comintern and of their substance inside and outside of Germany.

"2. The central leadership of the C. P. Swiss-O. recognizes these facts. It declares that today it is politically false to issue the slogan of a new (second or third) party. What is necessary is a clearer and more decisive exposure of the responsibility of the Comintern and the Second International as well as of the Comintern and of the fraction of the Russian Communist Party within the Comintern for the defeat in Germany.

"3. In this hour the tasks of the C. P. G.-O. are: to broaden the Communist Opposition are growing rapidly. Without changing our fundamental attitude held hitherto, without giving up our organizational or political independence, the Communist Opposition, nationally and internationally, must see its task in the concentration of revolutionary class forces in the camp of Communism and in the camp of Social-democracy and the trade unions. This must take place thru the tactics of the united front on the broadest basis, thru the creation of joint anti-Fascist action, thru the intensification of the work in the trade unions. With this is associated the job of clarifying the aim, the road and the tasks of the working class in its struggle for the rehabilitation and reorganization of the Communist movement. Not Communism has been defeated but the ultra-left policy and corrupt apparatus, enforced under instructions of the C. I. and claiming to represent it, flying in the face of all the demands and conditions of struggle in Western Europe.

This resolution is especially important in view of the rumors spread recently by the Trotskyites and others that the Swiss Opposition had taken a turn to Trotskyism and the "new party" idea. As a matter of fact, only one comrade of the central leadership of the Swiss Opposition had any such leanings; all others stood solid and stand solid for the tested viewpoint of the International Communist Opposition.

In the Comintern

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

We publish below some of the sections of the instructions of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition) to its delegate to the International Communist Opposition Conference held recently.—Editor.

The National Committee lays down the following as instructions to guide the representative of the Communist Party (Opposition) at the International Opposition Conference.

1. The German catastrophe constitutes the historical refutation of the reformism of the Social-democracy and of the ultra-left sectarianism of the official Communist movement, which were each in their way partly, the unequally responsible for it. The viewpoint and tactics of the International Communist Opposition have been fully confirmed by experience.

In spite of the disastrous results of its sectarian policies, we reject the conception, supported by the Trotskyites and others, that the triumph of the Nazis was made possible by "betrayal" on the part of the Communist Party of Germany, that January 30, 1933 constituted the August 4, 1914 of the C.P.G. This would imply that the C.P.G. has ceased to be a Communist Party and has become a bourgeois workers party. We, therefore, reject the conception of the necessity of building up a "new" Communist Party in Germany. We

believe that, in view of the facts that the C.P.G. still includes within itself the great bulk of the Communist movement in Germany and that it still stands on the basis of the fundamentals of Communism, it is the duty of the Communists in Germany now to rebuild the Communist Party, drawing in the recently radicalized elements of the S.D.P. and the S.W.P. in the process. Under present conditions, the rebuilding of the C.P.G. is possible only if it is accompanied by the systematic liquidation of the sectarian strategy and tactics and the bureaucratic regime of the party and their replacement by Leninist tactics and the regime of democratic centralism. Such a rebuilding can take place only thru the pressure of the masses of the party membership and revolutionary workers who have become convinced of the necessity of a radical change. The task of the German Communist Opposition today is double: (a) thru its own independent activity in the class struggle to make up for the failure of the party to support the Communist leadership, and (b) to stimulate among the party membership that realization of the situation which is the prerequisite for the rebuilding of the party.

The main slogan remains the same as before: Rehabilitation of the Communist Party of Germany. For the same reasons we are fundamentally opposed to the proposal for a "new", a "fourth" International, to replace the Communist International. Insofar as what is meant is not a centrist Interna-

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FOR A UNITED LABOR TICKET

THE announcement that Mayor John P. O'Brien "intends to seek renomination," that is, will run again on the Tammany ticket, is a gesture cynical enough to awaken even the dormant population of New York City to a realization of the gravity of the situation.

The government of this, the greatest city in the world, is in the clutches of a rapacious political machine in close association with the leading banking and capitalistic interests. Almost all sections of the city's population, but the workers above all, suffer from the corrupt misgovernment of this clique of Tammany politicians.

In spite of all the recovery propaganda, at least one family out of four is in dire need of relief due to unemployment. Yet no more than one family in seven receives any relief at all and even this meager pittance is being cut and frequently suspended. No provisions whatever are made for the relief of single men out of work.

The city's police and courts are openly and often brutally used against labor in its strivings for better conditions of life. Municipal social services, such as education, health, etc., are being recklessly reduced.

The wages and salaries of municipal employees are being ruthlessly slashed at the behest of the bankers. The threat of an increase of transit fare to 7c or 10c is not far from becoming a reality.

The Negro people of this city are being mistreated and discriminated against with the sanction and under the protection of the Tammany administration. The recent Harlem Hospital scandal has drawn the attention of the whole city to this shameful situation.

The public revenues are converted into the private preserves of the dominant political ring. Corrupt and incompetent Tammany henchmen are quartered upon the city as public officials in artificially multiplied jobs at inflated salaries. The most reckless extravagance provides fat contracts and monopolies for powerful capitalists and profitable rake-offs for the "helpful" politicians. Racketeering, crime and vice flourish, protected by city officials who draw profit from them.

Tammany, the same under O'Brien as under Walker, is a desperate menace to the people of New York City. The Republican Party here is no more than a parasite living off the grace of Mr. Curry and feeding on the crumbs he contemptuously scatters. They who place their hopes in Fusion are only chasing after a dangerous illusion. Fully sharing with the Tammany ring its subservience to capital, a Fusion movement would offer no serious challenge to the Tammany strangle-hold or else would be merely a "respectable" edition of Tammany itself.

Only a movement determined to break the corrupting and demoralizing link between the city government and the interests of capital, only a movement determined to administer the affairs of the city in the interests of the masses of the people, can offer an effective and significant challenge to Tammany. Such a movement can find its main support and leadership only in labor, for labor is the only social force that has no entangling alliances with the capitalist interests and so is in a position to make a serious effort to cleanse the stables of municipal corruption and misgovernment.

But unless the various organizations and tendencies in the labor movement get together in a united front, labor is powerless. On the other hand, the situation in the city is so desperate today, the oppressions and the grievances under which the masses of the people are laboring so acute, the need for relief so intense, that the vital necessity of a united labor front in the coming municipal elections must be clear to every one.

There is only one answer: An independent UNITED LABOR TICKET set up by a conference of all working class organizations in this city, a UNITED LABOR TICKET running upon a platform expressing the interests of labor and of the masses of the people of New York.

DIEGO RIVERA AT NEW WORKERS SCHOOL



Diego Rivera Exposes the Lies of "Daily Worker"

In the "Daily Worker" of July 7, there appeared an article entitled "Statement on Rivera by Mexican Communists". The statement contains various falsehoods which I request the opportunity to correct in your columns, not as a personal question, but as an example of the bad material and bad tactics of the party which does not feel the obligation of always being truthful with the proletariat, without which it cannot gain their confidence.

First, I was not expelled from the party (the Communist Party of Mexico) in 1924 as stated in the article. As the minutes of the Central Committee will show, the committee authorized and advised my resignation because it considered that the painting I was doing all my time and the work I was doing was more useful to the movement than anything I might do by attending meetings etc., as a regular member of the party. The resolution recognized formally the usefulness of my services to the party and expressed the conviction that my painting would continue to be useful to the movement.

In 1927 I was requested to re-join the party as a regular member and I did so. I was expelled in 1929, in the month of July, during the general epidemic of expulsions of loyal Communists in all countries of the world and for similar reasons.

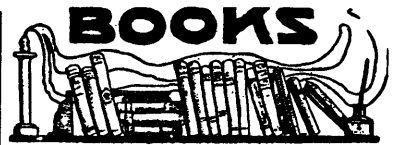
Yet the statement declares I was expelled in 1930 for painting for Mr. Morrow. Nor did I paint murals in his house, as the "Daily Worker" statement says, nor did I ever paint, as they declare, a portrait of him or of his wife. I painted murals, revolutionary in character, on the walls of the Palace of Cortez, in Cuernavaca. The cost of the painting was paid by Morrow as a gift to the City of Cuernavaca and the painting is one which has most pleased the workers and peasants of Mexico. That palace was not Morrow's house but a government building and the fact that the "Daily Worker" resolution, which purports to come from the Communist Party of Mexico, states such an absurdity ("Rivera sold himself to Mr. Morrow to paint murals in his home, the former palace of Cortez in Cuernavaca"), proves that the resolution was not even written

in Mexico nor by Mexican Communists, for every child in Mexico knows that the Palace of Cortez is now a government building and the capital of the State of Morelos, the building in which the State Congress meets!

Another explanation offered in the same article for my expulsion from the party is: "For having collaborated with the governments of Portes Gil and Ortiz Rubio, first as the Director of the School of Fine Arts, and later as a painter of the murals in the National Palace." As to the first, the School of Fine Arts is autonomous and I was elected director by the students and Ortiz Rubio was not even elected President until three months after my expulsion from the party and did not take office until the following year! As to the painting of the National Palace I began it a year before my expulsion, with the approval of the Central Committee of the party, and no one has tried to deny its revolutionary content except Joseph Freeman in the "New Masses" with his invention of a woman holding grapes and mangoes, which was refuted in your columns by the simple procedure of reprinting the painting itself!

As to their attempts to exploit my activities on behalf of the Mexican workers in Detroit as "charges" against me, the fact is that several hundred starving unemployed Mexicans in Detroit, wanted to return to Mexico and asked me for aid, which I did not refuse them. I warned them that in Mexico they would receive no aid, except what they could conquer by their own forces, and none of them ever sent me a letter of complaint such as the "Daily Workers" pretends to know I have received.

These startling falsehoods are samples of the not even skillful lies that are used as one of the weapons for dividing and splitting the Communist movement. They are self-refuting—not even clever fabrications! What shall loyal Communists and workers generally think of a leadership that uses such means of serving its factional purposes? And of the fact that the same committees and faction that denounce me as a "prostitute" have sent me letters requesting repeated contributions of part of the "profits of prostitution"? I have the letters and their signatures on



THE ONLY ROAD, by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1933.

Except for one chapter there is nothing either new or important in this pamphlet of Trotsky's on Germany, written in September 1932. If anything, it is a trifle shallower, a little more verbose, somewhat more confused in conception. Measured by the subsequent march of events, it seems rather trivial and inconsequential.

More obvious than anywhere else, perhaps, are the ornateness and floridity of language, the superficial figures, the sophisticated obscurity that enable Trotsky to palm off obviously false ideas or to hide the absence of any definite ideas altogether. We have already indicated more than once in the columns of this paper how altogether fallacious is the attempt of Trotsky to characterize the Papen-Schleicher regime as Bonapartist. In this pamphlet the "Bonapartist mania" runs wild. Trotsky "corrects" himself indeed: the Bruening government was not Bonapartist; it was a "pre-Bonapartist government" (page 14)! (What a sage, scientific designation!) But we also learn that "Bonapartism came upon the scene in the Papen-Schleicher government" (page 14) and, wonder of wonders, that "Fascism, as the Italian example shows, leads in the end to a militarist-bureaucratic dictatorship of the Bonapartist type" (page 17)! And yet it is Trotsky who accuses the official Communist movement of confusing conceptions and historical categories! The pot calling the kettle black, indeed!

The truth of the matter is that, if any contemporary analogy for Bonapartism is to be sought, it is to be found nowhere so fundamentally and completely as in the Fascist movement itself. Trotsky is unable to see this because of his totally un-Marxist definition of Bonapartism and Fascism (page 38). And this failure has vitiated the whole Trotskyist analysis of the German situation and the tactical proposals flowing therefrom. Thus, we find already in this pamphlet the idea that for its ultimate culmination "it (Fascism) requires a number of years even in the event of a complete victory: a longer span of years in Germany than in Italy" (page 17). Here too we learn that the "peaceful" triumph of the Nazis, that is, their ascent to power without an armed overturn, is practically out of the question (pages 67 and 68). Here, finally, we are treated to some edifying speculations that "it is not excluded that Hitler's political peak has already been passed" (page 69). How wonderfully the Trotskyist prognoses measure up with events!

In contrast to the worthless character of the pamphlet as a whole, the second chapter, "Bourgeoisie, Petty Bourgeoisie and Proletariat", in which Trotsky traces the political physiognomy of the petty bourgeoisie thru its main historical stages of development and analyzes its relations to the two major classes of society, is positively brilliant and well deserves careful consideration.

Will Herberg.

receipts for various hundreds of dollars. In Mexico we use a very ugly word for those who live on the earnings of prostitution. The party's method of dealing with me, does no credit to Communism.

Fraternally,
DIEGO RIVERA

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