

WORKERS AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL. 3. No. 9.

NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 1, 1934.

PRICE 5 CENTS

Mooney Asks for Financial Aid

California State Prison
San Quentin, Cal.
5-12-34.

My dear readers of
Workers Age,

My attorney, Frank P. Walsh of New York City, John F. Finerty of Washington, D. C. and George T. Davis of San Francisco, filed my application for a writ of habeas corpus in the United States District Court for Northern California, at San Francisco on the 7th day of May 1934. . . .

If the United States District Court denies this writ it will be appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and then the United States Supreme Court, if that be necessary.

The initial expenses for this legal work places a tremendous burden of raising \$5,000 upon my defense committee for briefing the great wealth of material in this eighteen year old case, stenographic, typing and other clerical help, office rent, supplies, printing and binding of briefs, postage, telegrams, telephone and transportation and traveling expenses for at least one of the attorneys, all of whom have volunteered their services without fee.

It will be absolutely necessary for me to take a Paupers Oath if permitted by the Court to have the Federal Courts pay the actual Courts Costs of my petition for a writ of Habeas Corpus.

This whole program will be in jeopardy if we are unable to raise this indispensable sum. This emergency compels me to plead with you for a donation to be used exclusively for expenses directly connected with this Federal Court Action. Your past generous support of this cause gives me hope that you will come to our immediate financial assistance. No contribution can be too large or too small, considering the task at hand of mass unemployment. Won't you please help us overcome this most unhappy situation? May I hope for an early and favorable reply to this very urgent appeal?

Please accept in advance my warmest personal regards, best fraternal greetings and heartfelt thankful appreciation for any consideration shown this communication.

Sincerely,
(signed) TOM MOONEY
Address all communication and make all funds payable to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, California.

The appeal referred to by Tom Mooney has been rejected by the District Court.

National Guard In Toledo Strike

Toledo, Ohio.
3,000 strikers and strike sympathizers have surrounded the Electric Auto-Lite plant, where some 1,000 scabs were recruited. After a full day of fighting, in which the strikers faced police clubs, fire hose and tear gas, the strike lines are still firm. The scabs have been unable to leave the factory.

Adjutant General Frank D. Henderson has ordered 700 Ohio National Guardsmen to proceed to Toledo for strike breaking activity.

DARROW BLASTS NEW DEAL

(An Editorial)

The sensational report of the National Recovery Review Board, the so-called Darrow committee, is certainly one of the most deeply significant social documents of the times. In the careful voice, at least semi-official in authority, a voice often confused and self-contradictory, indeed, but yet loudly proclaiming certain insistent and fundamental truths that it would be well for the American workers to heed.

The Darrow board was set up, under pressure of the "progressive block" in Congress, with the official purpose of investigating whether the NRA was fostering monopoly and oppressing small business and of making recommendations as to how the "little fellow" might be protected. There is no doubt that the board would follow the notorious example of the National Labor Board, would lose itself in interminable investigations and countless delays, would make meaningless and unheeded decisions and yet allay the resentment of the small business man by leading him to believe he had a champion in the very citadel of the NRA. But, under Clarence Darrow, it took another course entirely and turned out to be a carefully prepared bombshell that has moved the self-satisfied "Brain Trusters" in Washington to some very undignified exhibitions.

The actual findings of the Darrow committee are not particularly startling. It should be no news to anyone that the NRA has greatly stimulated the tendency to industrial and business monopoly in the United States. Under the NRA, the organization of the capitalists into trade associations has become practically compulsory and virtually universal. Thru the system of codes regulating the conduct of various industries and setting up code authorities to direct them, these trade associations have been vested with governmental power. Thus the tendency to concentrate control of American economic life in a few hands and to merge big business and government, has been greatly advanced by the NRA. Nor is it exactly a secret that under the NRA, big

business is dominant, completely controlling the code authorities which are usually no more than joint committees of the big trusts, and running things to its own advantage thru a system of price and production control and thru artifices very like outright extortion or swindling. The "little fellow" is certainly in a hopeless fix, facing imminent extinction.

But this tendency was not created by the NRA; it has only been accelerated by it. It is of the very nature of our present economic system, based on private property in the means of production and on production for profit, that it drives towards concentration and centralization of capital, towards big business combinations, towards the trust, the car, the monopoly—towards the elimination of the "little fellow." Modern technological development, furthermore, clearly demands large-scale mass production far out of reach of the small capitalist who frequently has to depend on the most ruthless exploitation of labor to keep his head above water.

The Darrow committee report only chases after reactionary rainbows when it strives to turn back the wheel of time and to contrive ways and means of assuring the small business man a secure place in the modern scheme of things. It is not difficult for the bright young men in General Johnson's retinue to expose this phase of the report to ridicule. For even the most unrestrained competition would bring no salvation to the "little fellow"; it would only drive him to extinction along another road!

The truth seems to be that the Darrow board felt duty bound to offer some protection to the small business man, to hold out some solace to him, at the same time that it half realized the utter futility of its own gesture. For in the supplementary statement submitted by Darrow and Thompson, quite another tack is followed. Here it is plainly declared that "it is doubtful whether . . . any power of government can protect the small man," that is, the small capitalist as a small capitalist. It is both reactionary and utopian to believe that the conditions of early capitalism, under which the "little

(Continued on Page 2)

No Credits for Nazi Germany

New York City

The following resolution against credits to Nazi Germany was unanimously adopted by the Executive Board of the Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., on Tuesday May 22, 1934.

WHEREAS, there is a concerted move under way today, promoted by German financial interests, to obtain American credits and loans for Germany; and

WHEREAS, such credits and loans would have the effect of bolstering up the tottering economic structure of Nazi Germany and thus of perpetuating the monstrous regime which has enslaved the German people, outlawed the labor movement, let loose the evil forces of race prejudice and nationalistic jingoism, and condemned tens of thousands of militant working men and women and progressive minded people generally to prison, concentration camp and death; and

WHEREAS, the labor movement of Germany, the authentic voice of the German people, has publicly disclaimed all responsibility for any loans to the Hitlerite dictatorship and has declared that such loans cannot be regarded as binding upon the German people; and

WHEREAS, German labor is urgently appealing to the world labor movement and to the anti-Fascist forces everywhere to do what they can to prevent the extension of loans, credits or any sort of economic aid to the Nazi regime in Germany; now therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Executive Board of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., that we vigorously protest against any attempt to extend American credits or loans to the Nazi government; and further

BE IT RESOLVED, that we respectfully request the State Department of the United States Government to use its authority and influence to prevent the extension of any American loans or credits to the Nazi government; and further

BE IT RESOLVED that we urgently call upon all trade unions and other labor organizations as well as upon all bodies of the American people friendly to labor and opposed to Hitlerism to raise their voices in protest against any loans or credits to Hitler Germany so that an aroused public sentiment may stay the hand of those who, thru their financial assistance, would strengthen the Fascist regime and postpone the day when the monster of Hitlerism will be overthrown and the German people emancipated.

Minn. Truckmen Stand Firm

Minneapolis, Minn.

It appears as if the efforts of the Regional Labor Board to rob the striking teamsters of a possible victory will not succeed.

Just when the strike appeared to be won the Board called for a truce and proposes the return to work and then the usual tripartite negotiations on the grievances.

Thousands of truckmen, gathered in mass meeting under the very guns of National Guardsmen, rejected the proposals of the Regional Labor Board and insisted on direct negotiations with the employers.

Crisis in German Socialism

The following article is reprinted from *Gegen Den Strom*, central organ of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition).—Editor.

When the Socialist Party of Germany started to rebuild its organization illegally, discussions of its program began in Germany, as well as among the emigres. These discussions indicated that, even among the most faithful adherents of the Socialist Party of Germany, profound disillusionment had set in with the results of the policy of upholding bourgeois democracy, that is, the Weimar Republic. The disputes on the program indicated that German reformism can only keep its followers if it covers up its bourgeois-democratic principles with phrases about the "revolutionary dictatorship" etc.

The Miles Pamphlet

A pamphlet by Miles, "New Beginning," has been published abroad as an expression of the lefts in the Socialist Party of Germany, that is, those German Socialist Party members who criticize the Prague leadership of Wels and Stampfer.

The "new" which Miles offers is merely a worsening of previous centrist theories. Under the guise of revolutionary sounding phrases, Miles stands not only for reform-

by G. S.

ist bourgeois-democratic slogans but to a certain extent makes concessions to fascist trends of thought.

Miles "Corrects" Marx

Miles undertakes to correct Marx, Engels and Lenin because, according to him, they believed in "revolutionary spontaneity," because they harbored the illusion, "that the proletariat as such represents a revolutionary force capable of creating a new society, that the proletariat because of its own class position would be driven to ever clearer and clearer revolutionary understanding and actions".

Miles, who claims to be a Marxist, merely betrays the fact that he does not know what Marx, Engels and Lenin said and wrote and that the fundamental concepts of Marxism are entirely strange to him. Insofar as he claims that Marx, Engels and Lenin believed in "revolutionary spontaneity," in the sense that the proletarian revolution would come automatically without an organizing force, Miles commits forgery. Marx, Engels and Lenin devoted their life's work to the creation of a revolutionary party, whose task they conceived to be that of organizing and lead-

ing the class struggle of the proletariat, arousing the class consciousness of the working masses, without which victory over capitalism is impossible. Lenin especially worked out the role of the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party. To be sure, Marx, Engels and Lenin looked upon the conscious and organized action of the working class as the practical conclusion of their understanding of the historical process and its necessities. This task the proletarian vanguard has to fulfill.

Revolutionary Spontaneity

The confused and ignorant Miles twists and falsifies the conception of the founders of socialism, because he imagines it to be blind faith in "revolutionary spontaneity" when one maintains that the "proletariat, because of its class position, will be driven to ever clearer and clearer revolutionary understanding and action." However, the "revolutionary understanding and action" of the working class is nothing else but the understanding of its class position and the practical conclusion therefrom. And the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, the party, is nothing else and can be nothing else but that part of the proletariat which realizes its class position, (Continued on Page 4)

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DARROW BLASTS NEW DEAL

(Continued from Page 1)

fellows" had a chance, can or should be restored to-day. Only a planned economy, based on "the fullest use of productive capacity for the raising of standards of living of individuals and the community," offers a way out.

Does the NRA lay the basis for such a planned economic system, as its champions, including many labor leaders and Socialists, have maintained? "To give the sanction of government to sustain profits," as does the NRA, "is not a planned economy but a regimented organization for exploitation," which operates thru "lowering the wages and reducing the living standards of the workers. A planned economy of abundance is possible, the supplementary report emphasizes as its most important contention, "only when industry produces for use and not for profit," only when the capitalistic system is scrapped and all the means of production, all land, all factories, all machinery, all raw materials, fall under the ownership and control of the producers as a whole.

"The choice is between monopoly sustained by government, which is clearly the trend in the National Recovery Administration, and a planned economy, which demands socialized ownership and control, since only by collective ownership can the inevitable conflict of separately owned units for the market be eliminated in favor of planned production. . . . The hope for the American people, including the small business man,

. . . lies in the planned use of America's resources following socialization."

Thus—and this is the great significance of the Darrow report—is heard for the first time from an official Federal government board a ringing call for a new socialistic economic order! For once General Johnson is right—the conclusion of the Darrow report really is that "the only hope of the country is the socialism of Karl Marx and Soviet Russia!" Never was this clearer than under the NRA!

And what is General Johnson's answer to this stirring challenge from the midst of his own camp? With all the high-powered battery of brains at his service, he is unable to contest it. Like the veriest "Tory" and "economic Neanderthal," to use the General's own elegant verbiage, our hero seeks safety behind the ramparts of the sacred Constitution! "No public official," he thunders, "who has taken an oath to defend the Constitution of the United States can adopt or officially advocate such a program."

Let the American worker ponder carefully what General Johnson declares. Between them and a world of security and abundance, a world in which starvation and unemployment will be wiped out, a world in which they will have their destiny in their own hands, stands the Constitution, the system of government of, by and for big business. When American labor comes to realize this fundamental fact so recklessly proclaimed by General Johnson, the next step will be obvious—and it will be just too bad for the Constitution!

Roy Is in Danger!

Recent information received from India brings the disturbing news that Manabendra N. Roy is in serious danger. After serving 3 years of a 6 year sentence in India, for conspiracy against his "Majesty" the King of England, he has contracted tuberculosis. Roy has been subjected to most rigor-

ous isolation and was even refused the rating of a political prisoner. No one was permitted to see him, books and periodicals are limited, and every effort to make his incarceration easier, the financial assistance, has not been allowed.

The following is the letter received:

Bombay, India.

"The latest information from him is very disquieting. He is unwell and was in the jail hospital for about a month. It is reported that he has developed signs of consumption. Barrielly climate does not at all suit his health. For the summer the government is now going to remove him to some hill station. An agitation must be set up in order that he may be kept there. None of us is allowed to communicate with him. No interviews have been allowed to him since the decision on his appeal. We requested that he may be examined by a private medical doctor and the well known Dr. B. C. Roy of Calcutta, had agreed to go to Barrielly to examine him but permission was refused. He is allowed to keep with him only a small number of books and is not given any facilities for carrying on literary and scientific work.

The pressure of Indian public opinion is very low at the present moment. I therefore have to request you to agitate on his behalf over there. That alone will have some effect."

Yours Fraternally,

The Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, whose members of parliament have once before raised the demand for the release of Roy, have been written to with the request that demands be made upon the government for Roy's immediate release.

The American Civil Liberties Union has interested itself in Roy's behalf and according to Roger Baldwin, its director, a movement for Roy will be started here.

The following letter has been sent to the International Labor Defense, in an effort to secure its aid in developing the movement for the freedom of Roy.

Dear Comrades:

We have just heard from our friends in India the following regarding Comrade Roy.

(Here follows the letter printed above).

You know, of course, that when the Meerut prisoners were released the liberation order did not apply to Roy who is to do six years of penal servitude for the charge of high treason against his Majesty.

We propose that you begin a campaign in the press as well as amongst your constituent bodies agitating for the following:

1. Immediate release of Comrade Roy.

2. Pending this release the transfer of Comrade Roy to a place more suitable for his health and the improvement of his status from that of Class C to Class A prisoner.

We are sure that you will see your way clear to pitching in and doing your bit in this case which is so symbolic of the revolutionary struggle of the Indian toiling

masses against British imperialism.

Please let me know as soon as possible what you are planning to do. We are certain that united action by working class organizations in this country and elsewhere will be of great help in bringing to bear necessary pressure on the British government in this particular case. We need not add that this will lend great inspiration and strength to the entire revolutionary struggle in India which is of such vital world-revolutionary significance.

Fraternally Yours,

JAY LOVESTONE

MAY DAY GREETINGS

The following names were omitted from the list printed in the May Day Issue of Workers Age.

Al Epstein
Jennie Price
Alice Brent
Mary Wright
Lillie Tanzer
Elmer Smith
Lily Dan
Harry Fels
Mary L.
Milt M.
Henry L.
Leo Aleof
Rubin
S. Richman
E. Shlachter

A Resignation From The Proletarian Party

April 20, 1934

To the Proletarian Party
Local Detroit:

The reactionary position on many questions taken by the Proletarian Party, its complete isolation from the labor movement, and recently its class collaboration by some of its so called leaders with stool pigeons and agent provocateurs of the Coal Bureau, aiding them in their desire to wreck the coal drivers union, members of which were on strike to better their economic conditions, has developed in me such a condition of nausea, that to associate myself further with these individuals, who in the depth of their depravity have sacrificed every vestige of revolutionary principle, honesty, and integrity, so that they could vent their venomous spleen on worthy comrades outside the Proletarian Party and especially on one sincere Comrade the Proletarian Party saw fit to expell because of his fight against the active support given by the Proletarian Party to labor fakirs and totally discredited reaction-

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aries such as Dennis Batt and Wm. Lamnek, my own sincere revolutionary reputation is at stake, and could justifiably be questioned, and because of the absolute and positive proof that can be furnished in support of these facts, I hereby tender my resignation to the Proletarian Party.

I remain,

JOHN SUGIA

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ESTIMATING AUSTRIA'S REVOLUTION

Like the Paris Commune, the Austrian insurrection of February 1934 is one of those epochal events that searchingly reveal the whole character of the period and that bequeath to the worker revolutionists of other times and other places both a glorious tradition and a great historical lesson. For four days the Socialist working men and trade unionists of Austria, arms in hand, waged a heroic battle against the bloody dwarf, Dollfuss, and his Heimwehr Fascist bands. Their courageous struggle, which has aroused the admiration of the workers of all countries, was at once the first mass resistance encountered by Fascism in its onward sweep of recent years and the first large-scale proletarian outbreak since the post-war wave of revolution. It will surely leave a deep imprint upon the development of the world labor movement and upon the various tendencies within it and it will unquestionably influence the whole course of politics not only in central Europe but on the continent as a whole, with repercussions throughout the world. With their life-blood have the Austrian workers written an imperishable page in the history of mankind!

SUPPRESSING A REVOLUTION—1918

When the rotten Hapsburg monarchy crumbled to the dust at the end of 1918, the aroused masses of the Austrian people, the workers and soldiers, turned their faces with new hope towards the socialist revolution. But the Social-democratic party, enjoying complete authority among the working masses, exerted all its influence and prestige to quench this revolutionary sentiment, to stabilize the capitalist economy and thus to rescue the bourgeois social order from collapse. As in Germany, the Social-democracy became the engine of a victorious bourgeois-democratic counter-revolution.

The whole tragic history of the Austrian proletariat since the war has its roots in the Social-democratic surrender in 1918. "The streets were all full of 'All power to the Soviets!', 'The dictatorship of the prole-

provocative acquittal by the Supreme Court of some Fascist murderers, aroused scores of thousands of workers in spontaneous mass protest and the streets of Vienna once again echoed the authentic voice of the proletariat. Under proper leadership, the movement might have effected a profound turn in the political development of post-war Austria. But again Social-democracy regarded it as its special mission and its highest honor to restrain the indignant workers and to curb their revolutionary fervor. The police shot down ninety Socialists on the streets of Red Vienna.



An Austrian worker is arrested while attempting to cross the border

na but the Viennese proletariat, Social-democratic almost to the last man, stood paralyzed in its self-inflicted impotence!

AUSTRIA AND THE CRISIS

Then came the world economic crisis, the background on which the whole chain of events in Austria in recent years has unfolded. The economic crisis hit the Austrian people with a terrific impact. The masses of the peasants and the lower middle classes of the cities were speedily impoverished and, to a large extent, practically wiped out economically. By 1931 a full one-third of the industrial working class was unemployed and the standards of the employed sections were materially reduced. As a consequence, a ferment of acute unrest began to agitate the masses. The peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, in torment and despair, provided a fertile soil for the mushroom growth of Fascism. Even the disciplined ranks of the Social-democratic working class began to grow restive, the blind faith in democracy as the panacea of all ills to dissipate, and dissatisfaction with the very conservative course of the Austrian Social-democratic leadership to mount. The whole tendency of events in Austria from 1929 to 1934 was to undermine the traditional social base of capitalist rule in that country—bourgeois democracy with the Social-democrats as a loyal parliamentary opposition—and to prepare the ground for the emergence of a revolutionary crisis.

DOLLFUSS SHIFTS TO THE RIGHT

Reflecting this realignment of social forces, came a corresponding regrouping of political tendencies. The Christian Socials, the Catholic government party of Dollfuss, dominated by big capital and with chief support among the bourgeois elements and among certain sections of the peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, began to lose ground rapidly, primarily to Fascism, which, in Austria, appeared in two forms. For the bourgeoisie it became clearer and clearer that, in order to preserve the social and economic system of capitalism, it was necessary to scrap the traditional democratic regime, harness the blind energies of the petty bourgeoisie to the chariot of finance capital and to suppress the labor movement and all its institutions with an iron hand. The course of events in Germany, which for a century has had such profound significance for Austria, only emphasized the reality of the Fascist perspectives of the bourgeoisie. By 1930 the new political turn of Austrian capital towards Fascism and towards ruthless anti-Marxism was evident to every one who had eyes to see.

AUSTRIA—COCKPIT OF EUROPE

Since the war, Austria has been the cockpit of Europe. The clash of social forces within the country has been intimately associated with the clash of imperialist forces outside, with the triangular antagonism: France—Germany—Italy dominant. From 1930, at least,

Just Off The Press
WHAT NEXT FOR AMERICAN LABOR?

by JAY LOVSTONE

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Communist Party (Opposition)

Germany has been openly driving for some form of Anschluss in the interests of the new German imperialism; Italy, aiming at an "independent" Austria under Roman patronage; France, manipulating to "save" Austria from both Hitler and Mussolini in order to bring it under the control of the Paris banks. Germany and Italy have each been closely linked up with one or the other of the two Fascist movements in Austria—the latter with the Heimwehr, dominated by the old Hapsburg generals and aristocracy, but relying chiefly on the better-off peasants, and the former with the Nazis, who boast of a growing support among the urban middle classes, the peasants and even among some elements of the working class. For a time, the Dollfuss government worked closely under French influence, preserving the forms of democracy and playing off the Heimwehr and the Nazis against each other. But as the social crisis grew threatening and the hour of decision came, Austrian finance capital could see but one road before it, to embrace Heimwehr Fascism as the last resort and to seek safety and salvation in the arms of Mussolini.

By the beginning of 1933, the Dollfuss government was already taking its first decisive steps along the new road. With the greatest energy, it proceeded to disarm the working class, materially and politically. The Socialist Schutzbund was dissolved; parliament was practically abolished and civil liberties abrogated; the powers of the Socialist municipality of Vienna were systematically shorn, every form of persecution and discrimination was deliberately invoked against labor. Finally, Dollfuss came out clearly for the Fascist "Christian corporative state", for the destruction of the class trade unions and their replacement by "semi-governmental organizations." He practically broke with his own party, the Christian Socials and began openly to strengthen the Heimwehr forces and equipment with state means.



Riddled by machine gun bullets a member of the Schutzbund dies a hero's death, in front of the Karl Marx Hoff

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY CONTINUES TO COMPROMISE

And what did the Social-democracy do all this time—Social-democracy with 90% of the industrial workers and 60% of the people of Vienna and over 40% of the entire population of Austria behind it? Let Otto Bauer describe the incredible facts in his own words:

"The Austrian Social-democracy made the greatest efforts to bring the political crisis to a peaceful constitutional settlement. For eleven months the Social-democracy exercised the greatest self-control. It did not put up any violent resistance to the abolition of parliament and to the establishment of the Dollfuss dictatorship. It tolerated the dissolution of the republican Schutzbund and a whole series of other repressive measures aimed at the constitution and robbing the workers of freedom of speech, freedom of the press and other civil liberties. . . . Neither did the Social-democracy oppose the act of the government in robbing the Vienna municipality of its income and in this way driving it into forced bankruptcy. It bit its lips in silence when the workers were deprived of a number of other social-political gains. On the contrary, until the last moment, it always did everything in its power to continue negotiations with the Dollfuss government. . . ."

"We offered to make the greatest concessions that a democratic and socialist party had ever made. . . . We let Dollfuss know that if he would only pass a bill thru parliament we would accept a measure authorizing the government to govern by decree without parliament for two years. . . ."

"We declared ourselves ready even to make concessions to the idea of the 'corporative organization of society and the state' in order to make some sort of agreement possible."

(To be continued)



A barricade behind which the workers of Bruck fought against the soldiers and Heimwehr of Dollfuss

tarial!"", writes Otto Bauer in his history of the 1918 events. "No bourgeois government," he continues, "could possibly have handled such a situation. It would have been disarmed by the distrust and contempt of the masses. . . . Only the Social-democrats could have safely handled a situation of such unparalleled difficulty because they alone possessed the confidence of the working masses. . . . Only the Social-democrats were able to curb the revolutionary adventures of the working masses. . . ." The "revolutionary" theory of the Austrian Social-democracy became the formula under which the revolution of the Austrian working class was suppressed.

THE ROAD OF PURE DEMOCRACY

In the decade following the democratic counter-revolution, the Austrian proletariat, under the tutelage of the Social-democracy, lost itself in the rosy utopia of municipal socialism, of "peaceful socialist construction" within the framework of capitalism. At the Hamburg congress, in May 1923, which reconstituted the Socialist International, Otto Bauer launched into a most fulsome eulogy of pure democracy as the road to revolution on the basis of the Austrian experience. "Austria," he vigorously announced, "is a land in which great social achievements have been won precisely thru democracy. . . . And just for this reason does the Austrian republic stand on a much firmer foundation than the land of the Soviet dictatorship. . . ." It was this hopeless political blindness that led Austrian Social-democracy into the blind alley in which it found itself on February 12, 1934!

SELF-INFLICTED IMPOTENCE

The comfortable democratic illusions of the Austrian Social-democracy were hardly interrupted by the stormy occurrences of July 1927. Coming events were beginning to cast their shadows before them. The menacing onward march of Fascism, dramatized in the

The Crisis in German Social-Democracy

(Continued from Page 1)

acts accordingly and tries to imbue the entire class with this realization and these conclusions. The "theoretical thesis of communism", states the Communist Manifesto, "is merely the general expression of the actual relations of an existing class struggle of a historical movement going on right before our eyes."

The Role Of The Party

Without organization, without the leadership of its vanguard, the mass of proletarians cannot come to a revolutionary understanding of its class position. Even when they do not yet grasp their class position, the workers, as sellers of labor power, clash again and again with the employers who exploit them. But these spontaneous fights are not yet struggles against the employers as a class, not yet class struggles. The class struggle, the conscious struggle of the workers must be organized by the revolutionary vanguard, the representative of revolutionary class consciousness (as Lenin emphasized again and again). For, so long as the workers act spontaneously, they remain under the influence of the organizations of the bourgeoisie, the state and its parties.

The "New Beginning"

Miles' New Beginning "corrects" Marx, Engels and Lenin in two ways. First of all, by its failure to grasp the "revolutionary understanding" as the understanding of the class position of the proletariat but instead as the speculative inventions of certain great personalities who considered themselves destined to take over the role of the leaders of the

working class; secondly, by its stating that fascism is brought about by the spontaneous movements of the workers, of which it is the driving force. Miles says literally that "the revolutionary driving forces born of capitalist contradictions change into blind, destructive elemental powers which, instead of acting progressively, that is, leading to socialism, become reactionary, fascist driving forces."

The Basis of National Socialism

Another question: "It isn't true that the people in Germany became national-socialist thru the propaganda of the national-socialists; the agitation of this party could be successful only to the extent to which the masses were national-socialist and sympathetic to a dictatorship." Marxism states that the proletariat is subject to the influence of bourgeois organizations as long as its action remains spontaneous. According to Miles, the workers did not succumb to the terror and the ideology of the fascist counter-revolution but themselves brought about this counter-revolution. Thus Miles is completely enmeshed in fascist phrases. Hitler, according to him, is fulfilling the will of the German workers as the tool of the masses. According to Miles, socialism, the overthrow of capitalism, can only come when the masses, heading with elementary force towards fascism, are overpowered.

The Party State

Indeed, Miles looks upon the proletarian dictatorship, which is

to bring about socialism, as the image of the fascist state, with the one exception that instead of Nazi leaders there are Social-Democratic leaders. He says: "The coming into existence of centralized party states cannot be avoided in the long run. It is only a question whether this state form has fascist or socialistic substance, whether the leading organizations uphold the capitalist regime or whether they want to create socialism with the scientific apparatus of Marxism."

Miles, of course, throws into one pot the soviet state, existing in the Soviet Union, and built on the basis of the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus, as well as the fascist dictatorship of Germany and Italy, which have developed the apparatus serving the interests of capitalist exploitation to its final form, that is, the "centralized party dictatorship."

That is one side of the "New Beginning" of the bold Miles. His ultimate objective is the "centralized party dictatorship", which, under the call "Heil Miles", coordinates "Marxistically" the workers despite the fascist tendencies peculiar to them. The other side is the demand for the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy as the next objective. Everything is natural, as befits a "left", centrist, Social-Democrat besmeared with revolutionary paint!

Centrism And Confusionism

The confusion, the hodge podge, which Miles offers in his pamphlet, is the product of the present situation of the Socialist Party of Germany. The reformist leaders do not believe in revolutionary action on the part of the masses; they base their hopes, instead, on bourgeois, anti-fascist forces. This explains the demand for the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy. On the one hand, they are subject to the pressure of the workers who are approaching communism. This explains their revolutionary phrases. On the other hand, they are subject to pressure from elements which have been more or less coordinated. This explains their statement that the "centralized party state" really represents "an achievement," etc.

Altho Miles repeatedly opposes a "new edition of the Weimar Republic", essentially, he wants nothing else but the "overthrow of the fascist state and its substitution by the broadest freedom of the masses in a democratic regime" as "a direct political objective." He anticipates the proletarian dictatorship, in the distant future, which he transforms into a "centralized party dictatorship" modelled on fascism.

What's To Be Done In Germany?

Miles's views on what ought to be done in Germany correspond to the above. He fails to consider the organization of the partial struggles of the workers against fascism, out of which alone can arise revolutionary mass activities for the overthrow of fascism. He thinks rather that "a struggle for the improvement of working conditions" can only be carried out "under conditions of an adequate proletarian right of organization", that is, not illegally, not under the rule of fascism. Miles urges the German workers to take up again the fight for the right of organization. This slogan, however, has meaning only if it is related to the slogan for the overthrow of the Hitler regime. To create the illusion that fascism will grant the right of collective bargaining amounts to misleading the German workers.

This position of Miles is understandable when one considers that he proposes today an alliance with bourgeois anti-fascist groups, that is, really for the resumption of the coalition government policy under the banner of the anti-fascist struggle. To be sure, if one wants to win the sympathy of liberal capitalists and Catholic bishops, etc., one must do everything to throttle the mass struggle of the workers, because these gentlemen deem their money bags to be of greater value than their anti-fascist feelings.

Karl Kautsky's Position

In the discussion of the program of the Socialist Party of Germany, Karl Kautsky also takes the floor. Kautsky openly says

7. Pay for two legal holidays. To the New York workers this may seem very little, but to the Los Angeles millinery workers it is a big gain.

When this agreement was brought to the strikers for ratification, every Industrial Union member took the floor, criticizing and belittling every accomplishment. But the workers gave them the right answer. The bitterness against the so-called lefts today is very strong.

The foundation is laid, a good strong militant organized group is in existence. However, there are many shortcomings. Most of these workers have very little experience in Union work. It will require hard work and many sacrifices, because there are many hardships to overcome. Then we have to contend with the manufacturers as well as the Industrial Union members who are seeking to disrupt anything we do. The future will show if the workers can surmount these difficulties, and build a powerful union to defend their interest.

what the other Social-Democratic leaders think but no longer dare say. The Socialist Party of Germany, he says, could not have acted otherwise than it did and that it would have to repeat its policy of 1918 after the overthrow of fascism.

Kautsky says of Miles that he endorses everyone of his immediate demands; the problem of dictatorship of the proletariat, however, is "purely an academic one . . . since Miles himself demands the winning of democracy as the next step". Kautsky answers the various articles in which the writers demand that Social-Democracy should in the future appropriate the basic industries and the large estates. He says:

"Is this a new socialist program? In 1891 the Erfurt Program demanded the transformation of the capitalist private property of the means of production and land into social property. . . . It will probably be said that the defender of the new program in the 'Neuer Vorwarts' did not deny this. What is new in the proposal is to be found rather in the fact that our Party, when it did have power, has until now failed to carry thru its own program."

Nothing New, Says Kautsky

Here, too, Kautsky denies that this is something new. He says, without batting an eyelash, "Where Social Democracy saw the possibility of socializing, of transforming the great monopolies of land and of cartels into social property, it did just that." To leave no doubt that he is advising the Socialist Party of Germany again to betray the working class, as they did in 1918, he develops an economic program according to which, after the overthrow of fascism, the most important measure will be to reduce working hours without a corresponding reduction of wages. Kautsky further remarks:

"We will, of course, along with this, also work for the overcoming of the economic crisis and for breaking the rule of the big monopolies, especially in land, the basic industries, and the banks. But all this cannot be realized so rapidly and cannot bring such immediate advantages as the shortening of the working day will bring."

Kautsky, as was stated above, frankly says what the other reformist leaders try to cover up with radical phrases. He actually promises the German capitalists that the Socialist Party of Germany will protect their political rule, their property and their profits.

The New Program Of The Socialist Party of Germany

The result of the Party discussion in the Socialist Party of Germany is a program which the Prague leadership published on January 28th in the "Neuer Vorwarts". This program is a mixture of the proposals of Kautsky, Miles and Aulhaeuser. The latter demands the establishment of a Social-Democratic "Enlightenment Dictatorship", after the overthrow of fascism, to serve as the transition to the ordinary parliamentary bourgeois democracy.

Old Ghosts Haunt S. P. G.

This "Enlightenment Dictatorship" is an old centrist slogan. What is the "revolutionary government" going to be like, according to the Prague Program? It is not a soviet government; it is to be based on the old state apparatus (in this case fascist) which is not smashed but merely "purged". This government is to "socialize" heavy industry, the large estates and the banks (how this is to be done, we shall soon discover) and then, after having "assured the security of the revolutionary power", to convene parliament, elected on the basis of universal suffrage. In history there was once such a "revolutionary government." It ruled thru the old state apparatus, purged only at the top, and tarried a while before it issued the call for the convocation of parliament. This was the Kerensky government of Russia. It, too, wanted to secure the "revolution" (Continued on Page 7)

Millinery Strike in California

by I. SHAPIRO

The general strike of the millinery workers of Los Angeles has been won. It was our group that determined to build an effective weapon to win better conditions for the millinery workers. By patient work we were able to assemble a group of active millinery workers to accept the task before them.

There had existed of course, the usual paper organization of the Communist Party, the NTWU, Millinery Section, which had been unable, due to its sectarian policy to attract the millinery workers of Los Angeles to its ranks.

The situation within the industry in Los Angeles was ripe for organization work and with a correct policy, as outlined by our group, within the Millinery Workers International Union, Local 48, the work began.

Tedious work of calling meetings, planning at each meeting to bring more and more workers under the banner of the union had been done with a measure of success. The work had begun to reach out beyond the meeting stage. The Executive Board was now planning to take the next step.

What were these steps? It became necessary to get assistance, to strike out more boldly and unionize the shops of Los Angeles. A call was placed for the President of the International to come to Los Angeles and after much delay, Max Zaritsky finally arrived.

He found that the Union had already enrolled about 150 members, young, militant and demanding action. This was a real live group and was ready to go to bat for the workers of the entire industry which numbers here between 1200 to 1500 workers. As soon as Zaritsky stepped off the train the demand for a strike was placed before him. The members already had discussed what they wanted and did not rely on a Moses to lead them out of the wilderness. The workers wanted a closed shop, 25% increase in pay, abolition of the blacklist system, equal division of work, no discharge, a full day's pay for any part of a day's work.

Los Angeles is well known as the "white spot" in the labor market of our country. It is the most open shop, union hating town and led by

a most notorious Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce had fostered a system of blacklist which the millinery bosses adopted post haste. This system prevented any worker from going to work in another shop without the sanction of the boss from which shop he had just come. This of course means that any worker who raised his head in the shop was to be read out of the millinery trade. Many workers, militant and class-conscious were thus thrown out of the industry. Therefore, before any union could be built in Los Angeles it was necessary to tear this blacklist out of the Millinery industry.

At the first mass meeting held with Zaritsky, the members of the so-called "Industrial Union" appeared at the meeting with their usual demand for a united front. The chairman of the meeting advised them to appear before the Executive Committee with their demand. This they failed to do.

At the next mass meeting the members of the "Industrial" Union made a disturbance, which they had previously organized, in order to disrupt the meeting. But the determination of the workers was so strong that our "good" comrades didn't succeed.

At the next executive meeting everybody was so enraged at them that they were opposed to having them admitted. However our group insisted that they should be admitted and let the workers judge them by their action.

The next meeting was called to take a strike vote. All the "good Communists" came as an organized group to oppose the strike. When the vote was taken, they stood up as a body shouting "The strike is a fake" and so on. Nevertheless the workers voted for a strike, and the party was declared, despite the party members voting against it.

On Tuesday morning March the Twentieth the strike was declared. When committees of the Union approached the workers with the strike call, some of the members of the "Industrial Union" (near the Regal Shop) sneered at them,

argued with them that "now is not the time for the strike" and that "the strike is lost before it started." One can imagine the demoralizing effect it had upon the workers who didn't know any thing at all about the Union. This shop was no exception. The members of the "Industrial Union" tried to demoralize and defeat the strike.

With all the obstacles that we were confronted, both left and right, we succeeded in stopping off, the first day, between forty and fifty per cent of the workers in the industry. If we could have had a chance to develop the strike we are certain we would have been able to stop many more.

The manufacturers didn't believe that the workers would go on strike, but when they saw almost fifty percent of the workers come out, they had to sit up and take notice. They immediately asked the N.R.A. to step in and call a conference for the purpose of settling the strike. The strike committee immediately called a meeting of the workers, and put it up to them whether or not they should arrange to send a committee to discuss and act upon the demands with the bosses. The workers voted in favor of this and the strike was settled the same day, after the workers had an opportunity to discuss and vote on the agreement.

The following are the terms of the agreement.

1. The abolition of the blacklist system, which was the curse of every worker in the millinery line.
2. The recognition of a shop chairman and committee, to represent the workers in their disputes with their bosses. If however, they cannot come to an agreement, representatives of the Union step in. If the representative of the Union does not succeed to settle the question, then it is taken to the impartial chairman for final decision.
3. No discharge.
4. Equal distribution of work.
5. Stop check in and check out system. When a worker comes in to work in the morning he is to be paid for a full day's work.
6. A raise in the minimum, above the code wages, from \$16.78 to \$18.00 for trimmers. Operators and cutters to get from \$22.50 to \$24.00. Blockers from \$20.25 to \$30.00.

The Social Spectrum of Communism

The writer of this article is not a member of the Communist Party (Opposition). Altho we do not see eye to eye with the writer on a number of questions, we gladly publish this article since it touches a very sore spot in the relationship between the official Communist Party and the Communist groups outside the party.—Editor.

There is always the possibility that the reason why an ideology will slur over the differences between the ideologies which it opposes is that it is too conscious of its own inherent weaknesses. This is definitely the impression gained in analyzing the article "Disguised as Marxists" which appeared in the February 20 issue of New Masses. To the writer of this article there are apparently only two social colors. He declares, in effect, that whoever is not of his particular shade of red is necessarily white (or perhaps black, or brown). Everything in the sphere of the proletarian movement which is not of the precise ideology of the Communist Party and the Communist International is lumped together—Social Democracy, Dewey's Farmer-Labor Party, the American Workers' Party, the Lovestonites, the Trotskyites, etc.

One need not be a member of or even a sympathizer with any one of these groups to discover that the article is deliberately unfair to the Communist Party (Opposition) in the United States. According to its author the one characteristic all these groups have in common

is hostility to the Communists. Composed of partylets and fragmentary groups, of generals without armies and renegades from the revolutionary movement, they shout the same slogan in different tongues: "Down with the Communists, down with the Third International."

The author further declares that these

pseudo-revolutionaries gain the support—either open or covert—of the ruling-class (as the true revolutionary movement grows) in order to halt the dangerous party.

The Workers' Age, the organ of the Communist Opposition (which has so gained the support of the ruling-class that it does not appear regularly because of lack of funds) has yet very strangely carried on an attack against those who would do away with the Third International that almost exceeds that of the official Party in vehemence and bitterness. The Opposition group, according to our author, "has one direction—the high road to reformism and Fascism" and he implies that it unites "forces with the capitalists against the Communists." The following (which may be instructive) is taken from the report of the "Decisions of Convention" of the C.P.O., held December 30-January 1:

4. Resolved, that we condemn the Trotskyist position and premises for a new party and a new Communist International. Voting for—55; Against—None; Abstentions—5. . . . 6. To recognize the Soviet Union as the base for the world revolution and to conclude therefore, that we cannot have a new Comintern without the party leading the victorious proletariat—the C.P.S.U.—being part of it. Voting for—42; Against—6; Abstentions—1.

In the issue of December 1, 1933, there are two articles on the matter of a "Fourth International" and repudiation of the present Comintern. These are pre-conference discussions, printed side by side on the same page, the article favoring a new Communist movement ("The Struggle for Unity on a Higher Level" by Herbert Zam) being

The Relation of the C.P. to the C.P.O.

by WILLIAM B. TOLLEN

given no less importance and space than the article opposed to this doctrine ("Against a 'New' Party and a 'Fourth Int'l'" by W. Herberg). This is something the official party, of course, cannot be accused of doing (one recalls the Stalin-Trotsky dispute), viz., at least to give an opposition view sufficient chance, through publicity, etc., either to prove itself or squash itself. It should be unnecessary to quote from Herberg's article; the title is sufficiently indicative of its argument. The fact of the matter is that he scathingly denounces the idea of creating new parties or a new international. The issues of December 15, January 1, and January 15 each carries articles on the problem of a new party, side by side, one for and one against the proposal.

The avowed and obvious purpose of the C.P.O. is "to restore the C.P. of the U. S. A. to (what it believes to be) a (true) Leninist line." Against an insignificant number of its members who have declared for a "new" communist party, it declares its intention to continue as a faction until it is able to convince the Party of the necessity for adopting the practical tactics advocated (largely a matter of trade union policy opposed to dual unionism and "splitting"). If the matter of tactics is the difference between Communists and non-Communists (or anti-Communists), then Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Rykov, Tomsky, and Kamenev have been Communists only "on-and-off" and many a Party member of today will be the "renegade" of tomorrow.

Our author tells us that the above-named groups are

all under the guidance of confused, inept, opportunistic, or outright dishonest individuals who croak variations to the same false-hood, "The bankruptcy of the American Communist Party and the Third International."

All these groups either are renegade or composed of misleaders or else "join forces with the renegades and misleaders," and, according to our author, they all have the same direction, viz, Fascism. Trotskyism and the Opposition group are tossed with violence into precisely the same category. The attention of the reader is called to the following quotation:

(Trotskyism) has become the new ideological gathering point of contemporary centrism. . . . Today a new ideology is necessary (for centrism, Austro-Marxism) and Trotsky has eagerly come forward with it. He parades his wares to the not altogether convinced centrist customers: an anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary attitude towards the U.S.S.R. covered with revolutionary memories of 1917! The readiness to form a new "revolutionary" International in which the very term Communism shall be banned and, perhaps most characteristic of all, an opportunity to shift the reformist worship of democracy to a new basis more in consonance with the times!

What a Rake's Progress from "real Communism" to "real democracy"!

It is most curious that this quotation is from an article by the "renegade" W. Herberg which appeared in the columns of the Workers' Age (a publication "supported by the ruling-class"), issue of January 1, 1934.

The present writer is not convinced that Trotsky can be made out to be a "rake" or a "reformist," but that in its part from the matter under discussion here. The point is, that as regards Trotskyism, the C.P. and the C.P.O. are not sailing different vessels; nor are Trotskyism and the Opposition group very companionable bed-fellows.

Workers' Age for December 1 carries a criticism and rejection of Trotskyism entitled "Trotsky and Dan," in which two quotations are

set forth, one from Trotsky and the other from an obviously anti-Soviet Socialist, supposedly embodying the same idea, and from which it is inferred (whether with reason or not, we shall not here concern ourselves) that both Trotsky and Dan are counter-revolutionary, reactionary and anti-Communist. The issue of December 15 ("Soviet Recognition and the Comintern") declared: The anti-Soviet demagogues, with the Trotskyites in the van, grow hysterical over "Stalin's bargain."

and sought to demonstrate that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union does not involve the abandonment of the revolutionary policy of the Comintern. The Workers' Age gave a much more convincing answer to the charge that the Soviet Union "sold out" the Comintern than did the publications of the official Party. The present writer by no means necessarily subscribes to the views here mentioned, nor to the propriety in the choice of adjectives to describe men and movements. The fact of the matter, however, is again that the Communist Opposition group is definitely not anti-Soviet, that it defends the Soviet Union against all attacks. The reader is referred to the article entitled "The Bankruptcy of Trotskyism" in the Workers' Age for December 15. The following, from the issue of January 1 may possibly be construed as an "anti-Communist" remark:

The Daily Worker continues its ballyhoo about the Soviet Union and the "aroused American proletariat" having forced recognition! It has as yet made no attempt to answer the hysterical charges of the anti-Soviet demagogues, with Trotsky himself in the lead. It is incapable of making any serious reply because it is so sterile and ideologically servile, that it cannot even defend its own position.

According to our author, the doctrines of Sidney Hook and those of the Opposition group are also in the same category. And yet "Lovestone's" paper, Workers' Age, has carried articles opposing Hook's interpretation of Marx. J. Cork, in "unmasking an American revisionist of Marx," concludes his review of Hook's book Toward the Understanding of Karl Marx with the following words:

... Hook's book, in spite of its many great merits, cannot be regarded as a valid and genuine "understanding" either of the Marxism of Marx or of the living Marxism of today.

Lovestone, in the issue of December 1, declared that the

German debacle, with the triumph of the Nazis, is the costliest loss which the world working class has suffered since the world war.

A comment of our author applicable to this is as follows:

Hitlerism in Germany is described as the greatest setback in the history of the working-class; the reverse side of the medal is ignored, of course; that only a moribund capitalism, gathering its final strength, would dare to foist the medievalism of Fascism upon the working-class awakening to consciousness of power.

The reader may well wonder how this description fits Italy where Fascism has been thriving for about 15 years, almost as long as socialism in Russia. Far from ignoring this "reverse side of the medal" the Opposition is sincerely endeavoring to apply just those tactics that can combat it.

Just as Communism seeks to overcome the conditions which make possible the existence, in all its misery, of the proletarian class under capitalism, so the Communist Party should seek to overcome the conditions which make the existence of "renegades" possible. It is a tremendously open question how much the Communist Party would thereby lose. To deny that much more would be gained is to close one's eyes to the painful reality that touches in so many spots.

This article is not a defense of the Communist Opposition. It is a plea that the Party intellectuals distinguish white from pink from red; that they refrain from obvious intellectual tactics, from the use of honorific and derogatory terms in the presentation of their arguments; and that they recognize, if they may, that in America there are as yet many hues of dark red.

Nailing Some Slanders

by GEORGE WEISS

We are certain that when the history of trade unionism in the fur industry in New York is written the name of George Weiss will not be omitted. He is a fine example of a self-sacrificing and devoted working class fighter and has fought in the front lines of the battles of the New York furriers. Yet so bitter is the war today with those who would spit the existing trade union movement, that a most despicable and slimy campaign of slander and provocation has been let loose upon him from the direction of the official C.P. Comrade Weiss is not only a good trade union fighter but also a very active and devoted member of the Communist Party (Opposition)—Editor.

I owe no answers to the leaders of the dual union, the Fur Department of the N. T. W. U., but I do direct myself to those workers who may be poisoned by the daily fabrications of the Morning Freiheit. These workers ought to know the facts of the case.

In the Morning Freiheit of April 24 Sol Herts made an open statement to the effect that I was involved in the gangster attack made some time ago on the offices of the Industrial Union. I wish to state now that it was primarily due to my efforts against the gangsters that the more workers did not become victims of that attack. A very long time went by and it occurred to no one to identify me with this outrageous action of a gangster attack against an opposing union. Why has it suddenly become necessary to make a deliberate frame-up on me?

In my opinion there are two reasons for this. By raising such issues the leadership of the Industrial Union is trying to side track the growing dissatisfaction with the policies and tactics of the Industrial Union among many fur workers. Another reason for this frame-up is to try to discredit me in the eyes of the fur workers.

It is remarkable that the leaders of the Industrial Union had not the courage to sign their names to this dirty piece of police work. When this deliberate provocation first appeared in the form of a leaflet, it was signed by the "Wounded Furriers." I did not find it necessary, at the time, to answer a document to which the writers

were too cowardly to attach their names. Now this despicable "revolutionary" job was given to Sol Herts.

Who is this Sol Herts? What are his services for the labor movement? Here is just one example of what a flaming revolutionist he is. In 1927, 65 comrades were arrested for union activity and were sentenced to 15 to 30 days. Herts was one of these. He skipped bail and went to Camp Nitgedaget for a good time while the rest of us served the sentence. What has Herts done now? Thru his work of an agent provocateur he actually places himself in a position of asking the police for my arrest on the trumped up charge of murder.

The furriers know very well that in every struggle of the workers for better conditions, I was always in the front ranks. Never because of personal gain but in the general interests of the workers. I am a worker in a shop and am exploited in the same manner as all other workers. For this reason I have been active for organization among the furriers and for this very reason the preposterous frame-up against me is not going to stick.

The furriers surely remember that when one of the well known gangsters appeared on 28th Street and threatened the Industrial Union, I was one of the first to help drive him off. Mr. Potash and M. Lederfein also have something to remember, that I helped save their lives in the struggle around B. Axel's shop.

I am now and have always been a voluntary soldier in the labor army, nor have I ever run away from a fight. Whoever may not know but I know that you, Gold, left the furriers, then involved in a bitter fratricidal war, and went to Bermuda for a joy ride. It is an open secret that you paid for your trip to the Soviet Union by changing your political convictions. You put a mask upon your face and spew bitter gall against your former friends, for whom you well know that you still have the greatest respect.

Only two weeks ago when we met in a downtown restaurant you proposed to me to become part of your organization committee. Because I refused to become part of a committee to terrorize the furriers into paying dues and taxes to your union, you are now aiming all your poisoned arrows at me. If only I had accepted your offer what a good boy I would be in your estimation.

Don't you know, Gold, that you and your supporters are responsible for the miserable conditions in the trade? Don't you send your people to work in shops under any wages and any hours just in order to defeat the Joint Council. Your strong committees terrorize honest fur workers who are building a union. When I helped to stop one of the shops, under the control of the "revolutionary" union, where your members were working piece work, long hours and below the scale, then you opened up with your billingsgate. You throw mud and your shadow, Sol Herts makes frame-ups and provocations.

But why, Comrade Gold, are you afraid to tell the furriers that I bend my back over a machine in order to make a living for myself and my old mother. Instead you create the impression that I am a paid agent and a "scab leader." Why?

You are playing a sorry comedy with the shop I work in. You are conducting a so called strike and are making a few simple workers unemployed. Don't you know that most of your strikes now are just simple adventurism.

I have nothing against you. You must continue to pay for your trip to the Soviet Union. But why make the furriers pay for it?

As for me, I came to my present convictions thru no pleasure trips either to Bermuda or to the Soviet Union. It was from my own experience that I was convinced that dual unionism is a curse for the workers. I then joined the A. F. of L. Union and am active in building the union and fighting for a progressive leadership in the union.

This fight I will continue, together with all other progressive workers in the fur trade. No threats, slanders and frame-ups will stop me. Our aim for one union in the fur trade must, and I am sure will be achieved.

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WORKERS AGE

The World Communist Front

Greetings From First Underground C.P.G.O. Conference

To The Communist Party of the United States (Opposition).

Dear Comrades:

The first conference of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) has taken place, being held under the most severe underground conditions. In spite of the insufficient means at our disposal, the coming and going of the delegates occurred without any losses. The most responsible functionaries of our organization in all districts of Germany came together at the conference. In a fruitful session lasting five days, for the first time in fifteen months, thoroughly discussed and critically examined the experiences of illegal work.

To do this was a pressing necessity, for in Hitler Germany it has become impossible to get the responsible comrades, numbering twenty-two, together for five days. We took a position on the most important political and organizational problems confronting us in Germany. The carrying out of the conference is an example of inner-party democracy and of the strictest communist discipline. Every one of us returned to our fighting posts strengthened by the critical discussion.

Among other things, we took a position on international questions and on the problem of developing the International Relief Association. We approved unanimously the position of our National Bureau on the problems discussed. The developments in Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Austria prove that we are on the right road. Among the most cheering reports we consider the splendid acts of solidarity of the American Communist Party (Opposition).

Comrades of the American Communist Party (Opposition). You have greatly helped our work with your material aid. Our conference sends you the heartiest greetings of struggle and thanks you for your fraternal solidarity which we accept as the expression of the closest Communist unity.

We can declare with pride that the CPGO has held its own against the crusade of destruction by the Brown bandits and that our organization has remained intact in spite of heavy sacrifices. In town and country we have won, in spite of our illegality, new and determined fighters from the ranks of the CPG and the Social-Democracy. Our political influence has grown. We believe that this will not be without effect on the international Communist movement. Under the barrage of the Fascist counter-revolution the forces of the proletarian revolution will gather and we will succeed in creating unity in the Communist movement on the basis of Leninist tactics and Communist principles.

In the fourteen months of illegality we have learned much and we believe that the time is now approaching when we can pass over from propaganda to agitation among the broad masses and to the preparation of mass actions. We direct our work particularly toward the development of resistance in factories and among the unemployed. Our pioneer work in the creation of independent class trade unions assumes great significance in this respect.

Every meeting of our groups of five, every step in preparing and distributing illegal literature, places the greatest demand on every individual. Arrests, jail, imprisonment, concentration camps and bloody terror threaten every revolutionary fighter, today far more than ever. The legal crusade of persecution by the secret state police has now replaced the crude Fascist mass terror. Since the beginning of the Hitler dictatorship five hundred comrades of the CPG have been sent to jail and to concentration camps. In the last quarter of a year alone, in four out of our twenty districts, thirty-two comrades have been sentenced to thirty-seven years of imprisonment.

Most of the imprisoned were jailed without any trial and were subjected to the most awful mistreatment and torture. The IRA, also working illegally, does its best to help us but it is only a drop in the bucket; for the number of victims is too great. Of greater significance, therefore, is the help of the international sections of the IRA, especially the American. Please transmit in the most appropriate way to the American IRA and those who support it the thanks and the greetings of the victims of the Brown terror.

We have noted with the greatest fraternal interest your successes on the political and trade union field. It gives us added strength in our strenuous task to see that the success the experience and lessons of German events for the winning of masses to Communism and the trade unions for revolutionary mass struggle, for the formation

of proletarian united fronts and for the defense against all reactionary attacks.

Comrades! We ask you to transmit our thanks to the American workers and all members of the mass organizations under your influence for the material support and their ardent revolutionary greetings. We greet especially the membership of Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in New York, who by their votes for the union leadership made a shining recognition for a correct revolutionary trade union policy. . . . Our best regards also to the workers and comrades in struggle in Chicago and Montreal, who have tied up their campaign against the Brown press of the Hitler dictatorship with the fight against the mercenaries of the Fascist dictatorship. We greet especially the Lithuanian Communist group, the news of whose fraternal affiliation with the ICO was transmitted to us at the conference.

We are in the forefront of the struggle against the Hitler dictatorship. The evidence of your

solidarity shows us that our fight is receiving international approval. Your material and moral support aids us and strengthens us in our difficult task.

Hail the fight for Communism and the proletarian dictatorship! Down with the hangmen of the Fascist dictatorship!

Uncompromising struggle against reformism and centrism!

Fight for the organization of the proletarian united front and the winning of mass organizations for the revolutionary struggle against the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship in the non-fascist countries!

Fight against the false tactics and the ultra-left course of the Comintern and the CP!

For the unity of the Communist movement in all countries!

DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY (OPPOSITION).

Denmark, Middle of April, 1934.

FRANCE

Doriot Clashes With C. P. F.

As a result of the events of February 16th, a conflict on the question of united front tactics broke out in the CP of France. First the question was discussed in the Central Committee with Doriot and Jean Renaud, members of the Central Committee, sharply criticizing the tactics of the party. Doriot is the communist mayor and the Municipal Councillor of the proletarian suburb of St. Denis, in the northern part of Paris. An open conflict developed when the Central Committee of the party opposed the "Comite de vigilance", the united front committee which had been created in St. Denis and which welded communists and socialists, red and reformist trade unions into an anti-fascist united front. The Central Committee demanded first the liquidation of the committee later, that it affiliate with the Anti-fascist league, a C.P.-controlled auxiliary; finally, they even gave that up. The district of St. Denis decided, in a district conference, (120 votes as opposed to 55) to write an open letter to the CP. They demanded a discussion in the Party on the united front. This was rejected by the Central Committee. At the same time the Central Committee carried on a vicious campaign against Doriot, in "Humanite", as well as against his followers in St. Denis and tried to mobilize the fractions against him. Doriot, on his part, circulated the open letter not only in the St. Denis district but also in other Party districts. He did this thru the local Party organ "L'Emancipation". There followed a veritable placard war in the district between Doriot and the Central Committee. In the course of the fight Doriot resigned from the mayoralty and as a municipal councillor in order to have new elections. Doriot asked the Central Committee for an open discussion in St. Denis. This discussion took place on the 20th of April with the leading members of the Central Committee present.

Doriot's Open Letter

The Central Committee charged that Doriot wanted a bloc with the Social-Democrats and that he advocated the united front from on top to the complete exclusion of the united front from below.

The "Open Letter" contains the following:

1. A correct criticism of the halting, uncertain tactic of the Central Committee, vacillating between the "united front from below" and the united front from "on top".

2. The demand to combine in a proper form the united front from below and on top, that is, to appeal not only to the local and district organizations of the SFIO and CGT but also to the central organizations.

3. Doriot imagines however that the seizure of power by the working class can be realized thru the united front.

The following is a literal quotation from the "Open Letter."

"The Party must do everything to develop united action, agreements between the lower party and trade union organizations, and proposals to the top leadership. The Party must drop its sectarianism on this question. Then it will succeed in developing the revolutionary forces and in bringing the present upsurge to the final stage of proletarian power."

4. The program of action for the united front as set up in the Open Letter also contains the following points:

11. "Organization of projects of social value which will give employment to unemployed workers and technicians."

12. "Nationalization of banks, of the insurance system, of railroads, of the coal, iron and mines, the large industrial and trade enterprises, which represent actual monopolies."

13. "Policy of alliance with the Soviet Union."

On the other hand, the program of action does not touch the question of state power at all. Thus we must unfortunately

(Continued on Page 7)

GERMAN UNDERGROUND PUBLICATIONS

7. Jahrgang — No. 1/1934

GEGEN DEN STROM

ORGAN DER KPD (OPPOSITION)

Der Aufstand der österreichischen

Der Metallarbeiter

Gegen Den Strom is the central organ of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition). Pages 2 and 15 of a 16 page pamphlet published by the CPGO. It is entitled "On Fascist and Communist Economy in Germany." Der Metallarbeiter is published in the Ruhr by a group of metal workers among whom CPGO members are quite influential. Korrespondenz is published by the CPGO district of Berlin. Der Neue Weg is the latest addition to the many papers published by the CPGO. Juniusbrief is a nationally circulated CPGO paper. Einheit is issued by the CPGO in Saxony. Arbeiterstimme is the organ of the CPGO in Dresden. The Gestapo (German secret police), in a recent published report, states that Arbeiterstimme is the widest circulated communist paper in Germany. All of these miniature papers are published in four pages.

C.P. Convention Discussion Leads to More Expulsions

This article was written during the pre-convention discussion of the CP and was sent to the Daily Worker where it naturally never saw the light of day. It was suppressed in the true spirit of present-day self criticism and the writer was rewarded for his efforts by an expulsion from the party. Thinking communists are rare in the CP, these days. We therefore welcome the article from which it is clear that Comrade Cook is fully in agreement with the line of the CPO.—Editor.

by BUDD COOK

Seattle, Washington. The pre-convention discussion period offers an unparalleled opportunity for an examination of the present policies of the Party. The burning issues facing the Party today which involve the very life of the Party and the revolutionary movement are: 1. Democratic centralism; 2. Trade Union policy; 3. United front policy; 4. Labor party.

Democratic Centralism

As a result of the absence of democratic centralism in our Party, we find:

1. A low political development of the Party as a whole.
2. The failure of new members to develop.
3. That continued membership in the Party requires a religious faith in the leadership rather than a confidence born of understanding.
4. The turn-over of 36,000 members between Jan. 1930 and the latter part of 1932 (Party Organizer, Vol. 5 No. 11-12).
5. An expulsion and demotion

epidemic in the 12th District instigated at the behest of a CC representative.

6. The growing resemblance between the decision of any Party committee and a Papal Bull. Discussion of Party questions by the membership does not precede, but follows, the decisions of Party committees. Such discussion as is allowed deals not with whether the decision is right or wrong, but rather with "how is the decision to be put into effect." The objective logic of this tendency leads me to the dire prediction that it is but a matter of time until all Party decisions are rendered in Russian to be explained to the laity by the hierarchy.

7. The appointment of members of Party committees by the committees themselves rather than their election by membership meetings, conferences, etc. In the year-and-a-half since I joined the Party, there has never yet been an election of the District Committee altho the composition of the committee has changed almost in its entirety. Only one comrade in either the Spokane or Coeur d'Alene sections has ever participated in the election of a District Committee either directly or indirectly. The functioning of the Party under these conditions is well exemplified by the conduct of the mass organization and a hostile organization at that; d) by allowing each delegate to the conference only one speech, by limiting that speech to only 7 or 15 minutes, by collecting the names of those who wished to speak at the beginning of the conference and refusing to allow a vote on a motion that the

last two District Conferences in District 12. Thus: a) no motion was allowed to come to a vote that did not meet with the approval of the chairman (at the Spring Conference) or the reporter (at the summer conference); b) no election of any committee; c) the District Bureau conducted itself as tho it were a fraction within a reports of the delegates be grouped according to section or activity, by, instead, arranging the reports so that any delegate, who criticized the leadership or the current policy of the Party, was immediately followed by a District Bureau member who loudly abused the delegate and his report, the Bureau succeeded in absolutely thwarting any free discussion or expression of opinions inimical to the bureau or its policies.

This may be Centralism but it is no Democratic.

It becomes imperative that the 8th Convention demand a return to the conception of democratic centralism as it is laid down in the 5th point of the first section of the Constitution and rules of the Comintern.

Trade Union Policy

The Party's policy of dual-unionism in the trade union field rests upon the ultra-leftist conception that the A. F. of L. unions are organs of the State and must be treated as such. This postulate must be discarded. The 8th Convention should recognize that the conservative unions are "genuine, mass, working class organs, closely bound up with the everyday struggles of the workers" (Program of the Comintern, Page 76). The 8th Convention should recognize that Lenin wasn't kidding when he said in "Left Communism, An Infantile Disorder," that "... any artificial attempt to organize special unions ... threaten to isolate the most advanced conscious workers from the masses who are on the road to communism. It threatens to hand over these masses to the opportunist leaders thus playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie..."

"Communists must on no account leave the ranks of the reactionary Federation of Labor. On the contrary, they should go into the old unions in order to revolutionize them."

The 8th convention should mark the return of the Party to this Leninist trade union line as it was exemplified in the old TUEL.

United Front Policy

Our experience during the past few years has shown us the fallacy of the slogan, "a united front from below". A united front can mean only an alliance with other organizations on the basis of minimum demands. And altho the reformist leadership will accept a united front with our Party because of pressure from below, the form of a successful united front must nevertheless be a united front at the top.

To assume anything else is the grossest self deception. The 8th Convention should categorically reject the slogan of, "a united front from below", "a united front around the Party", as being meaningless phraseology. Let us, instead, raise some slogan as, "March separately but fight together for a program of minimum demands". We should repudiate the anti-Leninist policy of proposing united fronts and offering the reformists the concession of our refraining from criticism during the course of the united front.

With this new orientation, the numerous, ludicrous and pathetic attempts of the comrades to reconcile actual practice with erroneous theory will be averted.

Labor Party

The working class of the U. S. is not yet conscious of its unity as a class. Engels, in writing of America said, "The great thing is to get the working class to move as a class". While written in the latter part of the last century, this still holds true. Foster, in "Misleaders of Labor" (1927) says, (in criticism of the S. P. of the nineties) "they failed to understand that under the given circumstances, the best way to build the S. P. and to aid the broad masses to break with the capitalist parties and to take the first steps toward independent working class political action was by also building the labor party". Further on, in the same book, he says, "The shatter-

News from the World Communist Front

(Continued from Page 6)

note that with the correct criticism by Doriot of the tactic of the CP of France there are to be noted signs of a reformist deviation. If the group in St. Denis does not succeed in freeing itself from these deviations to the right then it is to be feared that the correctness of the criticism of the Party's tactics will be ineffective.

Doriot Sweeps Elections

The municipal elections of St. Denis took place May 6th. Doriot and four of his supporters were candidates. The elections were necessitated by the resignation of Doriot due to his conflict with the Party. The Socialist Party officially instructed its members to support Doriot. The CPF likewise officially appealed for support for Doriot. It did not put any candidate in opposition to Doriot. Unofficially, however, a representative of the Red Aid told Party members to vote against Doriot. The bourgeois parties put up no candidate against Doriot. They instructed their followers to turn in blank ballots.

The election results are encouraging. He received 12,000 of the 15,000 votes cast, or over 75%. At the previous election he received about 6,000 votes. The four other candidates then received approximately 11,000 votes. The "Populaire" reports in detail and welcomes the results as a victory for the united front. The "Humanite" has no report on this election. Doriot made a speech to the crowd from the City Hall and led a big parade through the city.

NORWAY

Fascist Tendencies Growing

The Labor Party has been completely unable to utilize the victory of the last elections. Realizing this, we see plenty of the leaders coming out for fascist planks and programs. "Strong men, representing the people", etc. In a unit meeting, Falk pointed out that these people have really learned from events in Germany and Austria in the following way: It's too late to run over into the camp of fascism, when fascism has already conquered. The German leaders did that, but they got into concentration camps nevertheless. What the leaders must do is to run over in time to take part in the final onslaught of fascism, thus enabling themselves to share in the spoils. Consciously or unconsciously they are now preparing this ideological capitulation to fascism. One of the fascist leaders has said in an official talk, that he expects Colbjornsen and

ing of this encumbrance (the non-partisan political system of the A. F. of L.—B. C.) and the building of a labor party is one of the fundamental tasks facing the working class."

It should be the function of the 8th Convention to bring return to the sanity of the period in which Foster's book was written.

Reinstate The Expelled

During the past four or five years, a number of Party members have been expelled for the views they have held upon these vital subjects. Among these have been some of the oldest and the best of the class warriors. In the main, one or the other of two groups, the Trotskyites or the Lovestones. I suggest, in order that these all-important questions receive the fullest measure of discussion, and as the initial step in a return to a Leninist conception of democratic centralism, that the workers who have been expelled over these questions be allowed to return to the Party and take part in the pre-convention discussion. Then, after free and untrammelled discussion, let the minority, whoever that minority might be, abide by, tho not necessarily endorse, the decision of the majority, until such time as the question is again open for discussion. Of course, the workers expelled because of Trotskyist leanings could not be accepted back until they had renounced the Thermidor theory.

For a Leninist Party!

Somme to be in their camp before long. These two, have been the theoretical defenders of the "Depression Plan" of the Labor Party. This plan has been worked out largely from the pattern of the N. R. A. and is very similar to a plan that some fascist organizations have presented.

The more prominent one of the two, Colbjornsen, used to be a CP man. He got an assignment in the trading corporation of the US SR some twelve years ago, then he was sent to England, and finally to Russia, where he worked in the economic apparatus. However, he was fired in 1929, due to connections with the right wing. Then he was abroad for a while, finally came back here in 1931, joined the Labor Party, and won a reputation for himself as an expert on economic planning. With the slight difference only, that now he is for economic planning in a country where the working class has not conquered.

A Slave Law

The leader of the Labor Federation, Halvard Olsen, has just come out for an arbitration bill according to which more power is to be concentrated in the hands of the government arbiter. He is to be the only one who works out terms for settlements, and the unions are to vote "yes" or "no" to his proposals. Furthermore, there are to be rules for voting, according to which more than 50% of the votes are required to reject a set of terms, if less than 75% of the union membership is voting. A sliding scale has been worked out, and if less than 25% vote, the terms can't be rejected at all. Olsen obtained a majority in the secretariat for this.

However, Tranmael, who has sponsored the plans of Colbjornsen and Somme, stood in danger of being attacked from the left by some of his enemies, notable among them Olsen and the union leaders. Now he has grabbed the chance of attacking Olsen from the left, on the basis of Olsen's endorsing this new labor bill. Recently the national council of the labor federation assembled, and there was a sharp fight between Olsen and Tranmael. It was expected, that Tranmael would conquer, and that Olsen would have to withdraw as chairman of the federation. But the outcome was that the council unanimously decided to postpone the matter until the congress this fall, instructing the labor representatives in parliament to vote against the bill, if the government tried to have it passed in the meantime.

Opposition Growing

This means that the more radical members of the labor party saw no reason for supporting Tranmael in the fight against Olsen. They don't trust his radical maneuvers any longer.

The labor youth are to have a national conference shortly, and a strong opposition is expected. It is to be hoped that the opposition will base itself on a clear political platform. Such a platform might serve as a rallying point for the left tendencies in the labor party, that have difficulties in working together and finding a common basis.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Opposition In Party Growing

A group of active party functionaries of the CP of Czechoslovakia has sent an appeal to all local groups dealing exclusively with the policies, the tactics and the inner party life of the CP of Cz. To quote from the Appeal.

"The party as well as the Comintern is facing a great danger. The defeat of the German proletariat shows the imminence of that danger. We all feel that it is necessary to discuss the causes of the defeat and to learn from the mistakes made. We had confidently awaited that the CI, with the collective forces of all honest communists, would carry thru this Bolshevik self-criticism, being conscious of its responsibility

(Continued on Page 8)

Crisis in Social Democracy

(Continued from Page 4)

tionary achievement" thru a dictatorship; in reality, it only served the advance of the counter-revolution, the Kornilovs, etc. The Prague leaders are working for a German Kerensky period.

What Is This "Socialization"

Its "socialization program" is formulated accordingly. In reality, it is a program to save capitalist economy. Large estates and basic industries are to be expropriated without compensation; as for the big banks, they will be "socialized," but nothing is said about compensation in reference to them. They are to be put under the leadership of the federal government. The gentlemen bankers, then, are to keep their fortunes and are merely to be put under federal commissars. This phenomenon was already manifested in the days of Bruening's action for the revitalization of the large banks. The interests of the banks in the basic industries and large estates are, therefore, not to be expropriated. But the basic industries and large estates are heavily indebted to the banks. The expropriation of these industries without compensation is, under these conditions, nothing but a farce. The other capitalists are not mentioned at all. There is to be set up a sort of supreme "socialist planning board". This is to be a new edition of the Socialization Commission charged with "preparing" the further "socialization". Obviously, the procedure is not to be "too rapid" as Kautsky says. Thus the capitalists can peacefully, according to the program, put thru a new wage reduction. Tragic memories of the socialization committee of the first post-Kaiser Reichstag! The "socialization", according to the Prague Program, is therefore in reality merely a miserable measure of state capitalism.

The Road Ahead

In so far as the immediate tasks of the German workers are concerned, the Prague leadership says that "in the struggle against the National Socialist dictatorship there is no room for reformism and legality". This radical phrase is supposed to impress the workers. Behind it there lurks only the policy of giving up the organ-

ization of partial struggles by the workers. The "revolutionary elite", as the program calls the Socialist Party of Germany, should only become active when "spontaneous mass movements begin" in order to "influence its orientation". The masses are to be given leadership when they have already begun to fight without the help of the Socialist Party of Germany. Like Miles, they demand the re-establishment of the right of collective bargaining within the framework of the fascist dictatorship. The Prague program further says:

"The re-conquest of democratic rights becomes a necessity in order to recreate the labor movement as a mass movement. Every democratic right, however, is a menace to the continuance of the dictatorship. The struggle for democracy is broadened into the struggle for the complete overthrow of the Nazi state power. This struggle is only a revolutionary stage of transition towards the conquest of the entire state power."

In other words, the workers must first regain their democratic rights before they can overthrow fascism. But how does that compare with the immediate needs of the day? The workers must learn how to organize illegal mass movements, create illegal organs for this purpose, among others, illegal trade unions, as did the Russian workers under the Czar. It is necessary to organize mass actions based on illegal cadre organizations and not to wait until the possibility for the founding of legal mass organizations is at hand. If the workers were to hope for the democratization of the Hitler regime to make possible the creation of legal mass organizations, then we would have to wait forever.

Forward—Along Communist Lines

The Prague Program shows that the partial activities against the Hitler regime, which are necessary for the preparation of the revolutionary mass struggles, for its overthrow, cannot be organized on the basis of Social-Democratic principles. Only communists, pursuing the correct tactical line can become the organizers of the anti-fascist struggle of the masses.

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June 1, 1934.

NO CREDITS TO HITLER!

THE United States, Great Britain and other imperialist powers are involved in a grave dispute with German imperialism over the insistence of the latter to subject the services of the Dawes and Young loans to the transfer moratorium. The Nazi government is daily more and more up against it financially and it is seeking relief at the expense of foreign capitalist groups as well as its opponents at home. Hence the demagogic cry of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht for repudiation of these loans because of "their tainted origin." Hence his hokum, for home consumption, about a "war against international finance capital and loans" as "the most important point in the programme of the German nation."

Time has certainly changed the tide of morals and values for the German ruling class. It was just these foreign loans, especially the hundreds of millions of dollars from the U. S., which saved German capitalism and checked the proletarian revolution in the first post-war years. Now these sycophants and hooligans of German imperialism, the Nazis, discover the loans to be tainted! Why the change in attitude? One must understand the contradictions of capitalism to be able to plumb the depths of imperialist morality and values. In 1924 American capital investments in Germany were highly moral because they saved the neck of German capitalism. In 1934 the repayment of these loans, or even the payment of interest on these loans, is immoral because it would involve a further weakening of German capitalism.

American labor has a vital interest in the negotiations between the Reichsbank authorities and Germany's foreign long—and medium—term creditors. Once is more than enough for the American proletariat to allow its capitalist class to help the German exploiters crush our brothers in Germany. Any concession or exemption allowed the Hitler Reich in the matter of debt payments today is an out-right gift to the Fascist butchers, to the most savage pack of hangmen that ever plagued a nation. We workers owe it to ourselves, to our own interests, we owe it especially because of our giving Wall Street a free hand ten years ago in helping to smash the German revolution, to prevent any credit concessions being granted to the Nazis today.

Only the greatest pressure of the masses can prevent the American financial moguls from again coming to the rescue of German capitalism in despair. The German proletariat will begin to see thru the Hitler hypocrisy sooner if the economic conditions in Germany take their own ruinous course and are not patched up with foreign aid in one form or another.

Loans or credit to Fascist Germany can only, sooner rather than later, hurt American labor as well as German labor. As against loans or credits to Hitler or easing of payments by Germany, all labor organizations, all trade unions, all workers must demand credits to Socialist Russia. Such credits will help our Russian brothers who have already won their freedom and are building a socialist society. Such loans to the USSR will also help the American workers not only ultimately but also immediately thru putting more men on jobs.

No more German credits! No credit concessions to the Nazi imperialists and war-makers. Ample credits to the U.S.S.R., the land of peace and progress—the land of socialist victory.

Another United Front Broken

New York City
The latest effort for a united youth demonstration against war and fascism, planned for May 30th, has been destroyed by the refusal of the Young Communist League to accept a sound basis for such a demonstration. The bid for the united front came not from the Young Communist League but from a conference called by the Young Peoples Socialist League, in which the Communist Youth Opposition participated. This conference was originally called to plan a meeting in Mitchell Square to protest the attack made by members of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars against several Ypsels who had picketed a war monument last Memorial Day. In the meantime, the Trotskyite youth organization approached the YPSL with the proposal that this demonstration also be a protest against the deportation of four young workers who were expelled from Holland to Hitler Germany while attending an international youth conference.

At the first representative conference held May 5th, it was decided to broaden the purpose of the demonstration. The chief slogans were to be against war and fascism, against military preparations, against the coming of the fleet, against the slaughter of the Cuban students. At the same time it decided that a committee be sent to the YCL conference, on May 13th, to propose a joint demonstration on May 30th with all the above mentioned slogans as a basis. The YPSL delegates also proposed another condition which would have destroyed the possibilities of the united front at the outset. The

YPSL stipulated that the YCL be asked to repudiate a slanderous statement made by William Patterson of the ILD against the committee which had been set up to defend the four German young workers. However, the YPSL finally withdrew the condition and a committee was chosen to appear before the National Youth Day Conference. This conference dominated by the YCL showed its true character by refusing to seat the delegates of the Communist Youth Opposition despite a unanimous favorable recommendation by the credential committee. There were 48 delegates who voted for our seating, while 82 voted against.

When the two committees came together, it took some time to make it clear to the YCL that it was not a meeting of the National Youth Day Committee which the other conference joined in, but that it was a joint committee meeting. There was some difficulty over a chairman for this reason. A stalemate was soon reached over the name of the demonstration. They, the YCL insisted that the name be National Youth Day. This was not acceptable to the other conference which asked for a common name, since it was a joint effort of both conferences and not merely the enlargement of the League Demonstration. To retain the name National Youth Day was to abandon the united front and make more difficult future efforts at genuine united fronts.

There will be two demonstrations on May 30th. The Communist Youth Opposition will participate in the May 30th Demonstration against War and Fascism which will parade through Harlem and end at 5th Ave. and 110th St.

"THE LAW OF LIFE"

Chicago, Ill.

"The law of life is demonstrative of unceasing compromise; labor never has and probably never will realize all it is entitled to, expect as its legitimate right." This quotation from the "Federation News" summarizes the spirit and achievements of the Economic Conference called on April 29 by the Chicago Federation of Labor. In rapid and ecstatic succession the conference, packed with the business agents and officers of all the local unions, endorsed the NRA, the Illinois NRA bill, the Wagner anti-company union bill, the Wagner unemployment insurance bill, the Railroad Disputes act, the Housing bill, the PWA and the CWA.

Originally the conference had been called at the urging of Painters Local, Number 637 and the Chicago Workers' Committee to discuss and protest the slash of CWA. But in the capable hands of Compromisers-in-Chief Alderman Oscar Nelson and State Representative Soderstrom it became little more than a well-fed cheering section for the New Deal.

The "rank and file" opposition made its chief fight on the unemployment insurance issue. In attempting to checkmate the friends of the Lundeen bill, Secretary Wallace of the Painters' District Council, speaking for the bureaucracy, denounced the "dissatisfied, noisy, communistic elements" within his union and said "The painters are so grateful to President Roosevelt that they have hung his portrait in every hall in the city."

But in spite of the chastening effect of gazing upon our President's features, at every meeting, some of the painters were still un-

couth enough to demand the endorsement of the Lundeen bill rather than the emasculated Wagner unemployment insurance bill. Alderman Nelson refused to read the Wagner bill to the conference. Instead he told them what was in it and why they should like it. Then, still sensing some dissatisfaction from "noisy communistic elements," he read a long letter from William Green telling why he liked the Wagner bill.

A few opposition delegates got the floor. They spoke, rather badly, in support of the Lundeen bill. But the hit of the performance was kindly, white-haired, George Koop, from Typographical, No. 16, forty years in the Federation. This popular and perennial Socialist candidate talked about the Lundeen bill, read it through, talked about it some more and then talked a little longer. Packed as the conference was, the delegates were wavering. Alderman Nelson had to do some legging. So he attacked the communists. When the opposition and the bureaucrats had been aroused to the proper state of noise the vote was taken. Nobody heard it but Alderman Nelson announced the endorsing of the Wagner bill.

Except for George Koop and Walter Hart of the Workers' Committee, no one of the thirty or so Socialist delegates raised a voice. The SP had come with a program endorsed by ten or a dozen unions but they felt, apparently, that bringing it into the open would antagonize Alderman Nelson. Probably it would have. So the Socialists were very quiet and the Chicago Federation of Labor had a happy conference which, if nothing else, demonstrated that "unceasing compromise is a law of life."



LENIN, by Ralph Fox. Harcourt-Brace, N. Y.

The definitive biography of Lenin in the English language still remains a task for the future. From advance hosannahs in official quarters one should have expected Fox's work to meet all requirements. But it falls far below par. It could not be otherwise where historical objectivity is distorted by present factional attitudes.

The biography is competent enough in dealing with Lenin's early life. It adds nothing however to a period, the facts of which are quite generally known. It is when the book approaches nearer to the events of the Russian Revolution and after, that it gets progressively thinner in so far as its political content is concerned. It is too agitational in character and insufficiently sober a political exposition. We do not need to be agitated about Lenin's worth. What we do need is a consistent exposition of Lenin's greatness as a theoretician, of his genius as a revolutionary. So much is shirred over superficially and even more is omitted altogether. How little do we get of the forging of the Comintern out of the ashes of the 2nd International, of Lenin's great contribution during the early life of the Comintern—on the national question, the colonial question, the peasant question in Russia, the Trade Union Question, etc. In this direction the book is far "underweight". Granted this is a tall order. But it is only the filling of such an order which can claim to be a "biography" of Lenin.

It would certainly be naive not to suppose that the distortions or the complete omissions have as one of their basic points of departure the present tactical differences that are being fought out in the communist movement. Were Lenin's ideas fully clarified they would blast to smithereens the idiotic attitude and practices in official quarters. It is certainly significant, for instance, that not one word of mention is made of "Left Communism" that classic mine of realistic Bolshevik tactics. Yet the author is not above trying to father upon Lenin (in indirect and foxy fashion, to be sure), the notorious "united front from below"!!

That Trotsky comes in for rough treatment is to be expected considering the official character of the book. But the grounds on which it is done, are nothing short of scandalous. The historical role played by Trotsky in the upsurge of the Russian Revolution is well known by all. His niche there is secure. Whatever differences one may have with him to-day (or with him in his formative period), however sharply one can condemn his present political activities (4th International) one can't sleight-of-hand away his positive achievement during the Russian Revolution. Nor can official factional scribbling change the facts one iota. It is certainly a strain on one's credulity to be told on the one hand that Trotsky's military activity was an objective obstacle to the development of the fight, as to be told on the other, that "Lenin began to rely chiefly on Stalin in military questions" (p. 285). Such obvious distortions effectively destroy any claim to historical objectivity.

Other weak spots there are. There is no point in cataloguing them all. One particularly crass one however, ought to be mentioned. It must require a tremendous lack of revolutionary instinct as well as a lack of knowledge to be able to compare Lenin with Lincoln: "Lenin was made in the mold of Lincoln." No two men could be more different, both in their individual make up as well as their political attitudes and activities.

In short, as I said before, the biography of Lenin still remains a task for the future. The work of Fox has value, only as a warning to future navigators over the same course as to roads they should avoid.

JIM CORK

The International Front

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towards the proletariat. This did not occur; on the contrary, the communist movement was forced to close its eyes to the lessons of the German defeat. Whoever refuses to be blind and criticizes must cease or be regarded as an "enemy of the party." . . . It is necessary that a thorough discussion be introduced in the entire party. Therefore, demand in your local groups, wherever you work, that plenary sessions be called; demand the presence of comrades who defend the Leninist line as opposed to the present leadership.

The CPO in Asch called a district conference in connection with this appeal at which a speaker of the CPO reported on the Immediate Tasks of the Party.

Expulsions Begin

Because of his opposition to the ultra left policies of the CP of Cz. Comrade Gutmann the former editor of the central organ of the CP was expelled from the party. Comrade Gutmann then formulated his tactical differences, in a long memorandum which has been widely circulated within the party. In it he explains his position on the causes of the German defeat. On essential issues his criticism is based on the correct tactical principles of communism.

INDIA

Our latest important activity in Bombay was Unemployed Day, which was celebrated on March 4, in accordance with a resolution of the Trade Union Congress. On the 4th, small meetings were held at 13 places in the city and a number of parades were started. These culminated in a monster demonstration at Chaurpati, held under the joint auspices of 15 organizations. This was preceded by two weeks of intensive agitation. In all this agitation, meetings and demonstrations, our people took a leading and prominent part. It can be said without exaggeration that the success of the day was due to us in large measure. Our people also participated in the demonstrations in Poona, Sholapur and Calcutta.

Previous to this there was an

All-India Textile Workers' Conference held in Bombay in January. Most of the textile workers' unions in India, excepting those connected with the reformists and the Ahmadabad Labor Association, participated in the conference. The conference unanimously decided to have a general strike of all the textile workers before May First. Our group took a leading part in holding the conference, shaping its policy and making it successful. A united front has been established with the official group on the specific issue of the general strike. It is working well at Sholapur where a general strike of textile workers is going on for more than three weeks. The official group is in a dominating position there. One of our comrades is also active there and has excellent standing among the workers.

Our Work In Trade Unions

Now about our day to day work. We exert decisive influence in the Dock Workers' Union, Lorry Transport Workers' Union, Hawkers' Union, Municipal Workers' Union and the Godown Coolies' Union. After the new election of the Bombay Kirni Kamgar Union, which took place on March 3, we influence this union as well. We have contacts with the Tramway-men Union and the G. I. P. Railway Workers' Union. Under our influence there are also the provincial committees of the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Bombay Provincial Working Class Party, which counts within its ranks most of the militant trade unionists in Bombay.

Activity In Many Centers

We are always among the first to take up any agitation or movement on any concrete specific issues however small or big. Workers therefore instinctively turn to us whenever difficulties arise. In the political movement as well, if we except the National Congress which is today effectively suppressed by the government, we always occupy the front position. Besides Bombay our comrades are also very active in Baroda, Dhulia, Karachi, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Madras, etc. At Poona our comrades are working thru an ad hoc organization.