

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

MANY European, and a no small number of American observers, appear to be making much of a fuss over America's alleged reversal of her "venerable" freedom of the seas doctrine. The apologists for Wall Street imperialism are now parading Uncle Sam as an idealist who, in the interest of peace, is ready to sacrifice even his commerce. Others interpret America's "abandonment" of the "freedom of the seas" doctrine in the present Italo-British crisis as a concession to Great Britain by Wall Street in return for British support to Washington in some Far Eastern developments now brewing.

The alleged idealism of Uncle Sam, or as the Europeans call him, Uncle Shylock, isn't worth even an examination. To what extent secret British commitments in behalf of the United States in the Pacific have entered into the situation is rather difficult to measure at this moment. We entertain the belief that basically there is a totally different foundation for Roosevelt's momentary refusal to insist on neutral rights and freedom of the seas in the coming war overseas. Just now Washington is of the opinion that the U.S. dominant interests stand to gain much more by keeping out of the present war, by waiting at least until the conflagration spreads and even then staying out as long as possible and thrive while others destroy each other. The business stakes of Wall Street in the Italo-Ethiopian clash are too small to warrant a serious struggle with Great Britain over them.

FEW will challenge the fact that there has been quite an improvement of mood amongst the people who dominate American economic life. For this there are many good reasons. Profits and dividends have certainly gone up. In general, the topmost section of the ruling class feels that it has regained its grip.

But we cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that fundamentally the economic situation remains most unsound both in the United States and in the world as a whole. The feverish rearmament policies may for a while stimulate production but do not in the least serve to meet the unemployment problem. In this sense we welcome the frankness of the latest "World Economic Survey" made by the League of Nations. Mr. J. B. Condliffe, Director of the Survey, presents us with the following conclusions amongst others: "The economic outlook at the beginning of 1935 was distinctly more confused and unpromising than it had been a year earlier". The report goes on to say that on a world wide scale recovery has been "superficial rather than fundamental."

Most interesting is the conclusion that

"THE OLD FEDERATION OF GOMPERS IS GONE!"

By WILL HERBERG

"No matter what the vote is going to be, the Federation is no longer the same. The old Federation of Gompers is gone!"

These words, solemnly pronounced by John P. Frey, staunch champion of old-line conservatism, in the course of the debate on industrial unionism, may serve as a penetrating commentary on the true significance of the recent fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City. For this convention really did constitute an historical turning point in the development of the American labor movement, opening the way to a new future of widening possibilities. The Atlantic City gathering itself made history—but, more than that, it set into motion forces that promise to change the entire aspect of American trade unionism in the coming years.

INCREDIBLE RESULTS

The convention, as more than one delegate was quick to see, was a precedent-breaking convention, a convention of "firsts". For the first time in many years, the really fundamental issues facing American labor were brought out into the open, were seriously considered and vigorously discussed. For the first time in decades, the "official family" of the Executive Council came to the convention thoroughly divided against itself, arrayed into two hostile camps with a bitterness between them that found expression in the Lewis-Hutcheson brawl at the last session. For the first time, the Executive Council was openly challenged by powerful groups on the floor of the convention and an accounting demanded of its record as the leadership of the A. F. of L. For the first time, some check was put to the bureaucratic arrogance of the Green-Woll leadership, to its reckless practice of choking off all criticism and suppressing every difference of opinion with the threat of expulsion, to its savage Red-baiting. And, for the first time, finally, the convention closed its sessions with the forces of opposition unconquered and confident, determined to accomplish in the future what was left undone this year.

That all this could come out of one convention is almost incredible. It can be understood only as the sudden emergence to the surface of forces long at work in the depths of the labor movement, as the official expression of the

much-heralded cure of currency depreciation has been as potent in deflating prices in foreign markets as in raising them in domestic markets. We believe that even this is really an understatement.

Under the present conditions of capitalist economy, the United States despite its privileged position, will, sooner than most observers expect, be subject to these forces gnawing at the very vitals of the entire international economic organism.

Significance Of The A. F. of L. Convention

profound changes slowly maturing in the last three years. With millions of new members in the A. F. of L., with unionism spreading to the large-scale, mass production industries, with a new spirit permeating the ranks of labor, with the significant experience of many months of the New Deal before it, this year's convention of the A. F. of L. simply could not present the same aspect of stodgy apathy and self-satisfied conservatism as in the days of old.

CONVENTION LINEUP

From the moment the convention opened, the general line-up of forces was already visible; future developments served largely to clarify and strengthen the alignments. On the one side, stood the old reactionary group headed by Woll, Wharton, Frey and other craft

union chiefs, with Green as the figure-head. Contemptuous of the new elements in the unions, frightened at the new spirit of militancy, longing for the good old days of stagnant vegetation, they were determined to fight to the last ditch to preserve the old order and to prevent the federation from taking the much needed new departure. Confronting them was a powerful opposition block, rallying primarily on the issue of industrial unionism but tending to cling together on other questions as well. This block, which can be legitimately regarded as progressive, as things stand in the A. F. of L. today, was composed of the big industrial and semi-industrial unions, such as the United Mine Workers, the United Textile Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and other

needle trade unions, of the new industrial unions, such as the auto and rubber organizations, of the typographical and pressmen's unions, of most of the Federal unions as well as of a very good proportion of the central trades bodies and state federations. Mustering nearly 40% of the votes, it was easily the most formidable challenge to raise its head in the Federation in many decades. Forming part of this general opposition block, as its left wing so to speak, were a handful of delegates with an orientation generally in the direction of class conscious unionism. Their significance lay not in their number, of course, but in their ability to work constructively as an energizing influence in the broader movement. The fact that such a connection could be established is easily one of the most encouraging aspects of the convention.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

All indications were plain from the beginning that industrial unionism would be the great issue at the convention. The structure of the A. F. of L. had become thoroughly antiquated, utterly unsuited to the new conditions in industry. The onward sweep of labor in the three previous years had taken place outside of and against the outworn system of craft unionism. Plant unions had sprung up; Federal unions were chartered; new industrial internationals were established. The 1934 convention in San Francisco had even made certain forced concessions to the new situation—to be promptly sabotaged by the Executive Council. Precisely for this reason, the die-hard craft union chiefs were ready for a desperate last stand, determined not to yield another inch for fear of losing everything. The debate on industrial unionism at Atlantic City, first on the question in general and then in connection with the appeals of the new organizations in the mass production industries, is bound to remain a classic in the annals of the labor movement. In spite of the adverse vote, the real victory went to the advocates of industrial unionism for the weight of their arguments, for their notable increase in support, for the merciless way in which they kept their opponents demoralized and on the run. It does not require a prophet to foretell with whom lies the future!

The sensation of the convention was, of course, the blasting attack launched by John L. Lewis against the National Civic Federation and those in the A. F. of L. who stand with it. That it was aimed at Matthew Woll, in particular and in person, is obvious enough but it would be folly to miss its wider significance. To the convention and to the hundreds of thousands of workers following the proceedings, Lewis's bitter denunciation of the National Civic Federation and of its influence in A. F. of L. circles thru the sinister figure of Matthew Woll, really amounted to a

(Continued on Page 3)

OLYMPIC GAMES



REVIEW OF THE WEEK

PEACE TALK HALTED AND NEW ADVANCE IN ETHIOPIA BEGINS; RADICAL SOCIALISTS BACK LAVAL; FARMERS FOR CORN-HOG CURB; HERNDON CASE NEEDS YOU!

THERE is no doubt but that Pierre Laval held the spotlight during the past week. Just as soon as tension in connection with the concentration of the British fleet in the Mediterranean eased, Laval proceeded to act as intermediary in a new attempt to end the present conflict in Ethiopia.

The proposal which Italy, disturbed by Britain's show of sea power, was ready to make, was not acceptable to England. The exact nature of the proposal was never officially made public but it is known to provide for a League mandate over Central Ethiopia and an Italian mandate over the sections of Ethiopia now in the hands of Italy. An additional reason that made acceptance difficult was that the Soviet Union had quereed the plan by openly warning that it would fight this proposal. This was done fully two weeks ago.

With this turn of events attention was again turned to sanctions. The most recent to endorse the League sanctions are England and France. (League sanctions call for stopping all credits to and purchases from the aggressor, adding rubber, tin, nickel and other raw materials to the arms embargo, and by agreeing to help League members who suffer undue loss by their enforcement of the covenant.)

Its "peace" proposal rebuffed the Italians have announced that from now on they will let their guns speak for them and ordered an intensive offensive on all fronts in Ethiopia.

Premier Baldwin has called for great increases in naval appropriations since Britain must maintain the "peace of the world" and with an eye toward cashing

FRENCH RAD. SOCIALISTS STAND BY LAVAL

The recently closed convention of the Radical Socialist Party, the left wing of which, led by Daladier, is part of the Peoples Front, showed the reelection of Edouard Herriot as head of the Party and continued the policy of supporting the cabinet headed by Laval.

Laval took the wind out of the sails of the left wing by announcing certain measures against the Croix de Feu. Daladier failed to challenge the program of Laval. Instead he confined himself to loud cries of defending the Republic and denunciations of the "peril of civil war." Whether this also indicates a change of front by other parties toward Laval (Socialist and Communist) remains to be seen.

CALL PATERSON STRIKE FOR WEDNESDAY

Alex Williams, manager of the Broad Silk Department of the American Federation of Silk Workers, has announced that all attempts at getting into the conference with the employers has failed, the employers even refusing to elect a committee. There is therefore nothing left for the union to do but to prepare for a general strike.

The demands, according to Mr. Williams are the minimum wage of \$1.94 for 100 picks—the equivalent of a minimum weekly wage of \$20 and the renewal of a contract which the employers have considered since the great textile strike in which Paterson joined as an act of sympathy with the cotton workers of the South.

COMPANY UNIONS SHOW SIGNS OF REVOLT

A most significant development is taking place as a result of the merging of plant company unions into national bodies in a number of industries. The company union covering 11 plants of the American Sheet & Tin Plate Company has demanded increases in wages. Similar developments took place in the case of the company union in the Tin Plate Division of the United States Steel Corporation, the Republic Steel at Warren, Ohio, the Jones and Laughlin mill at Allequippa, Pa., and at the Weirton Steel. The company union in the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company said "no" to a proposal of the firm that one unit return to the 8 hour day. It is now working six hours. (In connection with this problem see article by George F. Miles in next issue of Workers Age.)

Next Week Anniversary Issue of Workers Age

OUR next issue, an enlarged six page paper, celebrates both the Sixth Anniversary of Workers Age and the Eighteenth Anniversary of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. A wealth of material will greet you upon receipt of the paper.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE considers the attitude to war as the chief lesson of the Russian Revolution, in the present situation. He therefore discusses the Comintern position on war, the Dan-Bauer-Ziromski resolution and the recently published resolution of the Socialist Party of America.

WILL HERBERG analyzes a number of basic documents emanating from recent conferences of the

Militant Socialists.

GEORGE F. MILES continues the discussion on the A. F. of L. convention in an illuminating article entitled "THE CRAFT UNIONISTS PRESENT THEIR CASE."

THE Achievements of the Soviet Union in the construction of Socialism are considered in an article entitled "A SCIENTIST LOOKS AT RUSSIA."

ALSO articles by BERN BRANDON, SAUL HELD, A. M. S. MAUTNER and DAVID SCHEYER.

NOTIFY US IMMEDIATELY OF YOUR INCREASED BUNDLE ORDER.

ANGELO HERNDON GOES BACK TO GEORGIA

As this is being written, Angelo Herndon, 26 year old Negro Communist is preparing to return to Georgia to serve an inhuman and barbarous sentence of 18 to 20 years for organizing Negro workers.

There is not a worker or liberal minded person in the land who can remain indifferent to this brutal display of class justice. We urge all our readers to get behind the drive to snatch Herndon from lingering death in a Georgia chain gang.

See or write to Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Italy May Be Defeated In Interior Of Ethiopia

By the time you read this article some changes may have occurred in the Ethiopian situation. However, it will be found that despite the fact that it was written on October 9, it remains correct in every essential.

BY AUGUST THALHEIMER
The war in Ethiopia has begun. The League of Nations failed to prevent its outbreak. It was unable to do so because the imperialist powers in control of the League did not want to.

Germany. The English are much more important in the long run than they do not possess a standing army of any considerable size.
A section of the reactionary French press joined in the vacillations of French foreign policy. The fascist press in Italy, however, it because of inner political reasons. It is taking this opportunity to pose as the defender of peace in contrast to the Leftists whom they accuse of war mongering. This demagogic approach is not ineffective since the great mass of French people are primarily interested in averting any war. The French fascists are further fearful, and rightly so, lest the fascist regime in Italy be defeated in Ethiopia, if the League interferes, and their own chances in France thereby diminished.

NAZIS FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS
Hitler Germany has indicated in its press that it is expecting certain reverses. It does not put any obstacles to sanctions against Italy. At the same time she is working feverishly to bring about a bloc with Poland, Hungary and Italy, and possibly also Austria. Europe is again divided into two big camps—the League and the new imperialist reckoning of a new world war. The Ethiopian war will accelerate the imperialist re-grouping for the world war.
Incidentally, the aid Hitler Germany might give Italy must not be overestimated. First of all, it is needed. Foodstuffs are scarce in Germany itself. Other raw materials needed for Germany, such as metals, etc. are needed in Germany. In addition it must be taken into consideration that Germany is interested only in orders which are paid in cash. In order to avoid the necessity of unanimous decisions, the League of Nations declined to consider a jurisdictional resolution on the aggressor but contented itself with "sanctions" which are to be automatically applied. The members of the League are to determine in detail whether and to what extent they are participating in the application of sanctions.

This is indeed a classical example of the methods of English imperialism. We let others fight for her interests. We let others fight to exterminate Mussolini of his share of responsibility in any way, but we do want to ask the international working class to place no confidence whatsoever in the intentions of the imperialist nations participating in the Ethiopian conflict. English imperialism was the power most interested in preventing Ethiopia from falling into the hands of Italian imperialism. At the same time, England was interested in Ethiopia to its own will in some form or another and to weaken it as an independent power.

ENGLAND THREATENS WITH WHITE BOOK
Mussolini maintains that England did not warn him sufficiently in advance. The English government maintains the opposite and announces that it will bring forth all documentary evidence to the White Book. These contradictory statements show that the English warnings were so phrased that Mussolini could afford not to take them seriously.
The French government of Laval also let Mussolini believe, in January of this year (evidently in a very ambiguous statement) that he could have a free hand in Ethiopia. France thus gained the advantage of possibly withdrawing French troops from the Italian border and stationing them at its Eastern frontier.
Of all the big powers represented in the League, the Soviet Union was the only one solely interested in the preservation of peace and independence of Ethiopia. She openly, unequivocally came out against all imperialist designs aimed at Ethiopia. She supported every step to prevent or postpone the war. However, she was not strong enough to win out amongst the imperialist powers. Nonetheless the conduct of the Soviet Union was a strong factor in the mobilization of public opinion against the imperialist attack on Ethiopia.

The international working class must learn from this that it cannot be a shadow of the League of Nations, that it must act as an independent power opposing the League with its own anti-imperialist class aims, that it must exert pressure on the League and at the same time put no trust in it whatever. Independent action against the League does not exclude the possibility of exerting pressure on the League. What is the League of Nations as a whole is also true of each individual imperialist elements composing the League. How not to act in this situation is shown by the support the English government wholeheartedly and the Independent Labor Party, on the other, which declines to put any pressure on the government and thus lapses into pure pacifism.

VACILLATIONS OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY
French foreign policy, as we predicted many weeks ago in this column, has swung into line—the British line—tho unwillingly and unhesitatingly. The decisive factor was the CONSIDERATION of the T.U.U.L. in Ethiopia, that once Italy is defeated, her military forces would be so absorbed in the conflict as to gradually lose importance as a military power in Europe guarding Austria, checking Hitler

Socialist Party N. E. C. Continues Its Zigzags

By GEORGE F. MILES
The Socialist Party has decided to get the Communist International on better terms. Where the Comintern makes sharp, about-face turns every let us say, seven years, the S.P. does that every three months. That leaves both "democratic-Socialists" (Old Guard, to you) and Militants rather breathless. Take Oneal for instance. Some six months ago he was absolutely certain that things were just going to the dogs and upon the appeal of himself and others of the same blood-pressure, the Labor and Socialist International placed the American Party on the agenda. However, by the time the sessions opened, the National Executive Committee of the S.P. had met in Buffalo and patched up a peace-agreement which apparently satisfied the Old Guard. So we find Oneal submitting a rather long, but pointless document to the L.S.I. voting not to take up the matter since the Americans had made peace of their own volition.

Now just imagine Oneal's embarrassment, now that the Chicago meeting of the N.E.C. committed the unpardonable sin of deferring him as a representative to the L.S.I. He was so enraged by this perfectly democratic action that he staged a one man demonstration and bolted the meeting.
The decisions which aroused the "democratic-socialists" are the following: (1) Approval of the Thomas-Browder debate; (2) Approval of a national tour of Meta Berger, who in the eyes of the extreme right Wing groups, has suddenly become a "pro-Soviet" pro-pagan and a unifier of the "democratic-Communists." (Can't Hearst and Lang do something about this outrage!); (3) Adopted a resolution on war; (4) Removal of Oneal as a representative to the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International and the substitution of "Dave" Allen, author of the Detroit Declaration of Principles.

Incensed at these decisions which, the Old Guard charges, are a breach of the peace and not conducive to the lasting order which "democratic-socialists" would maintain, they gathered in the Rand School where Jim Oneal incited them to riot against the democratically elected N.E.C. The Jewish Daily Forward thus summarizes the meeting, in its issue of Monday, October 21:
"The main thought of all the speakers was to utilize all possibilities to maintain the unity of the Socialist Party, to strengthen the party regardless of the objective towards a split by the left group of the National Executive Committee. And if the National Executive Committee and caretakers of the National Executive Committee will, despite all, drive toward a split, let them have it upon their conscience that they and no one else has split the Socialist Party."

Superficially it looks then as if Oneal, Hendin, Tavin and Shaplen have cleared the decks for action and are itching for something to do. After all it is 16 years since the old boys have practiced their "democratic-socialism" on a left wing.

HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL
But, to believe the Old Guard, all is not quite lost. We are told that: "One hopeful element in the situation is that Daniel W. Hoan and Darlington Hoopes, representing state organizations with responsible working class membership, are striving to cooperate with the socialists in the direction of the party in the task of its rehabilitation." (emphasis and amazement mine—GFM).
You may think that the reference to "responsible working class membership"

is accidental, but not so. It appears to be the new answer to all question on why there is so much discussion and why in the socialist ranks there is more or less seems to be a foreign importation—brought over by Alexander Kahn who attended the sessions of the Socialist Executive. Let this intellectual giant explain away once and for all the schisms in the ranks of the labor movement: "The Executive of the Socialist International consists of two parts. One part represents living, powerful and active parties and the second part consists of representatives of parties which exist only on paper. Whereas the representatives of the living parties are reserved, moderate and to a certain extent right, like the democratic-socialist wing here in America, the representatives of the "paper", illegal and weak parties (such as the German, Austrian, and Polish Parties are meant) are extreme leftists."

THE WAR RESOLUTION
It is not our purpose here to enter into a detailed analysis of the war resolution—over which our "democratic" friends are horrified—especially since I am reliably informed that this matter is coming in for some main anti-socialist, most reactionary elements in the A. F. of L. This right wing "Socialist" showed themselves quite ready to sacrifice their alleged cause and to betray their own party in order to curry favor with Woll, Frey and Green. It did not appear that anything more revolting to these men can be found in the recent annals of the labor movement than the conduct of the Forward in reference to the A. F. of L. convention. Not only did this "Socialist" paper line up with the reactionary conduct of the A. F. of L. but it also lined up with the open hostility of the Woll-Green forces, while in the opposition block itself there was division—some contending against a Labor party in principle and others against it under present conditions." Nevertheless, the Labor Party plan could still count on the support of the I.L.G.W.U., the U.T.W. and a large number of smaller organizations. Also there was no countering estimate to indicate that at least 20% of the voting strength, or about 5,000 votes, were cast in favor of independent working class political action.

RED BAITING AMENDMENT
In truly bureaucratic fashion, the Executive Council majority thought that it could meet the rising tide of resentment and revolt in the ranks of labor by a Red purge. As originally recommended in the Executive Council report, the constitution of the A. F. of L. was to have been amended in October 1935 to have expelled the internationalists, to oust all "Communists", that is, all militant and progressive workers, including left Socialists, as the Jewish Daily Forward so gleefully pointed out. But again this was more than the opposition block would tolerate. In the "conference" and Dunisky all denounced the scheme, first as a Red-baiting measure and, secondly as a wanton infringement of the autonomy of the international unions. At first, it looked as if the whole matter would be dropped but, when its face appeared, the Executive Council finally brought in a compromise which was accepted without a record vote. Also still thoroughly objectionable, this final version is, nevertheless, much less harmful, for it provides for the exclusion of "Communists" from central labor bodies and state federations, leaving their status in the unions untouched. Without doubt, this forced retreat came with great bitterness from the reactionaries for they had set their hearts firmly upon the first front campaign to keep the unions "safe and sane" regardless of consequences. By the same token, therefore, the outcome must be regarded as a great victory for the forces of progressivism.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION
The clash of contending sides came sharply to the fore in the election of a new council member to replace Major Berry, who had accepted a government position. The contest was between Howard Hillman and Mahon, of the administration, along strictly group lines. Indeed, Hillman went so far as to demand Howard's election in order to guarantee adequate minority representation to the opposition block! Whether any one really cared for the matter, this was equivalent to an open declaration that the opposition intended to continue its organized struggle even after the convention, that it intended to keep on fighting, preparing for victory in 1936! Mahon's election notwithstanding stands on feet of lead? And how long?

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"THE OLD FEDERATION OF GOMPERS IS GOING"

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challenge to class collaboration, in its most brazen form to a plea for the protection of the labor movement against possible infighting among the ranks of the employing class. This effect was heightened by Lewis's second motion forbidding the American Federationist to accept advertising from open-shop or anti-union concerns. Thoroughly demoralized by the suddenness and daring of the move, the reactionary clique swallowed both the personal insult to Woll and the repudiation of its policies and practices; both resolutions were adopted.

LABOR PARTY
It is significant to note that Lewis and the spokesmen of the opposition in general buttressed their advocacy of industrial unionism and other reforms with a scathing indictment of the Executive Council as the responsible leadership of the A. F. of L. In their opinion, the most devastating then picture thus drawn—one of utter utility, inaction, defeat, surrender! In helpless fury, Green and his friends had to take it and like it for they were left without an answer. At any rate, the sanctity that in the past developed the Executive Council and preserved it from any sort of criticism is now gone for good and all. It had only to be challenged to be dissipated.

The mere fact that the Labor Party question was even considered shows how much progress was registered by the Atlantic City convention. Last year, at San Francisco, the whole matter was shunted off by combining it with some freakish Red-baiting proposal and forcing a joint "discussion". This year Green made a tentative step in the same direction but it did not work. The sentiment for a Labor party had grown considerably in the past year as a result of a closer acquaintance with the New Deal, on the one hand, and resentment with the reactionary conduct of the Supreme Court on the other. At the convention, however, the proposal met with the open hostility of the Woll-Green forces, while in the opposition block itself there was division—some contending against a Labor party in principle and others against it under present conditions." Nevertheless, the Labor Party plan could still count on the support of the I.L.G.W.U., the U.T.W. and a large number of smaller organizations. Also there was no countering estimate to indicate that at least 20% of the voting strength, or about 5,000 votes, were cast in favor of independent working class political action.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
For the Socialist Party, the Atlantic City convention marked a milestone in the painful process of inner differentiation of right and left. For at this convention it became clear that the fundamental differences between reformist and revolutionary Socialism were not limited to matters of theory or theory but that they had their far-reaching consequences for such "practical" questions as trade union tactics. The Old Guard, in strict political consistency, played the part of fawning boot-lickers to the most anti-Socialist, most reactionary elements in the A. F. of L. This right wing "Socialist" showed themselves quite ready to sacrifice their alleged cause and to betray their own party in order to curry favor with Woll, Frey and Green. It did not appear that anything more revolting to these men can be found in the recent annals of the labor movement than the conduct of the Forward in reference to the A. F. of L. convention. Not only did this "Socialist" paper line up with the reactionary conduct of the A. F. of L. but it also lined up with the open hostility of the Woll-Green forces, while in the opposition block itself there was division—some contending against a Labor party in principle and others against it under present conditions." Nevertheless, the Labor Party plan could still count on the support of the I.L.G.W.U., the U.T.W. and a large number of smaller organizations. Also there was no countering estimate to indicate that at least 20% of the voting strength, or about 5,000 votes, were cast in favor of independent working class political action.

THE WORKERS PARTY
The Workers Party, with its much vaunted "labor connections", was not to be seen or heard from. Apparently it had decided to limit itself to the literary activities of A. J. Muste.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY
For the official Communist Party the Atlantic City convention served as the historical refutation of all of the most cherished dogmas of the "third period". This was the A. F. of L. that had been pronounced "dead" that had been branded as "Fascist"; this was the A. F. of L. that had been regarded as "utterly hopeless"; the A. F. of L. in which nothing could ever happen again. The refutation in life was so annihilating as to leave no further room for argument, if argument were still necessary. For to this convention the C.P. came with its new line, consisting in the partial resumption of correct tactics overlaid with the remnants of the old sectarianism. It followed a careful policy of collaboration with the left elements of the coming opposition block for the furtherance of the common aims. At the same time, precisely because no genuine self-correction had taken place but rather a bureaucratic turn carried through without understanding, irritating and provoking the old sectarianism were far from absent. It is only necessary to recall how the Daily Worker (October 16, 1935) felt called upon to repudiate editorially the stupid attitude of its correspondent in attacking the Labor party resolution on the I.L.G.W.U. because it was not quite "perfect!" Four days later, however, M. Epstein, writing in the Freiheit of October 20, repeated the identical nonsense for which the Daily Worker editors had publicly criticized Carl Reebel and his associates. The C.P. had not changed its mind, and the conditions now prevailing in the C.P. What else can be the result of attempting to correct a false policy without the least effort to analyze or explain where-

C. P. TRIES TO CAPTURE LEFT SOCIALISTS
By RALPH WARNER
LANSING, MICH.—An abortive attempt on the part of the Communist Party to "capture" the Revolutionary Political Committee on October 13, Jackson, the birthplace of the Republican Party, offered one of the most hilariously funny scenes ever enacted in the history of this state's rather bewildered Socialist movement.
Five people answered the call to the "conference." One was an octogenarian village atheist from Kalamazoo; one—a professional hanger-on; one—a youngster still too young to be a legal member of the S.P.; and one—a young social worker, the only sane person attending. By the time the "conference" closed, three (the musician, the octogenarian, and the hanger-on) had resigned from the S.P. to join that outworn treadmill, the Proletarian Party. All the CP had at the end was what it had at the beginning; its stooge, the youngster who had issued the call.
The call itself, it became known, was issued illegally, without the knowledge or executive council. It simply resented the Michigan RPPA secretary's refusal to accept the influence of CP influence, calling for a united front modeled after the People's Front in France.

RESOLUTIONS BEAR FRUIT
The resolutions this rump conference passed were in every instance in direct contradiction to the basic policies of the RPPA and the resolutions passed at the recent New York session of the Association in New York City. The resolution on the call itself, it became known, was issued illegally, without the knowledge or executive council. It simply resented the Michigan RPPA secretary's refusal to accept the influence of CP influence, calling for a united front modeled after the People's Front in France.

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is clearly far from an ingress into trade unions. It is a new phase of class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions as well as the millions of sorely pressed unorganized. In the course of these struggles the unorganized are likely to pour into the unions and finally to serve as an effective force, as a leaven germinating and powerful in these organizations." (Workers Age, May 14, 1932.)

FIGHT JUST BEGINNING
Nothing essential need be added to this analysis. It is clear that the sudden growth of unionism and its expansion to the mass production industries have rendered intolerably acute the aching contradiction between the fundamental tasks of the trade union movement, on the one hand, and its traditional policies, methods and organizational forms, on the other. The latter have in fact become intolerable obstacles to the fulfillment of the former. Naturally, this contradiction has manifested itself most acutely and most sharply in the large mass production industries and in the associated fields. Naturally, too, that is where the revolt against the dead-hand of the Woll-Green leadership has started and where it has its primary strength. At the convention, Lewis made quite plain his special interest in bringing about a renovation of the A. F. of L. Unless the steel, auto and allied industries were effectively organized—the pointed out—the miners union would be placed in an exposed and dangerous position. The welfare of the miners demanded a change in the policy and organization methods of the whole Federation. And this is quite true in general. The very fate of the A. F. of L., including the efforts and dangers now before it, are now the bulwark of reaction, depends upon its ability to readjust itself adequately to changing conditions. What happened at the Atlantic City convention surely gives us good ground for our confidence that this readjustment will not be long in coming.
The fight in the A. F. of L. has only just begun but already its vast implications are becoming clear. It is a fight of the "young" against the "old." It is a fight of the living future against the dead past. And it will be a fight to the finish, no matter who may fall by the wayside. The old-line reactionaries are now beginning to recover from the stunning blows delivered at the convention; they are desperately determined to make good their position as stationary, unchangeable. As we have seen, profound changes are developing in the ranks of the labor movement. An influx of members into the old unions is entirely possible. . . . The outlook

BASIS OF REVOLT
The fight in the A. F. of L. has only just begun but already it reaches down to the depths. These forces of opposition have their roots deep in the masses of organized workers of the coming opposition block for the furtherance of the common aims. At the same time, precisely because no genuine self-correction had taken place but rather a bureaucratic turn carried through without understanding, irritating and provoking the old sectarianism were far from absent. It is only necessary to recall how the Daily Worker (October 16, 1935) felt called upon to repudiate editorially the stupid attitude of its correspondent in attacking the Labor party resolution on the I.L.G.W.U. because it was not quite "perfect!" Four days later, however, M. Epstein, writing in the Freiheit of October 20, repeated the identical nonsense for which the Daily Worker editors had publicly criticized Carl Reebel and his associates. The C.P. had not changed its mind, and the conditions now prevailing in the C.P. What else can be the result of attempting to correct a false policy without the least effort to analyze or explain where-

TASKS BEFORE US
The fifty-fifth convention of the A. F. of L. places a great burden of responsibility upon all revolutionary and class conscious elements in the labor movement. It has placed the problem of driving forward to greater clarity and effectiveness the movement begun so auspiciously at Atlantic City. It is the problem of developing an organized, progressive movement in every union, every industry, every branch of labor, and even conflicts of viewpoint but all moving in the same direction. It is a problem of effecting united action, on a program of revolutionary unionism, among the various working class political groups (in particular the I.L.G.W.U. and the C.P.O.) together with the "non-partisan" progressives. It is a problem, again to quote Engels, of "being able to work with the labor movement at every stage of its development without giving up our own program and our own organization."

FROM ENGELS TO LENIN IS WOLFE'S TOPIC
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ON FRIDAY EVENING, November 8, Comrade Wolfe will deliver his second of five lectures on "The Seventh World Congress and Its Problems." The topic will be the "FIFTH & SIXTH CONGRESSES." (Program, leadership, recrudescence of leftism.)

ON NOVEMBER 15, Wolfe will deal with the "COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL," discussing in detail the various causes of its collapse and revolutionary struggle against war.
Individual admission per lecture is 35c.

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UNITY IN SHOE INDUSTRY HARMED BY N. Y. LOCAL 23

By M. YABLON

Certainly no one will claim that members of the C.P.O. are opposed to trade-union unity; the six years of struggle against union-splitting is living testimony to that effect. Nor can any one point an accusing finger at the United Shoe & Leather Workers Union and charge that it does not favor amalgamation. It was born in a struggle for amalgamation.

Yet we contend that the decision of Local 23 of New York will not be a factor hastening unity, but on the contrary it will retard it.

WHY LOCAL NO. 23 WAS NOT SEATED

Ever since the New York local became part of the United, it refused to live up to the most elementary requirements needed for the proper functioning of an organization. The Biedenkapp leadership refused to recognize that New York is only one local, a small part of a larger organization; and that its activities must be confined to that particular local. It assumed the role not of a subordinate body but functioned in the capacity of the General Executive Board. The local sent out organizers and emissaries all over the country, to places like Chicago, Canada, etc. The leadership of this local issued its own organ without the permission of the G.E.B. This paper distributed in organized and unorganized shoe centers was filled with attacks against the general organization. Incalculable damage was done to the efforts of organizing the unorganized by the slanderous attacks. In short their activities were in the nature of a dual authority inside the union.

Every warning issued by the G. E. B. to stop their destructive irresponsible activities, and also meet their financial obligations was not heeded. These are only a few of the reasons for not seating the delegates of that local. The refusal to seat New York delegates was a question of discipline or continuous disruption. The convention chose the former.

HOW WILL UNITY BE ACCOMPLISHED?

The task of bringing about one union in the shoe industry is not a simple one. No other industry was ever plagued with the coexistence of so many unions at the same time. No union has suffered more from secession movements as the unions of the shoe workers. The hatred of the Boot & Shoe among shoe workers everywhere, particularly in New England is well known to all. Only when the history, tradition and causes of the numerous splits are examined and understood can a suitable policy of bringing about unity be worked out.

It is now recognized by everyone that the Boot & Shoe is opposed to genuine amalgamation. The statement the Boot & Shoe made in Washington that it will favor unity, was a matter of lip-service. It is equally clear that only the greatest pressure from inside the Boot & Shoe and outside, and also from other unions in the A. F. of L. can bring about unity.

Every sign that the united is breaking up, that locals are taking action independent of the general organization, will encourage the bureaucrats to continue the fight against amalgamation. At a time when the United is working strenuously to bring about amalgamation (including the Boot & Shoe) in the shortest possible time, the action of the leadership of Local No. 23 will prove an obstacle, will delay amalgamation.

The reason given for splitting from the United because the delegates from the New York local were not seated is a flimsy excuse. Since when do revolutionists, as the leadership of that local claim to be, consider the non-seating of delegates a sufficient reason to split an organization? Apparently the Biedenkapp leadership is slow in grasping the Seventh World Congress decisions.

The Boot & Shoe has challenged the various independent unions to first unite among themselves; the independent unions are successfully meeting that challenge. Any move that is strengthening the Boot & Shoe and is weakening the United at this particular stage is not a factor hastening unity.

"Third Period" Pops Up Again

Editor Workers Age:

Please explain the following questions:

1. What is the third period?
2. Who enunciated it and when?
3. If the third period is a fact it naturally follows that there must have been a preceding first and second period. Explain these.
4. Was the third period discovered first or was it developed out of a previously discovered first and second period?

Fraternally,

G. M.
Seattle, Wash.

Even today, a few years after the term "third period" has disappeared from every day Comintern language, the questions raised in this letter are very important. An understanding of the origin and meaning of the third period is important not only from an historical point of view but because the analysis it represented and the application of the tactical conclusions drawn from it has left a deep mark on the official Communist movement. A mark which even the recent Congress of the Comintern did not eradicate.

The expression "Third Period" appeared for the first time in the official language of the Comintern at its sixth world congress in 1928. It was used in an analysis of the economic and political situation at the time. According to that doctrine, post-war capitalism was in the third stage of its development. The first (from the close of the war to about 1923-4) was the period of the breakdown of capitalism, the collapse of world trade, credits, etc., and the first outbreak of the world revolution. The second period, lasting until 1927-8, was characterized by the "partial stabilization of capitalism", the solution of the political crisis by the triumph of reaction, and the return of capitalist economy to pre-war levels. The sixth Congress of the Comintern analyzed the third period as one in which capitalism exceeds its pre-war levels of production, while the very development of the productive forces multiplies the contradictions of capitalism, driving to a new crisis.

At the Tenth Plenum of the Communist International in 1928, after leadership had fallen into the hands of the ultra-left faction (Stalin, Kuusinin, Manuilsky, etc.) the analysis of the third period was changed to one in which the stabilization of capitalism was supposed to have been shattered, a new wave of revolution was supposedly imminent, and consequently, tactics which were suited to accomplish the elementary tasks of the Party were scrapped and "revolutionary" phrase-mongering was substituted.

Tho it is for the Tenth Plenum interpretation that the Third Period became famous, the roots of the dangerously false method of analysis and false conclusions are to be found even in the Sixth Congress decisions. The basic mistake involved is that of transferring to the rest of the world laws of develop-

ment which apply to Russia. It is true that the post-war development in Russia can be divided into three periods: the stormy revolutionary period of war communism; the New Economic Policy which brought Russian economic life up to the pre-war level; and finally the period of the first Five-Year Plan, with the new drive to the left, liquidation of the NEP and the growth of productive forces beyond the pre-war level. No attempt was made to conceal the source of the three-period analysis. In fact, the very formulation of the question at the Sixth Congress compares Russia with the capitalist world for each of the periods as if there were an organic connection between developments to the left and right, forward and backward in Russia and in the capitalist world.

The second mistake involved in the theory of the Third Period is the anti-Leninist conception that capitalist development takes place evenly in all countries. Thus in the analysis the borderline between the first and second periods was supposed to have been 1923-4 and between the second and third about 1928. An analysis of actual conditions show that such sharp division for all countries is utterly fantastic.

The revolutionary wave in China, for instance, did not end in 1923 but in 1927, while the U.S.A. had no post war revolutionary wave at all! British capitalism has not yet recovered its pre-war level while American capitalism, far from experiencing economic and political collapse after the war, experienced an unprecedented growth. An examination of every capitalist country in turn will show such differences as to make a division of post-war capitalism into three sharply defined periods inapplicable to any country. Lenin made this point clear in showing that the imperialism is the declining stage of capitalism, different countries develop at different rates of speed, some even expanding for a time as the system as a whole declines.

To the original errors of the Sixth Congress the 10th Plenum added others. Every economic crisis was looked upon as a political crisis and declared to be the last crisis of capitalism. Policies and turns to the left or right were transferred to the capitalist world with absolute fidelity without regard for the requirements of the situation. An international campaign of dual unionism began and all the policies that had proved successful in the past were discarded. With what tragic results this method was continued is best seen in Germany, where the Communist Party rendered itself impotent to wage an effective war against fascism and the capitalist system.

M. S.

HARD COAL DUAL UNION OFFICIALLY DISBANDED

The United Anthracite Miners Union of Pennsylvania, the dual union led by Thomas Maloney and the notorious Rinaldo Cappelini has been disbanded after two years of bitter faction warfare which cost the lives of a number of miners.

Books of the Age

Four Books on the Jews

By Bertram D. Wolfe

This "enlightened 20th century" that began with such paeans to progress and faith in its own superiority to all previous epochs of human history is rapidly reverting in the "Western World" to all that was dark, foul and torturous in the decaying epoch of medieval life: fideism in science, the use of torture in penology, organized destruction of products and human productivity in economics, book-burning by the public hangman, and, as the inevitable concomitant of the other forms of reaction and decay—anti-semitism. "The decaying bourgeoisie," wrote Lenin, "supports everything that is backward, dying and medieval."

In Germany, but yesterday so proud, and not unjustly so, of its *Kultur*, anti-semitism is more than a by-product of decay: it has been elevated to the plane of an official state doctrine, a cornerstone of national policy. One has to go back to the decay of Czarism in Russia, to the decay of medieval Spain, to find a similar situation.

Alexander B. Tager in his *Decay of Czarism* has gone to the former, Valeriu Marcu in his *Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* has gone to the latter for a historical parallel.

Tager's book is a detailed, well-documented study of the famous trial of Mendel Beiliss, which, beginning as a trial of an obscure Jew on the age-old trumped-up charge of "ritual murder" ended as a trial of Russian Czarism and condemned it as cruel, deceitful and corrupt in the eyes of great masses both in Russia and throughout the world. Aided by the secret archives of the Czarist Government which were opened up by the Bolsheviks after the Revolution, Tager gives documentary proof that the Russian bureaucracy, judges, prosecutors, police officers and court, knew that their humble prisoner was innocent, knew the real culprits of a common criminal murder, but deliberately developed the charge of ritual murder in order to turn mass discontent away from capitalism and Czarism and against the Jews. But the nefarious stratagem, together with the decaying regime that could have resorted to it, have passed into history.

Valeriu Marcu's book is more ambitious, and not so well documented. He has had a journalist's perception that the "scientific" expulsion of the Jews from German economic and social life today has made the expulsion of the Jews from the 15th century Spain into timely "copy." The parallels are many and startling. There is the charge of ritual murder, the Jewish conspiracy to rule the world, the defilement of blood, the fetish of racial purity, the non-Christian great-grandmother, torture, expulsion from economic life. But a perception of historical analogies and a love of verbal pageantry are no substitute for the mastery of historical method. Marcu has not successfully interpreted the expul-

1. Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 297 pp., \$2.50.
2. Viking Press, New York, 181 pp. \$2.25

sion of the Jews from Spain in terms of the underlying forces of the epoch treated. Hence he has thrown little real light either upon that count nor upon the new anti-semitism of the present epoch. His explanation of the Jews as "always inclined to form ghettos in consequence of their form of worship" and of anti-semitism as due to the Jews' aloofness, are of those explanations that do not explain. Under such circumstances, ghetto life and anti-semitism are alike unhistorical and eternal.

The Romance of Hassidism, by Jacob S. Minkin, suffers from the same defect of lack of historical method. He attempts to trace the rise, development and decline of Jewish mysticism. He lumps together mysticism in the ancient Babylonian captivity, the Zohar which arose out of the Spanish adversity, the Messiahs of the seventeenth century and the Hassidic movement originating with Israel Baal Shem Tob. After the fashion of the Talmudist and according to the method of historical idealism, he derives doctrine from doctrine, text from text, and idea from idea. Ideas do not arise out of life and wither because their historical roots wither. They arise purely out of previous ideas and flourish mysteriously because some great and good man nourished them and wither because his followers are corrupt and uninspired. Then they become latent again in the mysterious Jewish oversoul and may suddenly overspread the heavens again if they find nourishment in some saintly rabbi's heart. This general defect of idealistic historical method is especially aggravated in the case of virtually all historians of the Jews because they depend so largely on priestly records (philosophical idealism in concentrated form), have a penchant for talmudical or textual explanation, examine their subject in timeless, ghetto isolation which puts mental walls between the consideration of the history of the Jews and the history of the other peoples of their times. Other peoples and their social movements and thought currents enter only as scourges or blessings, threatening dilutions of the purity of the law and way of life or cogent reinforcements. Obviously what the Jew needs is the application of historical materialism applied to the study of his economic and social life, and ideology. It provides an interesting subject. The Jew will thereby gain some of that self-knowledge which sets free, and the historian a fascinating subject that will test and enrich his method.

Basil Mathews in *The Jew and the World Ferment* has written a Christian plea for toleration of the Jew. It polemizes with more earnestness than skill against anti-semitism, and urges the Christian not to let prejudice exclude the Jew from the privileges of conversion to Christianity.

3. Macmillan, New York, 398 pp., \$3.50.
4. Friendship Press, New York, 186 pp., \$1.50.

New Words But The Old Song

Organizations may come and organizations may go but the methods used by the Communist Party remain unchanged. The Peoples March For Peace Committee is the latest culprit in the art of fabricating names of supporting organizations.

Locals 155 and 2085 of the U.T.W. suddenly became aware that their unions were being listed as sponsoring the march. A telephone call to the committee evoked the reply that these locals were not asked permission for the use of their names because the Metropolitan District Council of the U.T.W., of which these locals are a part, had endorsed the march. A check up in that direction proved that the District Council was equally surprised at being listed when it had never been approached for its endorsement.

It was these intolerable methods that called forth a sharp protest from the Joint Council, Knitgoods Workers Union. In a statement to S. R. Solomonick under the signatures of Morris Lipsky, President and Louis Nelson, Manager,

AFFILIATION TO A. F. L. FAILS IN NEWS GUILD

The unexpected has happened. Where most of the leading people in the Newspaper Guild believed that affiliation with the A. F. of L. was practically assured, final results showed that 28 votes were needed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote. The final tally showed 1,806 for and 945 votes against affiliation.

New York proved itself to be overwhelmingly affiliationist, having cast 730 votes for while only 180 were against. Such cities as Philadelphia and St. Louis cast majorities against affiliation.

the Council says:

"While our organization is opposed to war and is at all times prepared to take action in support of peace we cannot permit the names of our affiliated locals to be used as endorsers to an organization about which we know nothing and of a parade, in the arrangement of which we were not even asked to participate.

"We want to protest against this unauthorized use of the names of our locals. We believe that such methods of obtaining endorsers act against the attempt of sincere organizations to organize movements for peace. Such methods, which are undoubtedly attempts to draw the A. F. of L. trade unions into peace movements, defeat the very purpose and makes legitimate labor organizations wary and sceptical of anti-war movements."

The statement ends by calling upon the Committee to issue a public statement withdrawing the names of the two U.T.W. locals.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

The trade union question has become one of the issues which divides the various groups in the Socialist Party very sharply. This accounts for a particularly acrimonious article by Oneal in the New Leader of October 12, answering some pertinent questions of Norman Thomas. Anyone else would be very much embarrassed by some of the questions, but not Oneal. He's an old hand at the business.

Thomas says that the cases of Nemser and Denise (he of the wholesale and retail charter-selling business) stink to high heaven and it's about time the lid was lifted for an airing. To which Oneal replies by silence about Denise and about Nemser—threats that if the pro-Nemser Investigation Committee finds him not guilty its going to be just to bad for the Militant who brought charges against him. Of course, Oneal hasn't heard and doesn't know a thing about the case. Nor does the Socialist Party of New York! Now we'll tell you another one.

MODERATE ONEAL

You know, of course, that the A.F.L. Executive Council proposed to go on an anti-lynching bee. This met with an enthusiastic and boisterous response from Louis Waldman, totally unbecomingly so prosperous an attorney. He told the world that shooting would not be too rash a penalty. In fact it might be a good lesson for the Communists in the unions.

But Oneal being, as is well known, a person of great moderation, does not agree with Comrade Waldman. He thinks Waldman is too extreme and proposes instead a slow strangulation of the Communists. Here is what he says:

"A proposal is now before the A. F. of L. convention to embody this policy ('uprising against Communists') in the constitution. Will anyone contend that there is no cause for this feeling against them? He is blind who denies it."

"However, after reading the proposed A. F. of L. amendment, it is my conviction that it is not the way to handle the problem, but that some action should be taken to end the endless work of Communist destruction is certain. . . ."

"Just because the writer believes that the proposed amendment is a mistaken way of meeting the problem he has suggested another method. . . ." And Oneal is not without influence among the red-baiting bureaucracy!

LEARN A WORD A DAY

Just to prove our point as to the reserve and moderation of Oneal where Communists are concerned we present a choice collection of poison-tipped arrows.

"If I am asked whether I admire or hate Communists I will frankly answer that I hate them. . . . It is necessary to recall the fact that it is fundamental principle with them literally to destroy every individual and every movement that opposes them by methods that do not differ from the code of gangsters, criminals and racketeers. . . . Let them go their way to the oblivion that is certain to overtake them. . . . Just as human society isolates lepers, so should we isolate such anti-social creatures. . . . uncouth adventurism. . . . gangster life the speculating faker. . . . gangster life of low cunning and intrigue. . . . Undercover methods of employer spies in the trade unions. . . ."

This goes on and on. . . . We carefully checked the criminal code and find that Oneal has omitted two offenses—wife-beating and breaking the Sabbath.

"It is no accident", concludes old Scrooge, "that one novelist has named them the 'Slumunists'." It is equally no accident that a couple of realists have named him the mad dog of the New Leader!

Hear

GEORGE F. MILES

Editor "Workers Age"

on

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