A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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WAR CLOUDS HOVER OVER EUROPE

Zimmerman Scores Green **Frisco Strike Repudiation**

Zimmerman's statement, issued publicly on July 20, reads as fol-

"The statement of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, on the general strike in San Francisco must arouse indignant protest from every sincere and progressive ele-ment in the labor movement. It not only shows a complete failure to understand the deep significance of the Son Envision of the San Francisco general strike or to grasp the importance of the big issues ivolved but worse than that, it shows such a disgraceful lack of elementary union loyalty and class solidarity that is positively shocking. It would be an insult to the American labor movement to regard Mr. Green's statement as representative of the sentiment of the masses of the organized workers in the American Fed-

eration of Labor.
"The general strike in San Francisco was an event of the most nation-wide significance. The issues which precipitated that inspiring act of class solidarity are spiring act of class solidarity are the issues that face the trade union movement in every industry, in every part of the country. They

are the issues of the open shop, recognit a and the right of pargaining. At a time when the combined forces of big capital, the gigantic industrial corporations of the country, have launched a vicious campaign to wipe out every trace of unionism and to turn the alleged guaran-tees of Section 7a into a scrap of paper, it is the manifest duty of every one with the interest of labor at heart, of every friend of labor, to give enthusiastic and unconditional support to every struggle of workers for their element ary rights. The outcome of the general strike on the Pacific Coast was certain to have the most far reaching effects upon the efforts of labor to win the rights of union organization and collective bargaining everywhere in the United States. Nowhere in the land was there a trade union or a group of workers not directly or immediately concerned with the outcome of the general strike in San Francisco. If there ever was an event of real national importance in the labor movement of recent times it was the general strike in San Fran-

"President Green's public state-

With a courage unequalled by ment was not only an open disany other American labor leader, avowel of an action undertaken and Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of carried out by the recognized Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Carried out by the recognized Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G. American Federation of Labor W.U., and vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has given expression to the unspoken feelings of millions of workers on hearing William Green's vicious repudiation of the general strike in San Francisco.

Zimmerman's statement issued strikers and in opening the way strikers and in opening the way for the disintegration of the whole strike. It was a powerful instrument in the hands of the bitter union-hating, open shop employers of San Francisco. As such, the American workers must judge it and must judge President Green.'

At the same time local 22 voiced an urgent call to the New York longshoremen's union to refuse to handle shipping coming from the Pacific Coast a sa means of lend-ing effective support to the general strike in San Francisco and other West Coast towns, in a resolution adopted by its executive board. Speaking in the name of its 30,000 members, the dressmakers organization sent a stirring message of enthusiastic greetings to the strikers on the Pacific Coast as well as a warm pledge of full support. The telegram despatched to the general strike headquarters in San Francisco reads:

"In the name of thirty thousand organized workers in its ranks Dressmakers Union Local Twenty-Two of International Ladies Garment Workers Union sends enthusiastic greetings to workers out in general strike in San Francisco and other coast towns. In this great cause we pledge unlimited support and unwavering solidarity. Your cause is cause of all labor and against united forces of em-ployes all trade unions and labor organizations must rally to support of embattled workers on Pacific Coast. We protest energetically against murderous hooliganism of the vigilantes aimed at strikers as well as against warlike preparations of the municipal and state authorities to suppress general strike. Long live the solidarity of labor. (Signed)

Charles S. Zimmerman, Mgr Louis Nelson, Chairman.

But when Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of local No. 22, and vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, attempted to present the resolution at the meeting of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council on July 19th, he was ruled out of order and prevented from continuing, much to the indigna-tion of many of the delegates pres-

(Continued on Page 8)

BACK FROM EUROPE

"The spirit of the Austrian workers is that of revolt," was the estimate given by Evelyn Lawrence, just returned from six months in Europe which brought her into intimate contact with the under-ground movements of Germany and

Austria.
Coalition between the Heimwehr and the Nazis is on the books," Comrade Lawrence continued. "The Nazis represent a tremendous force—from thirty to forty per cent of the population— but the threat of Italy forces them to concede a measure of power to the Heimwehr. But the proletariat is still armed and still waiting. It needs only organization. Democracy in Austria is a dead horse. The trend to revolution and soviet power is the wave that will eventually sweep all Austria."

Comrade Lawrence will speak on Comrade Lawrence win speak on "Critical Hours in German, and Austria" on August 8 at Irving Plaza in New York. On August 15 she will speak at the Workmen's Circle Lyceum in Newark, on August 17 in Philadelphia, on August 182 in Hortford on August 192 in Hortford on August 193 i August 23 in Hartford on August 30 in Boston and also in Paterson and the Anthracite on dates to be announced.

Police Commissioner John F. O'Ryan has made a significant ad dangerous move to tame and hog-tie organized labor in New

Labor representatives are to be ticketed by the police with identification cards stamped, signed, sealed and approved. The possibities in this arrangement are obvious. Even the reactionary Central Trades Council has entered a vigorous pro-

It is the clear duty of all unions in New York to protest and resist this step toward fasciszation of the organizations

PROGRESSIVES WIN

Progressive slate in Local 18,230 of the Doll & Toy Workers Union swept to victory by the overwhelming majority of 4 to 1. The clique of Mr. S. Farulla, which had stifled the union and retarded its growth, was dealt this defeat by a membership determined to place in leadership men who would advance the cause of progressive unionism. E. Diana, candidate of the progressive group for Presi dent defeated his opponent, S. Farulla, by a vote of 306 to 135. Other officers elected were S. Russo, Vice President; A. Ravitch, Secretary-Treasurer, and S. Liber-man, J. Priola, J. Minauro, Trus-

during recent months will appear in the next issue of Workers Age. teotti murder.

EVELYN LAWRENCE Austria to Be Belgium Of Next Great Conflict

fuss, the hair's-breadth margin between reace and war in Europe has been further narrowed. Authoritative opinion prevails to the effect that the pigmy Chancellor's murder was financed by Hitler and facilitated by his closest co-workers Prince Starhemberg, leader of the Heimwehrs. For the present Schuschnigg is Chancellor.

This Austrian version of the Hitler-Roehm blood-bath hastens the day of the European volcano erupting. With great dispatch Mussolini mobilized his most experienced parade troops with orders to over-flow Austria at half a mo-ment's notice. While France wel-comes Mussolini's fanfare as a warning to Hitler. Paris dreads Italian occupation of Austria and the inevitable seizure of more Austrian territory by Italy. Hence, the French puppet government of Jugo-Slavia has mobilized its crack troops on the Austrian border in the imperialist race to guarantee Austrian "independence". This "anxiety" is made more intensely acute by the fact that from now on even less love than before will be lost between Hitler and Mussolini.

For the present the Austrian Nazis, primarily because of foreign pressure, appear thwarted in their moves to seize power. Realizing this, Hitler has maneuvered to rush Van Papen as new Ger-

With the assassination of Dol-doubtful whether Italy will allow uss, the hair's-breadth margin between reace and war in Europe has government to be appeased by this maneuver. At any rate, Hitler has thus definitely given von Papen a one way ticket out of his capinet.

As we go to press, several thou-As we go to press, several thousand have already been killed and wounded in the fighting between the Italian Fascist setup led by Stahremberg and Hitler's Fascist puppets led by secret German military agents. The murder of Dolfuss who butchered some of the finest and most heroic of the Australia finest and most heroic of the Austrian proletariat is of course only the beginning of another chapter in the disintegration of the Versailles system. The cabinet murders have only started. Only the first shot has been fired in the Vienese government halls. And its thunderous and devastating repercussions will be felt throughout Europe as well as in Austria! The political independence of Austria continues a myth. Three conflicting forces dominate the situation. The German Nazis, the reviving labor movement on a more revolutionary basis and the ability of foreign basis, and the ability of foreign capital to continue to finance the Heimwehr are the forces in conflict. The fate of Austria will be settled by that factor which will dominate in this conflict. The entire situation is all the more gravely complicated by the fact that Austria is destined to play in the next war the role Belgium played man ambassador to Vienna. It is in the last one.

Wall Street Plans Aid To Protect German Loans

Fearing that the desperate economic plight of the Nazi regime will | First Aid bring about serious political repercussions, leading bankers in Wall Street are working on plans to extend heavy loans to the sorely pressed Hitler regime.

Mr. James A. Perkins, chairman of the Board of Directors of the National City Bank of New York, recently spent several weeks in Germany preparing such first aid

J. P. Morgan & Co., in close collaboration with Montagu Norman governor of the Bank of England. is especially worried over the security of the heavy investments made in Germany by American financiers in recent years. In order to save as much as possible of these investments, principal as well as interest, further loans are to be made to German industry

It will be recalled that when Mussolini was up against it, a syndicate of American bankers headed by J. P. Morgan & Co. extended the Italian fascist government a loan of \$100,000,000. This literally was a life-saver for Mussolini and The story of events in this union enabled him to pull thru in the aring recent months will appear stormy days following the Mat-

plans for the Third Reich.

Mr. George H. Harrison, governor of the Federal Reserve bank of New York, also took a hand in this arrangement during his recent brief stay in Germany. It is fur-ther realiably reported that Mr. Montagu Norman, who generally travels incognito, cooperated with Messrs. Perkins and Harrison in the preparation of such loans. Mr. Norman has just arrived in the United States together with Mr. Harrison and as a gesture of friendship to the Nazi government traveled aboard the North German Lloyd liner Europa.

Apparently the big bankers are much worried and they are anxious to avert a sudden crash by extending temporary credits to Ger-

(Continued on Page 2)

CRITICAL HOURS IN AUSTRIA

EVELYN LAWRENCE Just Returned from Europe

AND GERMANY

Wednesday, Aug. 8 at 8 P. M. Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Pl.

Progressives Face Fight At Textile Convention

The 6th Biennal Convention of immediately after experiencing the the United Textile Workers of remarkable blessings of participa-America is being held, August 13th tion of union representatives in to 18th, at the Hotel Woodstock, the NRA boards in cotton, that Mctar and the convenience of the conv to 18th, at the Hotel Woodstock, the NKA boards in cotton, that Mcin New York City. It will undoubtedly be the largest convention in the history of the union,
and more than 500 delegates are
expected. The ten-fold increase in
the membership of the U.T.W. to
The insistence of the workers

The insistence of the workers approximately the 300,000 mark upon strike action could not be and the important strike questions crushed, however, and in Alabama now facing the textile workers more than 15,000 cotton workers

make this Convention of outstanding significance.

Indicating the textile workers have begun a strike against the 25% wage cut. The policy of Mc-T.W. have a huge task before them, in the effort to build an effective to be cut down (there are approxiopopsition to the present reactionary leadership and policies, and in
striving to set in motion a million
textile workers in a general strike dustry and restrain them from striving to set in motion a million textile workers in a general strike dustry and restrain them from involving all sections of the textile industry on the issues, for a 30 hr. week without reduction in pay, for a \$25 minimum rate for ers should be called out immediate by arbitrary ignorance and labor organizations and their brutal executions and imprisonments establishes a rule by arbitrary ignorance and labor organizations. pay, for a \$25 minimum rate for weavers instead of the present \$12-13 and even \$9 scale in the textile codes, and a reduction in the machine-load and the stretch-out.

A challenge must be made to the could then be spread to wool, silk and rayon, knitgoods, and hosiery, where the workers are anxious for these arbitrary and futile policies.

boasts of McMahon about the great number of strikes he has prevented! The record of the U.T.W.

The policy of McMahon in the loans to Germany to the strikes and loans to Germany to the strikes are anxious for the broader struggle to begin. ed! The record of the U.T.W. leadership has been a shameful one, indeed. It was not enough that it accepted the worst conditions in any codes of any major. that it accepted the worst conditions in any codes of any major a continuation of the subserviency industry without a fight (McMahon was even ready to accept a \$10 minimum in the first of all codes— (the cotton code), but as a finishing workers. It threatens to close its touch, after much fanfare in May chant calling a general strike in the control of the subserviency loans might not only prolong the existence of this hateful dictatorship, but might actually aid in the establishment of such a dictatorship in this country where Hitler's control of the subserviency loans might not only prolong the existence of this hateful dictatorship, but might actually aid in the establishment of such a dictatorship in this country where Hitler's control of the subserviency loans might not only prolong the existence of this hateful dictatorship, but might actually aid in the establishment of such a dictator-ship in this country where Hitler's control of the subserviency loans might not only prolong the existence of this hateful dictatorship, but might actually aid in the establishment of such a dictator-ship in the control of the NRA as the defender of the workers. The company refuses to reinstate the pany refuses to reinstate the control of the NRA as the defender of the workers. It threatens to close its hours are already seeking the control of the subserviency loans might not only prolong the existence of this hateful dictatorship, but might actually aid in the establishment of such a dictator-ship in the control of the natural of the control of the natural of the control of the subserviency loans might not only prolong the existence of this hateful dictator-ship, but might actually aid in the establishment of such a dictator-ship in the control of the natural of the control of the natural of the control of the subserviency loans might not only prolong the existence of this hateful dictator-ship in the control of the natural of the natural of the natural of the control of the natural of the natural of the natural of the nat touch, after much fanfare in May about calling a general strike in the cotton industry against the 25% reduction in wages and hours, the McMahon leadership accepted NRA arbitration instead, and the general strike was called off. The "impartial" committee then handed down a decision which gave the strike the other plaint that the decision of the National Labor representatives are already seeking to create Fascist sentiment.

BE IT RESOLVED by The Chicago Federation of Labor that we vigorously protest against and condemn any attempt to extend aid to the Nazi government directly or indirectly by the extension of the National Labor American credits or loans. ed down a decision which gave the decision of the National Labor American credits or loans.

Board has been defied and that the BE IT RESOLVED that workers absolutely nothing, confirming the reduction to \$9 a week minimum wages for the cotton workers. Such was the disgraceful and bitter fruit of reliance on the NRA and impartial arbitration below the state of But this was not all. It was

MINNEAPOLIS USES

SILK BLACKJACKS The third wave of the truckers strike in Minneapolis reveals the truly "humanitarian" purposes for the state militia of Minnesota. Farmer-Laborite Governor Floyd Olson did not declare martial law and call in 2,800 National Guardsmen to break the back of the strike to think. Not at all. He brought in the guardsmen solely "in the in-terests of labor," to protect strikers from police brutality and the

epredations of capitalist thugs. Labor leaders have pointed out that the presence of the militia has stopped picketing, prevented out-door meetings and resulted in a large measure of suppression of the press. But these are only unfortunate by-products to Governor Olson, valiant champion of the rights of labor. He is going to save the strikers from the slightest injury even if he has to stop

the strike to do it. The role carried out in San Francisco by Johnson, Merriam and Rossi was essayed in Minneapolis by two reverend missionaries of the National Labor Board offering terms of arbitration. The workers, like the Indians of a century before, accepted the holy dope of the men of God. But the employers did not. They had an ace in

The ace was turned up with the declaration of martial law-martial law, he it remembered to protect the downtrodden. In protecting the downtrodden, the following steps have been required. First, complete stoppage of picketing. Second, the running of trucks. Third, the suppression of all criticisms of the soverign state of Minnesota by newspaper, placard, handbill or otherwise. San Francisco could learn lessons in scabbery from Governor Olson.

Wall Street Plans to Aid Nazis

OVER THE POLICE OF THREE

Manabendra Nath Roy is of the heroic revolutionary figures of our time. In

America, in Mexico, in Europe, in China,

in India his name is anathema to the ex-

ploiters and to their hireling henchmen. To the toilers he brought courage and

revolution, a founder of the Comintern,

Roy was trapped at last by the mercen-

aries of British imperialism in India in

A wave of protest swept the workers

of the world as word seeped through the

iron ring Britain had clamped around

Roy's barbarous dungeon. In a frantic-

ally hurried trial, conducted behind pris-

on walls, he was sentenced to twelve

He was allowed no defense and no de-

fense witnesses. But the scathing an-

swer he wrote to hurl at his British

judges is the seed from which Indian

years of solitary confinement.

determination, to the masters, fear. Roy escaped from the police of India on the eve of the World War. Arrested in America, organizer of the Communist Party of Mexico, leader in the Chinese

CONTINENTS

The sixteen pages of this union

paper maintain a good balance be

(Continued from Page 1) and aid its extension to other counparts of the country workers are tries of the world including the beginning to feel that only they raw materials which are disappear-

to report that several scores of la-bor unions and other labor organi-posed to Fascism, to raise their zations in the United States have been adopting resolutions against or credits to the Hitler regime so "SHOE WORKER" OUT the extension of any credits to the Nazi regime. The Chicago Federation of Labor, representing ance that would strengthen Hitler
The initial issue of the "United Shoe and Leather Worker" is a splendid example of labor journal-700,000 workers, has adopted such resolution reading in part:

WHEREAS, it is now more than ever apparent that Hitler's Nazi stand for the interests of a rich

BE IT RESOLVED that any at-

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BE IT RESOLVED that we urgently call upon all trade union and other labor organizations as well as upon all bodies of the report that several several

ism and postpone emancipation of the German people. At its last convention the I.L.G. W.U., representing nearly 200,000 tween pure news items on organi-LIKE A GHOST HE HOVERED

freedom shall grow. It is "I ACCUSE"

tracing the seizure of India by Britain, the ruthless oppression of British ploitation and prophesying the end of England's dominion with the glowing words "Yours is the right of conquest and usurpation. Ours is the right of revolt and self-determination."

"I Accuse" in a 30 page pamphlet form may be purchased from the National Literature Department, CPO, 51 West 14th Street, New York City, for 10c a single copy or 50 cents for 10 copies.

You should also read

Where We Stand, the programmatic documents of the Communist Party (Opposition). Three volumes are now available at 25 cents apiece.

What Next for American Labor, by Jay Lovestone. 5 cents.

On Dialectics, by Thalheimer. 10 cents Road to Communism, 35 cents.

Why We Shall Win

By NICOLAI BUCHARIN

Millions of workers that the streets of our cities and villages on the first of May rejoicing in their growing class power. They marched with scarlet banners, singing revolutionary songs, accompanied by the metallic sounds of the trumpets of victory. Gray-naired veterans marched and youths and women and children; sounds of the International were heard all over the world. Hundreds of nations, innumerable foreheard all over the world. Hundreds of nations, innumerable f tne Soviet capital past the great somehow managed to score victorair filled with the roar of guns. Let us pause for a moment to

those days. Today, in 1934, no a first class organized force. one ever mentions the day of the fall of the dynasty, the rebruary revolution. Why is this so? Is is forgetfulness, historic ingratitude, underestimation or intentional? Neither. It is merely a sign day miserable lieutenants of fasof the tremendous measures of cism in uniform, who announce the historic quantities and qualities death of Marxism, rob their ancharacteristic of our times. The cestors, dig up the most poisoneven the victory over the imperial there have been such instancs re-

Millions of workers marched But they were firmly convinced through the streets of our cities that the entire historic change was Front In France American and European proletar- let would rejoice once more. But with many "buts" and "ifs", and a ians marched to the red square of time passed and the "villains" tombstone which was encircled by ies and now soviet power has been

hundreds of soaring airplanes; the in existence for 17 years. Neither civil war nor intervention, neither hunger nor blockade, neither the reflect upon the past in order bet- NEP nor the expected Thermidor ter to understand the tremendous neither the kulaks nor the weak inhistorical distance separating us dustrial structure could undermine from past epochs. It is very dif- it. The heroic working class has ficult indeed to imagine concretely overcome everything and has enhow far we have traveled from tered the area of world history as

scientific history of capital has tial thing is the hair, the skin, the produced innumerable learned true purity of noble blood. What proofs that capitalism has al-miserable nonsense! What poverways existed, that there has all ty of thought! What narrow mindways been exchange, always private property, that "truth, goodness and beauty" have always been vilization did not all take place in with selected, beloved, rich and the manner which the "blond beast" been conditions which hindered are usually regarded as the excluitself." form, it smells of the military sta- finite economic system rapidly tional socialist fraud is becoming ble, so that even some priests of the Third Reich refuse to take it cording to its commission becoming to its commission becoming to its commission becoming to its commission becomes the cording to its commission becomes the cordinate of the cordinate to its commission becomes the cordinate of the cordinate of

"saving culture and civilization."

The annals of history are great characteristic of our times. The blue gendarme of the world, the monster of Asiatic despotism, the hell of the Petersburg monarchy has collapsed under the attack of the people's revolution. Countless events, thoughts and emotions arise in our memory. A truly grandiose charage has taken place on all sides. And yet, we have already forgotten that day because the breath of time, the tide of history, the fantastic pictures of events rapidly succeeding each other have pushed even the victory over the imperial power into the background of corded in history—they were not equal to their task and thus the The "sane" bourgeois mind, reason and "understanding" look upon all historic events from the stand-has only one simple universal and thus the exploiters again got the upper hand. Why? Fascist "philosophy" has only one simple universal anpoint of "normal" capitalist so- swer to this question, namely, it's ciety. It is for this reason that the the race, it's the blood, the essen-

iat is impossible.

noble landowners, capitalists with and without titles, professors, generals of the infantry and cavalry, white and colored archibishops, diplomatic engineers and patriotic poets united in a counter-revolutionary alliance thirsting for the f the workers, for intervention and machine guns. Of course, all this was done in the name of

long string of conditions.

According to this, one could

Even this conditional acceptance the Communist united front prowould not have taken place had it posals with great enthusiasm. God not been for the fact that the Com- rorbid! Here is the lub. The great munist Party, in the preceeding majority of the speakers at the conference of the two central com-S.P. National Council sessions desichs. The Communist Party today is undoubtedly determined to set to organizational unity. This only such conditions for the united unity, however, is first of all imfront as will prevent an open rejection even by the Centrist S. P. ciple, strategical, and tactical differences. The C.P. is absolutely ferences between the S.P. and decreased. But the wages of the Centrist S. P. ciple, strategical, and tactical differences between the S.P. and decreased. But the wages of the Centrist S. P. ciple, strategical, and tactical differences between the S.P. and decreased.

he use of the political strike in complete impossibility and under received as unemployed. the struggle against the Dou-mergue Government, the S.P. and of the united front, most of leadership insisted that the prob-the speakers at the National Coun-

deep crisis. Dying capitalism is cy: (4) The putchist tactics and fore, and besides, they will not get unable to utilize its own existing productive forces. Fascists are so which drives the workers into the received the following penalty: for blind that they, confused by the difficulties of the economic system advocated "Sanierung" of The Right Wing and the capitalism thru autocracy, militarism and war without realizing that at the National Council did not concapitalism thru autocracy, militarthis war to save capitalism is one ceal their hatred of genuine revo- In the factory where X works, of the most obvious symptoms of the fatal "illness" which can only be healed by the proletarian revolution.

The fatal "illness" which can only be healed by the proletarian revolution.

The fatal "in the fatal works, there were two candidates for shop and LeBas, as well as Frossard and Soloman Grumbaca. However, because of the conciliatory contact the other an alternate. The first was the boss' lackey, the second a

The proletariat will inevitably duct of the C.P. it made their re- Storm Trooper who nevertheless strong men like radiant, eternal gods. Exchange is an attribute of the human soul. The stick of the human soul. The stick of the human soul. The stick of the ancient culture of the human soul. The stick of the ancient culture of the human soul. The stick of the human soul. The stick of the ancient culture of the human soul. The stick of the ancient culture of the human soul. The stick of the ancient culture of the human soul. The stick of the ancient culture of the human soul. The stick of the ancient culture of the stick of the stick of the ancient culture of the stick of the stick of the ancient culture of the stick of win because it is the bearer of a jection of the united front propos- always defended the workers. The savage is capital; there has always and everywhere been capital, there and everywhere been capital, there and everywhere been capital, there and everywhere been capital. It is true that there have capital. It is true that there have sophic thought can be found, which capital. It is regarded as the averyment of the stricted and destroyed by capital. It is manner that the joint action has assumed a social democratic charant and not imaginary, advances overage as the averyment of the stricted and destroyed by capital. It is manner that the joint action has assumed a social democratic charant and not imaginary, advances overage as the averyment of the stricted and destroyed by capital. This fundamental lawfulness, real assumed a social democratic charant and not imaginary, advances overage against Fascism, which includes the however, that it is only temporary, that it been conditions which hindered capitalism: "feudal restrictions," are usually regarded as the exclusive property of European culture, "anenlightened minds", "common rabble", who dared to attack the rabble philosophy of rabble have a striction of the parties, their classes, their classes, their parties, th rabble", who dared to attack the sacredness of private property, the facts?

The proletariat does not conserved, the "rabble" always aptermoved, the "rabble" always aptermoved bearen mush. removed, the "rabble" always appeased. Slaves were beaten, mushiks hanged, mutinies suppressed, insurrections defeated—what more do you want? Does not "history" prove that every attempt of propers tis doomed from the very start? Does not "science" prove that it is ridiculous for the "lower elements" of society to take the place of the decisive force of production, educated, wise men, i.e. to take the place of the "better elements" Once upon a time this of slaves, partisans of small the bourgeoisie sense the inevitable the place of stake the place of slaves, partisans of small the bourgeoisie sense the inevitable the pound in the bourgeoisie sense the inevitable the place of stake the place of slaves, partisans of small bility of our victory? Do they not first the bourgeoisie sense the inevitable the place of the manner that they will bring about try to imitate us? Do they not try to correct" capitalism thru the fatigue and indifference of the masses; (that is, in the moment when the mere meetings and devantages of socialism? Do they not try to find support among the with the activities in the form of the Hitler Youth, except A. B. C., except A. take the place of the better etail the bearer of a new method of proments" Once upon a time this duction, of socialism. Socialism is a presented under the cloak of democracy. Today, in its revived democracy. Today, in its revived a Fata Morgana. Socialism is a definition of the military state of the military state of the military state of the military state of the bearer of a new method of promentary school. She would leave each method of promentary schools. She would leave each method of promentary schools are promentally schools and promentary schools. She would leave each method of promentary schools are promentally schools and promentary schools. She would leave each method of promentary schools are promentally schools and promentary schools are promentally schools and promentally schools are promentally schools and promentall cording to its economic base social-victorious achievements of social-primarily decided by the good or ordered her to remain at home;

in. Nevertheless, there occurred a historic "wonder" in 1917. The historic "wonder" in 1917. The "schernow a So-" ording to its economic passe social victorious achievements of social primarily decladed by the good of lordered ner to remain at home; ism in Russia are becoming ever evil intentions of the Right Wing the child pleaded that it was impossible because the "Fuehrerin" and Centrist leaders. This action, once begun, will develop its own alone is capable of higher productions. We have raised the lorgic Large init demonstrations and the lorgic large init demonstrations. "rabble" as Mr. Tschernow, a Social-revolutionary minister and "theoretician" of pink "socialism" theoretician" of pink "socialism" This fact alone destroys the learned expressed himself, had "against all and not learned analogies which learned and pink "socialism" and not learned analogies which learned analogies which learned the production. We nave raised the production the production of the production are set for the anniversary of the armiversary of the war and the mur-learned analogies which learned analogies which learned to learned the production of the production are set for the anniversary of the war and the mur-learned analogies which learned the production of the production are set for the anniversary of the countries. We nave raised the production is capable of inglet production. We nave raised the production and the production are set for the anniversary of the countries. We nave raised the production is capable of inglet production. The father deconomy of the production are set for the anniversary of the outbreak of the war and the mur-learned are set for the anniversary of the production. This fact alone destroys the learned and occurrence are set for the anniversary of the outbreak of the war and the mur-learned are set for the anniversary of the production. This fact alone destroys the learned are set for the anniversary of the outbreak of the war and the mur-learned are set for the anniversary of the production. The father deconomy of the production are set for the anniversary of the production a expressed himself, had "against all and not learned analogies which reason and thru anarchy" taken power into its own hands. All the powers capitalists with tasks and the C. P. does not make was still his child's father. The Capitalism, decaying, struggling We know and true science teach- any serious errors, then the proswith its own contradictions—not es that we will inevitably and irpects of an anti-Fascist struggle at all accidental—is going thru a revocably win.

Proceeds go to

WORKERS AGE

On the International Front

joint meetings of the two central | In Underground Germany Front In France committees were read These I left Vienna about a week ago
The National Council of the So-

where. But now, due to the buildthink that they were welcoming ing of an excessive amount of motors, etc. (armaments), activity is very great. The reason for this is that many people had gone into the country. For a time, there was onference of the two central comnittees, made all possible concesclared the united front is only
valuable to the extent that it leads
The Communist Party today

Valuable to the extent that it leads
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The Communist Party today a considerable amount of building rection. However, roads, etc. are

ready to change its proposal to a C.P., and secondly, it is undesir- Storm (Troopers (SA) were refighting alliance against Fas-able because it threatens the ex-duced, stirring up a great deal of ism", and to take account of the listence of the S.P. Consequently, bjections of the S.P. leadership, the united front is also undesirFor example, in the question of able. In order to demonstrate the ployed earn less than what they

Disappointment is very evident.

strument of Russian foreign poli- ditions were not better than beto the Mayor's office and each day The Right Wing and the Cen- say that things are much better

But the course of events is not the Hitler Youth. He thereupon "Fuehrerin" replied that he should come out with his daughter. He

> The child did not go to the meeting and nothing happened to the father, apparently because it would have created too much scandal if they had sought to do something to this badly wounded veteran.

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The San Francisco General Strike

A Statement of the National Buro, CPO

1. The four-day general strike of the San Francisco workers, which will go down in the history of American labor as one of its most significant events, was precipitated as the climax of the struggle of the waterfront workers of that city. The strike of the longshoremen, continuing down from the beginning of June, a med primarily to win recognition and the right of collective bargaining and to do away with the notorious system of bosscontrolled "hiring halls". The longshoremen fought courageously and with determination. The movement soon spread to other Pacific Coast ports, and the warm sympathy of the whole San Francisco labor movement was aroused. One the other hand, the waterfront employers, reckoned among the most bitterly anti-union capitalists in the country, seized upon the occasion to launch a planned offensive to wipe out unionism altogether and to convert San Francisco into a completely open shop ("American plan") town. Acting in their behalf, Governor Merriam called out the National Guard with the avowed purpose of smashing the strike. The massacre that followed stung the entire working class of San Francisco into a frenzy of indignation. Calls for action began to be heard on all sides. A conference of the trade union movement was convened at which the demand for a general sympathy strike was very strong. But no such action was taken at that time; a "strategy committee" was simply elected to aid the longshoremen in their struggle. The pressure for a general strike, however, grew from moment to moment. It became clear to the conservative leaders of the "strategy committee" that, if they did not make some concession to the unmistakable will of the masses, they would be ousted and thrown aside. On July 15, they therefore acquiesced in the general strike and placed themselves at the head of it, though they were its bitterest opponents.

2. From its very first hour the San Francisco general strike won the enthusiastic support of the masses thruout the country. Pledges and demonstrations of solidarity poured in from all quarters. On the other side, all forces and resources of capital were feverishly mobilized to smash the general strike—the municipal and state authorities, the newspapers, radio and pulpit, the vigilante hooligans, and General Johnson. A murderous "Red scare" was deliberately worked up in order to frighten the more backward elements and to confuse and divide the ranks of the strikers. But the strike held firm. Over 100,000 men were out. In spite of the formidable array of forces against it, the entire city was paralyzed in the grip of labor. The strike was not broken from without; it was disrupted from within. Using their key positions in the most unscrupulous manner, and taking advantage of the signs of confusion appearing in some quarters as a reized force ready to challenge the control of the consersult of the "Red scare" and the hostility of "public opinion", the conservative union leaders deliberately set about undermining the strike, spreading demoralization and disintegration in every direction. Finally, on the fourth day, they felt themselves strong enough to force a decision thru the strike committee calling off the struggle on a vague promise of arbitration of the grievances of the waterfront workers. The demoralization spread further. The teamsters, who had been th moving force in precipitating the general strike, were the first to go back to work, even agreeing to haul scab loads! By large majorities the longshoremen themselves are now voting to return awaiting arbitration.

3. The inner collapse of the general strike undoubtedly has left the San Francisco labor movement weaker organizationally and morally, and, worst of all, with the conservatives still in the saddle, perhaps even more firmly than before. The consolidated open shop interests of the city are quite openly planning to take advantage of the opportunity to break the back of the trade unions in retreat. How effective will be labor's resistance, and how successful its efforts to regain its losses, will depend to a very great degree on how rapidly it learns the great lessons of the four-day general strike.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

AND THE NRA

4. The San Francisco general strike achieved a level of class solidarity and class action but rarely reached by trade unionism in this country. In it there were reflected the deep fermentations in the ranks of labor and the increasingly aggressive mood dominating it. The militancy which precipitated the great general strike was born out of a feeling of deep disillusionment with the broken promises of the NRA. During the summer and autumn of 1933, the fighting mood of the workers was closely asso- and the NRA. It is this struggle that constitutes the ciated with the grossest illusions as to the boons to be derived from the NRA. The increasing frequency and brutality with which the Government has acted as strikebreaker has served to awaken the workers as to the real der the hard knocks of reality has bred a spirit of rebellion and resentment, which has become the basis of a by the NRA; they are beginning to realize that it must be won, if at all, thru their own organized fighting spirit.

est evidence of this profound change of mood of large strike, because it disclosed the inner weakness of the lasections of the American workers.

5. The workers engaged in the various maritime strikes on the Pacific Coast and in the general strike showed their hostility to the NRA and their lack of confidence in it in undisguised form. The NRA, on the other side, unceremoniously dropped its pretense of "impartiality", and, in the person of General Johnson, indulged in the most venomous attacks on the strikers. No more complete revelation of the essential nature and role of the NRA could be possible for even the most conservative leaders in San Francisco were obliged to recognize that the increased strength and consolidation that the employers organizations had gained thru the NRA, were being used most effectively against the workers in the crisis. Among the historical achievements of the San Francisco general strike is certainly thoro self-exposure into which it

THE CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP AND THE WORKERS

6. The great and fatal shortcoming of the San Francisco general strike lay in the fact that the aroused and militant masses in the trade unions, tho able to force thru the general strike against the will of the old-line conservative leaders, proved unable to provide the strike with a leadership believing in it, devoted to it, and determined to lead it to victory. The workers proved unable to translate their fighting mood into organizational terms. The very same reactionaries who cynically announced that they had acquiesced in the strike only because they wanted to retain their positions of leadership, were given decisive control of the general strike committee and of the whole strike machinery. From the very first they utilized this control to demoralize and to undermine the strike, to bring it to the quickest possible end, without regard to consequences. It was the sheerest suicide to entrust the fate of this gigantic struggle of 100,000 to those who feared and hated it, yet that is precisely what happened in San Francisco. This fatal step was possible only because the militancy of the workers was not consciously directed or organized, because it exhausted itself in enthusiasm over the concessions wrung from the conservative leaders, because it did not see the necessity of organizational guarantees of its victoriesbecause, in brief, there did not exist an organized left wing-progressive force functioning effectively in the San Francisco trade union movement. The fate of the general strike teaches us once again the cardinal lesson that militancy or aggressiveness of the workers can not accomplish its goal unless it is transformed into a conscious organvative leaders and determined to deprive them of all possibility of influencing the course of the struggle.

7. In their work of demoralizing and destroying the strike from within, the reactionary forces in the strike leadership were greatly aided by William Green and other spokesmen of the top group in the A. F. of L. The statement of President Green, openly disavowing the strike and attacking it while it was still in progress, was nothing short of deliberate strikebreaking and was welcomed as such by the open shop, union hating interests on the Pacific Coast. Yet, in spite of the genuine enthusiasm that the general strike evoked in the ranks of labor all over the country, President Green's statement was not met with an indignant roar of protest as it surely deserved, but was generally allowed to pass by without comment. As a matter of fact, the only important voice of protest came from the progressive administration of the New York Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. Here, too, the fundamental cause is the same—the lack of an ing of solidarity into effective and organized support that would have swept aside all obstacles in its way.

THE GENERAL STRIKE AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

8. The San Francisco general strike represented an important stage in the struggle of the American workers for unionism, for union recognition and collective bargaining. For in spite of the fact that Section 7a of the NRA allegedly guarantees these rights to labor, the events of the last year and a half have abundantly shown that the American workers will be able to build up their unions and win union recognition only thru unceasing and determined struggle against the employers, the government,

central task of labor in the present period. 9. The San Francisco general strike, following the Toledo strike, the Weirton case, the rupture of union relations on the part of the Republic Steel Company, and nature of the NRA. The dissipation of these illusions unmany other events, made it clearer than ever that the organized employing class of this country is fully determined not only to stem the further progress of unionism, more sober and effective type of militancy. The workers but even to destroy whatever union organization there no longer believe that what they want will be given to them now exists. This, and not the alleged fear of revolution, accounts for the savage bitterness with which the employers and their servile "public opinion" (that is, the The great wave of strikes in the last few months, clinewspapers) met the waterfront workers struggle and the maxing in the San Francisco general strike, is the clearsubsequent general strike. The collapse of the general

bor movement, will only stimulate and encourage the union-smashing offensive.

10. If labor is to meet this offensive, it must overcome its fatal inner weakness, its conservative leadership, which never misses an opportunity to capitulate, surrender, or sell out. Hundreds of thousands of workers in the unions, especially those recruited in the last eighteen months, are growing impatient with policies and practices that benefit no one but the employers. They are demanding more militancy, more aggressiveness, more struggle, and a new leadership, representing these ideas, is making itself felt in many sections. These developments have brought consternation to the employers and to the rockribbed old-line leadership of the A. F. of L. Both are countering the new developments in the same way, by a drive against the more militant and aggressive elements in the trade unions under the cover of a Red scare. The police, the Federal government, the courts, and the vigilante hooligans are co-operating on the West Coast to "wipe out Communism", in actual fact, to drive out the militants from the unions. President Green has just issued a statement to the same effect—the militants must be driven out of the unions. Never was it so clear as in the San Francisco strike and after that the employers and the reactionary union officials form one fighting front against the workers!

11. If the labor movement is to weather this crisis, it must smash this joint drive of the employers and the reactionary officials to rob the unions of their aggressiveness and fighting spirit. Without regard to any political or other differences, all sincere trade unionists must now unite to defend the integrity and militancy of their organization.

12. The national committee of the Socialist Party greeted the general strike with a rousing call to solidarity and support. But this general appeal had little concrete meaning. The Socialist spokesmen and the press, especially those most influential in the labor movement, refused to level even the slightest criticism against the strikebreakers sitting in the general strike committee busily at work destroying the strike. Indeed, they justified their every move. The New York Forward, and partly The New Leader also, had the incredible indecency to try to pass off Green's statement as an endorsement of the strike. In an article on July 23, L. Hendin, the head of the New York labor committee of the S. P. does not hesitate to declare, "The brilliant leadership of the strike was positively admirable". It is true that all this comes from the right wing "old guard" of the party, but it should be remembered, first, that it is precisely this section of the S.P. that has any influence in the trade union movement, and secondly, that even under its Militant leadership, the S.P. nationally has not bestirred itself in the least to stimulate and organize the protest against the strikebreaking conduct of the president of the American Federation of Labor. On the contrary, the Socialist radio station in New York allowed Ryan to attack the San Francisco strike and particularly its left wing. Even under its militant leadership, the S.P. is still in deadly fear of offending the conservative trade union burocracy and is thus condemned to belie its high-sounding revolutionary commitments at every turn.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

13. The official Communist Party, too, greeted the strike with a rousing call to solidarity and support. And, it, of course, did not hesitate to brand the conduct of the reactionary union leaders inside and outside the general strike committee for what it was, if not always in the organized left wing-progressive force in the American most intelligible and effective manner. But, in its own labor movement as a whole. Such a force and such a way, the C.P. leadership contributed a great deal to the force alone could have transformed the widespread feel-Nothing so criminally irresponsible has been seen in a long time as the efforts of Browder and the other C.P. leaders to paint the whole strike "Red", to make the most fantastic claims for Communist Party control and influence in it. Utterly unjustified by the facts as these claims were, they nevertheless played right into the hands of those who were engineering the "Red scare", were given the utmost publicity by them, and did their part in frightening the workers, confusing and dividing the strike ranks and demoralizing the strike. Neither the labor movement nor the Communist movement derived anything but great damage from these reckless and insane tactics. 14. Strangely enough, the bombast of Browder and the hysterical outbursts of the Daily Worker were in marked contrast to the policies pursued by the C.P. dis-

trict leadership in California, where the party followed a much more careful and realistic course, both before and during the strike.

15. The general strike, like all of the recent struggles of labor, dealt an annihilating blow to the fundamental dogma underlying the whole dual unionist course of the official C.P.—the belief that the A. F. of L. unions are really "company unions" and are therefore incapable of fighting for the interests of the workers. Under the impact of what happened in San Francisco, the whole system of trade union policy and tactics of the C.P. went down in hopeless collapse.

16. Its fundamentally dual unionist trade union course

Independent Unionism Today

A Declaration of the National Buro, CPO

put an entirely new aspect to the old question of "independent" unionism. The great wave of union organization that made such headway in the early days of the NRA expressed itself primarily in the tremendous strengthening of a number of old A. F. of L. unions and in the formation of new unions on an industrial basis within the A. F. of L. (federal local unions, plant unions, etc). But the same movement also found expression in the appearance, in various industries and various parts of the country, of "independent" unions, i.e., of local, regional, or national labor unions not attiliated with the A. F. or L. It is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy how many such unions there are, or how big is their membership, but it is important to note that they are frequently to be found in basic mass production industries. In their form of organization, they are predominantly industrial in structure, although "independent" craft unions are fairly common. In general ideology and philosophy, they are typically more conservative and more backward than the general run of A. F. of L. unions. Indeed, a good deal of their "independence" is to be traced to the fact that the workers in them have not yet risen to the level of an all-embracing national movement, to their tear of any such movement as too radical just because of its all-embracing national character. In fact, some of these "independent" unions are often dominated by a narrow and restricted outlook very close to the company union ideology. The "independence" of these unions is generally not a sign of any radicalism, either potential or actual; it is, in fact, usually a symptom of the extreme immaturity of their trade union consciousness. Contributing factors in the appearance of "independent" unionism are occasionally organizational friction and jurisdictional disputes, an indifferent or antagonistic attitude on the part of the existing A. F. of L. unions, or some especially discreditable

record of the A. F. of L. locally. 2. Althought both are usually dual unionist in character, a clear distinction must be made between "independent" unionism in the genuine sense of the term, on the one hand, and "Red" unionism or T.U.U.L. unionism, on the other. For not only do the "independent" unions usually possess a mass base, which the "Red" unions of the T.U.U.L. lack, but the two are quite different in their ground of of existence, animating philosophy, and organizational control. "Independent" unions usually arise spontaneously as a result of the backwardness of the workers involved or as a result of jurisdictional disputes, the opposition to organization of the unorganized by A. F. of L. burocrats, etc. "Red" unions owe their existence to the very deliberate and systematic dual unionist course of the official Communist Party. The control of the "independent" unions usually rests within these organizations themselves, so that a change of their policies, especially in relation to the A. F. of L., is possible thru convincing the members within them; the "Red" unions, on the other hand, are under the paralyzing stranglehold of the official C.P., whose auxiliaries they are in effect, so that no change of policy is conceivable as long as they remain T.U.U.L. organizations. These fundamental distinctions must be kept in mind in formulating tactics for dealing with both types of unions.

3. The chief objective of Communists and progressive unionists in dealing with these "independent" unions is to

1. The changed situation in the labor movement has overcome the ideological backwardness which keeps them ment. Where genuine "independent" unions exist outside "independent", to deepen and broaden the solidarity and the A. F. of L. our tactics are the following: union consciousness of the workers and to effect the incorporation of the organizations into the general labor movement, into the American Federation of Labor. The situations in which "independent" unionism usually appears are, however, so different and so various that, altho the objective remains always the same, it is necessary to employ the utmost care in working out tactics to achieve this objective. The tactics employed must be based on the concrete circumstances in each case.

4. Great confusion and worse characterize the attitude of the various tendencies in the labor movement on the question of "independent" unionism.

The old-line A. F. of L. leadership simply refuses to recognize the existence of the problem and contents itself with repeating that the organizations involved are not "bonafide trade unions". It thus makes more difficult the rapprochement between the "independent" unions and the A. F. of L. and their incorporation within it.

The same narrow attitude is maintained by a good section of the right wing elements of the Socialist Party, while among the Militants the ideology of dual unionism and of "independent" unionism, decked out in ultra-revolutionary phrases borrowed from official C.P. sectarianism, is not uncommon. The resolution of the Detroit convention of the S.P. on the trade union question manages to combine a slightly sectarian attitude on "independent" unionism with an ultra-opportunist refusal to level any criticism at all against the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. leadership.

The Communist Party, committed to dual unionism in theory and practice, sees in "independent" unionism a new weapon in its drive to destroy the A. F. of L. unions from within and from without and to replace them by "Red" unions under its control. To further this objective, it is ready to pander to the conservative prejudices of the most backward sections of the workers, if only these prejudices can be turned against the A. F of L. The new policy of an "independent federation of labor" is precisely such a piece of strategy. Virtually admitting the utter bankruptcy of the T.U.U.L. as a rival trade union center to the A. F. of L., it aims to create a new dual union center by combining within it the revolutionary "Red" unions and backward "independent" unions on the common ground of opposition to the A. F. of L. The unprincipled character of such a policy, diametrically opposed to the deepest interests of American labor, is obvious. Fortunately such a policy is also self-destructive and futile and can only lead to an even greater fiasco than the

The policy of such groups as the American Workers Party and the Trotskyites is a muddle of confusion, but in a greater or lesser degree both groups go a long way in the direction of dual unionist sectarianism in an anxious attempt to establish their revolutionary virtue. The very slight influence of both groups in the organized labor movement makes their course of little practical signifi-5. The Communist Party Opposition fights for trade

union unity, for one united all-inclusive trade union movement as part of a fight for general working class unity against the capitalist class. We are for one union in each industry as an integral part of the general labor move- lutionary action.

(a) In cases where two or more independent unions in one craft of industry exist, we favor their amalgamation into one.

(b) In cases where there is an independent union and no other union in the same craft or industry affiliated to the A. F. of L., we favor its affiliation to the A. F. of L. as the recognized union in the field.

(c) In cases where an independent union in a particular craft or industry co-exists with an A. F. of L. union in the same field, we favor the amalgamation of the two organizations into one and the affiliation of the amalgamated union with the A. F. of L. Such a decision for affiliation must be made by the rank and file members of the independent union on the basis of conviction and not imposed upon the membership from on top.

(d) A pre-requisite for all such amalgamation is a guarantee that the organizational rights of the membership of each of the hitherto existing unions shall remain intact and secure and that the members of both previous organizations are to be on the basis of equality in the amalgamated trade union.

6. In cases where an independent union is the established organization in the field, even that it exists side by side with an A. F. of L. union, we must, (a) Work inside this independent union for the pur-

pose of building it up into a strong militant union. (b) Strive to have this union become the recognized

union in the craft orindustry. (c) Propagate the idea and need of trade union joint action and ultimate unity (between the A. F. of L. and independent unions in the field) as against trade union rivalry and competition not only between the independent and

A. F. of L. unions in question, but also between the in-

dependent union and the trade union movement as a

(d) Our members in the A. F.L. union in this particular field are to work on the above basis for such amalga-

mation with the independent union. 7. We are against the formation of any sort of independent federation of labor as against competition with the A.F.L. on the ground that it will add further divisions in the ranks of trade unionism, and seriously hamper the achievement of labor's very urgent task of transforming the existing conservative trade unions into powerful, militant industrial unions. This holds true whether the proposed independent federation of labor is to be conservative or revolutionary in character.

8. The dominant leadership of the A.F.L. is extremely reactionary and must be overthrown and destroyed because it is the bearer of capitalist anti-working class influence in the labor movement. But the A. F. of L. itself is the biggest body of organized labor in America, the main stream of the American labor movement, as well as the biggest trade union federation in the capitalist world. Drawing the sharpest distinction between the corrupt and reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. and the millions of workers in its ranks, we declare that the course of policy outlined above is the only one capable of winning away the masses of the conservative-minded workers from the influence and control of the reactionary labor officialdom, of opening the way to militant class struggle and revo-

THE SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE

prevented the Communist Party from effectively utilizing the influence and connections it did possess among the hand go to prove that the San Francisco strike had consid-San Francisco maritime workers. The same cause made the C.P. totally ineffective as a factor in mobilizing the workers in the trade unions for real support of the general strike against the strike breaking of the conservative concerned solely with ending it. leaders. Never was the deadly isolation of the official THE GENERAL STRIKE C.P. in the labor movement so painfully demonstrated as AND REVOLUTION in the crisis.

COULD THE GENERAL STRIKE HAVE SUCCEEDED?

17. The inevitable failure of any general or sympathetic strike was the incessant theme of all opponents of the San Francisco struggle, from the employers publicity agents to William Green. The only argument ever put forward to prove the futility of the sympathetic strike whether general in extent or not, is the one contained in President Green's statement of July 21 to the effect that such a strike is no longer directed against a particular group of employers, but is immediately transformed into a clash with the government, and, of course, "government must be supreme". But this argument condemns almost any strike of whatever sort to inevitable failure since most strikes, once they have become formidable enough, meet with the opposition of the Governmental forces who rush in to the aid of the employers. And indeed this very

18. With the proper policies and leadership, with careful preparation and solid organization, with the aid, or at least the benevolent neutrality of the lower middle classes, and above all, with the enthusiastic and active support of the labor movement as a whole, general and sympa-

same logic has often been employed to justify capitula-

tion and surrender in quite ordinary economic strife.

thetic strikes have been and can be successful. All facts at erable chances of success, had the leadership of the strike and of the A. F. of L. lived up to its duties and responsi-

feed the Red hysteria, Governor Merriam and Mayor Rossi proclaimed to the world that "Moscow" had decided to start a revolution on the Pacific Coast and that the San Francisco strike was the opening gun! In dismissing such malicious nonsense and in recognizing the obvious fact that the strike had no other objective than support of the waterfront workers in an economic struggle, we must not lose sight of the even more significant fact that, in the period of acute class struggle, that is the general strike, the main problems of revolution are foreshadowed in undeveloped but unmistakable form. In the general strike, the organized working class, overcoming its sectional differences, confronts organized capital in open class array. But in the general strike the organized working class confronts not only the capitalist class, but also the capitalist government as its direct enemy. Never are class and political relations more clear than when illuminated in the burning glare of the general strike.

20. But it is the problem of power that emerges so sharply from every general strike. To the degree that the general strike, no matter how limited its objectives may be, is successful, to that degree are the powers of capitalist government) paralyzed, to that degree do the lutionary education of the American proletariat!

essential powers of government slip into the hands of the general strike committee and its organs. As long as the general strike goes on, a real situation of dual power prevails, in which the power of the proletariat challenges the power of the bourgeoisie. In San Francisco exactly this situation continued for four days. "The workers committee" reports the New York Times of July 19, "has usurped the functions of government by issuing and deny-19. Was the general strike a revolution? In order to ing permits for the transaction of business, for the translic activities.

> 21. Significantly enough, the workers power in the general strike is not exercised thru parliamentary bodies, so cherished by the worshippers of democracy, but thru councils of workers deputies, from which the non-working class elements of the population are ruthlessly excluded. If they are to be at all effective, these councils must necessarily act in an arbitrary, dictatorial manner, without regard to constituted right; the safety of the strike is the highest law. In the general strike committee and its instruments, we have the authentic prototype of the proletarian dictatorship and the soviet power!

22. Certainly the dim recognition of these deeper implications of the general strike frightened and confused considerable sections of the more backward strikers in San Francisco. But that is only one side of the picture. Far more significant is the effect that practical confrontation of these basic questions of revolution has upon the workers who meet them in direct and simple form in the general strike. Such practical experience. emerging from the white heat of the class struggle, is the "regularly constituted authorities" (that is, of the certain to prove of inestimable significance in the revo-

NAZI REGIME FACES INNER CRISIS

The events of June 30th have fits the bourgeoisie little when capilaid bare the inner crisis of the laist industry is not in a condiqueraded as the fighters for a long open murders not hidden even begon and Goering cannot do of this right, when the markets of the face of the fact that Hitler deeds perpetrated by the Nazis in and Goering proceded to legalize open murders not hidden even begon murders not hidden even begon meath a farcical court trial.

The events of June 30th have fits the bourgeoisie little when capilated by the Nazis in and Goering proceded to legalize open murders not hidden even begon meath a farcical court trial. Goebbels and Goering cannot do away with the fact that on June 30, the deep inner contradictions of the Nazi regime, of the general rule of capitalism in Germany, were clearly revealed. A ruling class which cannot cope with the political disagrements within its own al disagrements within its own chance to control directly the fin- Against Illusions

however, was unable to do away with the contradictions of capitalism in decay. The attempts of the state ism in decay. The attempts of the state apparatus put the various individing the Hitler regime.

The demand of the bourgeoisie ing the Hitler regime.

The leadership of the Nazis, the sorts to independent revolutionary letarian class interests but because of the illusion of "true naction."

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The leadership of the Nazis, the Hesses, letarian class interests but because of the illusion of "true naction."

with the contradictions of capitalism in decay. The attempts of the Nazis to review beginners, to over the summer of the Nazis to review beginners, to over the continuance and sharpening of the German conomic crisis have intensified class antagonisms which he Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis the emanage claims of the Nazis the reduction of the SA. Beause the intensified class antagonisms which he Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force. Also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the contrast of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the contrast of the Nazis regime of the Nazis regime had tried cell-minute by force also the contrast of the Nazis regime were visibly reduction of the Nazis regime were visibly reduction of the

al disagrements within its own ranks except thru murder is a decaying class.

Chance to control directly the line and state. It began to criticize the socialist demagogy of the Nazis which had been used by the latter to hold the S.A. and the latter to hold the S.A. and the Nazi regime in any the latter to hold the S.A. and the Nazi regime in any the latter to hold the S.A. and the Nazi regime in any the indecaption of the Nazi regime cannot altogether dispense with socialist demagogy; on the other hand, big capital and the Reichswehr, after

rosy, the contradictions of the re- won over if they are given cor-Against Illusions

Further developments showed gime will further develop despite the violence of June 30th. On the ti-fascist working class itself or-

Source Of The
Crisis

The present inner crisis of Nazi
Germany is a consequence of the further sharpening of the economic crisis of German capitalism. The Nazi government defeated the working class. It established the political dictatorship, however, was unable to do away

The Nazi demand of the bourgeoisie

The Nazi swhich had been used by the latter to hold the S.A. and the members of the NSBO and the latter to hold the S.A. and the members of the NSBO and the latter to hold the S.A. and the members of the NSBO and the latter to hold the S.A. and the members of the NSBO and the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent step the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the indeapole application of the S.A. leaders, will continue to exert pressure on the government. The contradictions within the ruling class or that—as the Social-Democrats have been maintaining—the eliminated by June 30th. The 30th of June shows conclusively that only the working class can take advantage of them provided it resorts to independent revolutionary leading the nice of the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the indeapoly of the Rocal Regiment.

The latter to hold the S.A. and the flowed

A. F. of L. ORGANIZERS REPORT NRA COLLAPSE

The NRA is today one of the of these concerns seem afraid to INDIANA most heatedly discussed issues before the labor movement.

Indiana

India

ganizers through the country (American Federationist, June 1934) indicating general and widespread non-compliance with NRA spread non-compliance with NRA code provisions. These reports furced provisions. These reports furced provisions. These reports furced provisions are included that with very rare lands and restaurant industry following them a close Sullivan.—The National Refining Companies, Kraft Cheese Factory and the retail stores are intended in the hearings and revisions of the hearings and revisions of the National Refining Company, the Mutual City Hand and Ripley Laundries, The Shell Oil Company and the Morsum Package Company are all antiquities of the with very rare lands and revisions of the National Refining Companies, Kraft Cheese Factory and the retail stores are intended in the hearings and revisions of the National Refining Company, the Mutual City Hand and Ripley Laundries, The Shell Oil Company and the Morsum Package Company are all antiquities of the mining companies, Kraft Cheese Factory and the retail stores are intended in the hearings and revisions of the National Refining Companies, Kraft Cheese Factory and the retail stores are intended in the hearings and revisions of the National Refining Companies, Kraft Cheese Factory and the retail stores are intended in the provided that the country of the mining companies, Kraft Cheese Factory and the retail stores are intended in the provided that the country of the matched the matched the country of the matched the matched the matched the country of the matched th exceptions NRA has led to no improvements in the possibilities for organizations. Whatever organization has been accomplished, and that has been considerable, has because of the fear of the loss of jobs. Banks, holding the whip over of the NRA machinery and in auto machine shops and others discriminate against union members. Efforts to unionize have failed in many of the above crafts because of the fear of the loss of jobs. Banks, holding the whip over many industries, prevent the organizations.

Loughlin Manufacturing Company against company against the possible exception of steel, are violating the codes.—Fred C. England Walton Leather Company and the North American Refractorand the North Am

These reports assume even greater significance when we re- FLORIDA member that in all cases the re-

Anniston. — For discrimination against union workers the Utica ILLINOIS

C. W. Walls.

CALIFORNIA

been mantained for some time. The Union Ice Company, likewise a Chain concern, shows no friendli-dustries.—C. E. Woodworth.

Coutes are peing violation conferences with every employee telling them there will be no advances for union members.—Leroy Phillips.

MICHIGAN Kalamazoo. ness for union labor. Employees

fore the labor movement.

We are printing below excerpts from the reports of A. F. of L. orfrom the reports of A. F. of L. ortions with the hotel and restaurtions with th

West Palm Beach.—Ice and milk reported to the local and state com- of the Axton Fisher Tobacco Comports have been submitted by men distributors and the lumber induspliance boards for discriminations pany, The Brown Williamson ToNORTH CAROLINA and women in the trade union movement who have, in the main, been very favorable to NRA.

Hotel and restaurant owners are also advising against union affiliation.—Chas J. Parmelane ferent firms which are violating the codes.—W. B. Hammil.

Plance poards for discriminations against try advise their workers not to against employees, but those agenbacco Company and the Reynold cies are unable to get satisfactory results. There are about 15 different firms which are violating the codes.—J. T. Woodward.

ALARAMA

Knitting Mills are scheduled to appear before the Regional Labor Power Company is now forming a clothing and department stores, company union and the employees garment factories and trucking Montgomery.—The Southwestern of this concern have been so co- firms.—L. E. Gannett. Manufacturing Company is a 100 erced that they will hardly even per cent violator of the code. Laundries also evade their code.— of codes are many.—Walter J. Coffeyville.—Shorter hours have

pany, the Feature Frock Company codes.-R. B. Paul.

Transfer Company, Flynn Dairy Clinger. and about five others have been

Sioux City.—Discrimination of union members is made by restaur-

Topeka.—The Kansas Power and MINNESOTA Diedrich.

Sullivan.—The National Refin
Light Company, the Mutual City
Hand and Ripley Laundries, The panies are against unionization.—

Des Moines.—The White Line against union members.—Charles cept where employees are organ-

Louisville.-With the exception Jerry L. Hanks.

MASSACHUSETTS

Fitchburg.—Code violation complaints have been filed against the

Phillips.

Salina.—To the writer's knowl
Company is working its men 57 ways.—J. Dooley.

ized, are violating the codes.-

members-the bosses stand across the street from the union hall and get the names of those they see going in.—Albert Beck.

Fayetteville .- In the textile intheatres, shoe and garment manu-facturers.—John B. McNally.

rayetteville.—In the textile in-dustry when they find out that the workers are strongly organizing Marlboro.—Most industries have they begin to discriminate and lay them off. A lot of our sections workers are strongly organizing, f codes are many.—Walter J.
Steube.

Steger.—The Tile Textile Commany the Feature Frock Company

The Feature Frock Company

The Tile Textile Common the Feature Frock Company

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The Feature Frock Company

The Feature Frock Company

The Tile Textile Common the Feature Frock Company

The Feature Fr San Diego—The Southern Service Laundries (chain) have a decided anti-union policy that has members. Codes are being violated and the School Supply Company conferences with every employee maltimes.—John T. Tucker.

Pany, the Feature Frock Company codes.—R. B. Paul.

Hutchinson.—The Morton Salt violated both in cutting pay and number of help employed in normal times.—John T. Tucker.

Before the code they did not charge any rent, now they charge 50c for mal times.—John T. Tucker. Eastern is against organized labor and the writer believes that every Kalamazoo.—The Atlas Press mill is violating the code in many

Bridgeport YPSL's Give Lowdown on McLevy

derstood that this resolution was not given impetus by or is not to given impetus by or is not to be confounded with the "left" and "right" wing controversy now facing the SP. Rather, it is a single the single to all comrades who are honestly concerned with socialistic principles. This unhealthy situation in Bridgeport found its origin here more than 3 years ago, situation in Bridgeport found its origin here more than 3 years ago, and reached a climax April 19, and the YPSL circle No. 1 senior, were expelled by the local SP for voicing opposition to McLevy's tactics. Since his election as mayor, November, 1933, his digressions from the SP program have reached such proportions that they have impelled this following resolution:

WHEREAS: February 6, 1934, he bound and personal welcome to Gen. Josef Haller, not ed Polish fascist and pogrom in stigator, and also April 6, 1934, he broke through a picket line to greet Nazi officials from the SS Europa despite vigorous protests from the SP program have reached such proportions that they have impelled this following resolution:

WHEREAS: Jasper McLcvy, The Marking Internation of the C.P.O.", air meetings, visiting Union Head-our girl comrade, Lou Ayres. These proletarians denounced the CPO speakers to the police as "gunmen" and "yeggs". When the police were abscut the bull-frog from the Worker. Forty-seven workers and farm-from the Workman's Circle and kindred organizations, and after ignoring plea from the Civil Liberties Union to allow an anti-Nazi street corner rally at the scene of the C.P.O.", the line of action of the C.P.O.", air meetings, visiting Union Head-our girl comrade, Lou Ayres. These proletarians denounced the CPO speakers to the police as "gunmen" and "yeggs". When the police were abscut to bull-frog from the Waxis and apply the Marxism that we have learned," was the remark of a thild workers. The circle No. 1 senior, and apply the Marxism that we have learned," was the remark of a thild workers and farm-from the Worker. Forty-seven workers and farm-from the Workers and canada, including Seable, Nebraska, Chicago, Detroit, Ft. Weyne, Toronto, Montreal Corner and the line of action of the C.P.O.", the line of action of the C.P.O.", the lin

WHEREAS; Jasper McLevy, townchairman of the local SP gave official permission to Socialist elected sheriffs Cooney and Snow to enter into parnership with defeted Republican sheriffs Maloney and Hocheiser and to divide fees, and also despite protests from comrades consented to their evicting of unemployed, and WHEREAS: He fought as mayor to retain George Eames, Republi-

HOOLINGANISM MUST STOP

Page the American Civil Liber-At a regular meeting, June 22, can and noted manufacturer and 1934, the YPSL circle No. 1 senior, Bridgeport, Conn. unanimously voted to endorse the following resolution to be sent to various YPSLs throughout the country for their endorsement. Let it be clearly undersolution to the total resolution was derstood that this resolution was manager of the municipal garage of the contrary. At the first the few the form the fo

|CPO Training School Meets with Great Success

week two such meetings were broken: one in Harlem and another in Brownsville.

At the Brownsville open-air meeting, ten CP heroes assaulted one CPO member, another stalwart lord planted his fist in the face of lord planted his fist in the various industries and localities. The students combined practical work with their studies—particities in the various industries and localities.

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ESTIMATING AUSTRIA'S REVOLUTION

Editorial Note:—The following article has been in type for two weeks. Its clear analysis of the Austrian situation has been amply justified by recent events.

Austria And The Comintern

The striking contrast between the passivity in the face of the Nazi triumph into which the German Communist Party had been manouvered because of its years of sectarianism, on the one hand, and the heroic resistance of the Austrian Social-democrats to the Heimwehr-Dollfuss provocation, on the other, is a blasting indictment of the whole course followed by the Communist International in recent times. But even more significant in this respect is the absence from the battle scene of the Communist Party of Austria which. in its numerous manifestos, is wont to parade as the "vanguard of the Austrian proletariat." Thru the four days of fighting it never so much as betrayed the slightest sign of its existence. Pitifully weak, but worse than that, self-isolated from the living body of the labor movement by its absurd sectarianism, vegetating in its own impotence, it had not the slightest influence upon the actual course of events. History com-

pletely ignored it! In the stormy days of July 1927, the C.P. of Austria couldn't make up its mind to issue the slogan of workers councils but in September 1929 it suddenly discovered (Vienna Rote Fahne, September 22, 1929) that: "The situation has sharpened so much in the last few days that the struggle for a Soviet Austria has been placed on the immediate order of business by history." With this adventuristic recklessness, the official Communist spokesmen combined a most virulent form of the "social-fascism" mania. When the government launched a savage offensive upon the trade unions in March 1930, the Vienna Rote Fahne so far lost all sense of proletarian responsibility as to expresse a careless indifference as to the consequences—for were not the trade unions practically "Fascist" organizations anyway. "The difference between the Fascist and social-fascist trade unions is the difference between competitors of different social layers and different social demagogy' (Vienna Rote Fahne, April 7, 1930). With such a conception, is it any wonder that the official Communist sect in Austria found itself completely isolated from the big masses of the proletariat, without the slightest influence among them?

As To Social Fascism

The Austrian events have placed the final seal of refutation upon the philosophy of leftist sectarianism underlying the entire system of official Communist tactics today. What is now left of the notorious doctrine of "social-fascism"? Was the Austrian Socialdemocracy the "left wing" of Fascism" on February 12? Is the Social-democracy the "main social prop of the capitalist order" today in Austria? The whole bombastic structure of political abuse parading as political argument has now finally been smashed to smithereens by what happened in Austria.

With the vicious doctrine of "Social-fascism" falls also the disruptive trade union tactics and the utterly By WILL HERBERG

sectarian opposition to the very conception of a united labor front, that has doomed the Austrian Communist movement to such hopeless sterility and insignificance. The most sacred dogmas of official Communist International policy now stand once more condemned from beginning to erd in the test of life itself.

Revolution Clears The Road

The iron broom of revolution ruthlessly sweeps away all that is rotten in the theory and practise of the labor movement. But while it is the fundamental principles of reformist Socialism that stand refuted by the lessons of the civil war in Austria, it is not the principles of Communism that have failed to stand the test but rather the utterly false and sectarian policies and tactics today dominating the official Communist movement. The basic principles of Communism, on the contrary, have again been confirmed to the hilt by the great events in Austria.

What Next In Austria?

What now? The Dollfuss-Heimwehr regime has far from stabilized itself even to the relative degree in which we can speak of the stabilization of power of the Hitler dictatorship in Germany. The Heimwehr still lacks any broad base of popular support even among the lower middle classes and it is certain that the struggle between it and the Nazis, with all the international implications of such a struggle, will continue in an even more acute form. Within the Fatherland Front, the general organization of the Dollfuss-Heimwehr forces, moreover, there are deep and significant contradictions threatening its very existence and the same is true of the Nazi movement. But the Italian and German experience teaches us the suicidal folly of expecting these contradictions to blow up of themselves. Only the independent intervention of a powerful and well organized working class, clear in its aims and policies, can convert the objective social contradictions within the Heimwehr and Nazi camps into real political conflicts, thus undermining the bloody Dollfuss dictatorship, staving off the ominous possibility of a Nazi triumph and opening the way to a proletarian revolution.

New Battles Coming

The Austrian working class, the materially weakened by the defeated insurrection and the Dollfuss terror, will emerge from the fire of battle morally and politically strengthened. It is already clear that the Austrian labor movement will not he so easily or so completely suppressed as was the German. In a very real sense, the fate of the Austrian proletariat depends largely on what it does with its own defeat.

Defeated armies learn well-or so they should! There are some defeats, such as in Russia in 1905, that are but temporary retreats for the sake of a more powerful advance. The real assimilation of the great political lessons of the heroic four-day struggle would arm the Austrian working class with ideological weapons that would render it invincible. But wil the

working class movement of Austria learn from its own

Lessons That Must Be Learned

Unfortunate'y neither the leadership of the Socialdemocracy nor that of the official Communist movement seems to have learned anything from the great experiences of the Austrian proletariat. In his recent pamphlet, "Der Aufstand der Osterreichischen Arbeiter," Otto Bauer undertakes an examination of the mistakes of the Austrian proletariat. And what "mistakes" does he find? First, perhaps the Austrian Social-democrats should have "tolerated" (i.e., supported) the Buresch government just as the German Socialdemocrats did the Bruening regime! Secondly, perhaps Renner should not have resigned as president of the Nationalrat in March 1933 because this resignation gave Dollfuss the opportunity to abolish parliament! Thirdly, perhaps the general strike came too late! It should have been called a year sooner, on March 15, 1933 when Dollfuss arbitrarily dissolved

parliament. The last point of criticism is unquestionably in place and well justified. The second point is utterly trivial and only indicates how superstitious is Bauer's faith in parliamentary formalities. His first criticism, however, that perhaps the Austrian Social-democracy was too left, too radical, proves that not only has Bauer learned nothing but that his ingrained opportunism

has even been strengthened and intensified. And indeed how shallow is Bauer's whole approach! It never seems to occur to him that perhaps some basic reexamination and overhauling of the fundamental principles of Social-democracy may be necessary. If the Austrian workers cannot go beyond Bauer, they will certainly not be able to rise to the level of their historic tasks.

To speak of self-criticism and learning from experience in connection with the leadership of official Communism is almost a contradiction in terms. Whatever is intelligible in the verbose articles and declarations on Austria in the official Communist press is merely a stale repetition of the basic dogma of infallibility: "The line of the Communist International has always been, is and will always be absolutely correct." So theoretically sterile has the official Communist leadership become that it cannot even draw the obvious lessons of the political bankruptcy of Socialdemocracy and the confirmation of Communist funda-

Forward To Victory

Nevertheless, the vital political lessons of the fourday insurrection and of the entire preceding period cannot be lost for the Austrian proletariat. With their systematic assimilation there will emerge from the ranks of the heroic Austrian Social-democrats a really revolutionary Socialist movement, a Communist movement, which will be in the position to lead the Austrian workers to their emancipation from the yoke of Fascism and capitalism. It is to this great task that the Austrian Communist Opposition and all constructive revolutionary forces in the Austrian labor movement are bending their entire energies!

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August 1, 1934

Two Decades - In Retrospect

Judging by the bourgeois historians and economists' interpretations of events since the fateful shot was fired at Sarajevo, the capitalist class has about as little hindsight as foresight.

The last, or rather the first, great, decent, civilized, respectable, war was fought under the banner of "democracy". It was fought to determine Germany's chances of dislodging British imperialism from its then dominant position. Today both sides, can claim partial victory in the conflict. German imperialism did dislodge the British and British imperialism did prevent Germany from replacing it. While the two leading imperialist pirates were firing volleys at and plunging knives into each other, a third one and even more avaricous pirate, Wall Street imperialism, saved "democracy" by displacing British imperialism as the dominant world power.

Apparently, inspired by the savagery of Hitlerism, the German

bourgeoisie are now dreaming of reopening the conflict for world hegemony. This is the essence of the Nazi drive for pan-Germanism. These dreams of the German ruling class are the nightmares of the German people. The French bourgeoisie anxious to maintain the loot they grabbed after four years of suicidal conflict, are now prepared to plunge deeper into hell in order to preserve the status

Of democratic rights, the supposed preservation of which cost 10 million in killed and 20 million in wounded, the capitalist world was never as much stripped as it is today. And never before were there as feverish preparations for a struggle to re-divide the spheres of influence, the world markets, the territories of colonial and semi-colonial peoples as today It should be clear even to the most purblind that the actual objectives and even the most intlated shibboleths of the last war have come to naught.

But the bourgeois statesmen and imperialist war strategists feel that there is nothing left for them to do except try again to settle and stabilize relations among themselves thru an even a bigger war. Many of them feel that the time is not yet at hand to start the cannon-ading. With too many people painful memories of the last war still linger. Some governments need more time for preparation. Others do not yet trust sufficiently the great mass of people in their countries. All of them fear the role of the Soviet Union in such a conflagration and dread particularly the possibility of a proletarian revolution sweeping their countries in the event of war.

It is significant commentary on the insolubility of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system that the final and most decisive solution of the bourgeois order, that is war, not only doesn't solve anything but aggravates old diseases and breeds new and even more dangerous ones. What more crushing proof could there be of the decay of the very roots of the capitalist social and economic order?

Look at Austria. In 1914 she was the cockpit of capitalist antagonsims in Europe. The old Austro-Hungarian empire, with its conflicting nationalities, with its artificial economic foundations, was a source of violent infection. The surgery of imperialist bayonets was offered as a cure. But the cancer persists in more violent form, tho Austria is today but a pitiful fraction of her former self. More than in 1924, little, strangled, impoverished, hemmed-in Austria, but a painful memory of her former self, is today a source of the most virulent germs of a devastating war. Economically Austria today is more of a monstrosity than even the old Austro-Hungarian empire of Franz

Peace and security were promised to the masses by both the victor and vanquished in the last war. Today, however, neither feels himself secure. German imperialism feels it did not meet a deserving fate at Versailles. French and British imperialism fear for their pillage. Furthermore, the area of infection has been tremendously enlarged to include the Pacific and to transform the Far East into a volcano. Then, Yankee imperialism, evermore aware of the increasing challenge to its hegemony is arming itself for a final showdown Even the most silent of the capitalist statesmen are now shieking about the decisive days to come in 1935-1936.

But it would be unfair to maintain that all the bourgeois statesmen merely fail to see the futility of war as a way out of the diffi-culties and crises of their system. War is the highest expression of capitalist competition. Before this inevitability, the bourgeois statesmen are helpless.

The situation, however, is not hopeless. Far from it. Historically speaking, there is one class left which is constructive and progressive. This is the working class. If the international working class, will the necessary lessons from its costly experiences from its serious blunders and defeats, as well as from its victories, then, there is hope and certainty that the world will be spared the probability of pushing back the clock of human history thousands of years. Russian working class, aided by the toiling masses in the rural areas, was able to tear one-sixth of the world out of the hands of the Czarist oppressors and capitalist exploiters. Today, thanks to the incessant and vigorous peace efforts of this workers and farmers Soviet Republic, the plague of war has not yet broken out.

While the capitalists are feverishly preparing the next war, the workers should be systematically preparing to be able to do what the Russian proletariat did in order to obtain victory and peace and a better day. Now is the time for the workers of all lands to band themselves together to work out an effective program to paralyze the war-makers and to destroy the war-breeding system of capitalism. This means united effort to defend the only fatherland the international proletariat has—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic. This means united action in every country and between the workers of all countries to defeat the war maneuvers of all capitalist governments. This means that the workers must turn a deaf ear to the hypocritical cries of their exploiters and must take steps to prepare themselves to transform imperialist war into civil war-into the final war and the end of all war.

After twenty years it is time that we have learned!

YCL Blunders Toward New Disasters

So inspiring was the Seventh erships handle new memberships Convention of the Young Commuwith cynical trickery. What has the League (USA) that, when it League learned from the German finally terminated and convention disaster? Where has it worked out reports were given to the sections, a program for the defeat of fasfailed to show up. One section es- youth? To refuse to analyze the timated its membership machine. failed to show up. One section es- youth? To refuse to analyze the timated its membership meeting as events in Germany honestly can follows:

"The main shortcoming of the meeting was the poor attendance. From a membership of 160 only about 60 were present.

"The discussion was also very noor. This was due to the fact that the comrades were not prepared to speak; and the comrades from the shop units did not even see the importance of bringing out their experiences, but spoke on some other topics."

It was admitted that there still exists an enormous turnover in membership. The League gained 3000 new members in the course of the last three years, making a total membership of 6,000, it was declared. While the figures are of dubious validity, one thing is glaring: the political life within the League is such that despite some recruiting the League fails to hold its converts. The above quotation cuts deep into the picture of League life under the guidance of the "infallibles."

Tricking The Faithful

The opening night of the convention found Don Quixote riding forth again—Earl Browder delivering a stereotyped sermon of slight import. Then we had that galaxy of very dim stars, Comrades Krumbein, Gil Green, etc., indulging in an orgy of self-laudation and rah-rah, night of endless windjamming. As the convention proceeded the desire to hear something "more substantial, more penetrating, more critical" swept the more intelligent sections of the membership. To offset the growing dissatisfaction, largely inarticulate, the League leadership pulled that old old phoney out of the bag—another "new" twist in the line: a "non-sectarian" attitude and approach to the problems of the Communist youth. This trick served its purpose, however, since the membership still hoped that the leadership was not totally in-competent and blind. Many felt that perhaps a new day was break ing and the promises of "nonsecretarian" were its harbingers. Here then is the tragedy: new eager and devoted young Communists keenly aware that "something is wrong" being kidded into accepting promises as a substitute for political re-examination. The fog of confusion hangs heavily over the League.

Kingdom Of The

Blind

The Seventh Convention of the Young Communist League (USA) took place one year after the in-auguration of the "New Deal" in the United States, and the victory of the Nazi in Germany. The new situation which therefore confronts young Communists should in the line of duty have impelled the League to undertake the most exhaustive analysis of the toiling youth under the Blue Eagle, and an equally penetrating inquiry into the causes for Fascism's victories in harnessing youth to its anti-working class program. In connection with the latter, the Young Communist International must be charged with deliberately obstructing such investigations. As the map of Europe turns blacker with the Fascist successes all the YCI can tell its membership as an alibi is "Social-Democracy is to blame" and "our line is forever correct"! With such profundity being ladled-out to the Leagues as the very peak of Communist analysis, is it any wonder that the confusion reigns, and puppet-lead-long road to travel.

bring nothing but paralysis to the Leagues, and eventual disaster? Let the League members ask: Did work in line with theories of Social Fascism and united front from below cripple the League and party in Germany?

With characteristic insolence something was unreeled as an analysis of youth under the NRA codes. While the more obvious features of discrimination in the codes are noted, many of the less obvious ones are totally ignored. The objective of the Roosevelt Administration in creating a new source of cheap labor thru the —far below code minimums codesfor highly mechanized industry finds no adequate attention in the resolutions and draft thesis.

Phantasy In Red

Still living in a world of heroic phrases instead of reality, once again it was declared that we are witnessing in the United States "at the present time", a swift tempo of radicalization among the youth", Comrades in the League who believed that "the main process taking place among the youth is 'disillusionment' and not radicalization" were severely chastized because "such a line leads to the conclusion that the working youth is not an active section of the working class and that it is being transformed into passive by composing the reserve of the bourgeoisie."

Since 1930 we have been deluged by the League with this radicalization theory. To speak of the "main trend" being one of "radicalization" is utter unmitigated bunk. True many young Negroes and several thousand students have definitely gone to the left (not all to the same degree however), many young workers are easier to approach today and to be won for Communism—non one denies this! But to speak of the mass of youth moving leftward is but the mirage seen by a leadership crazily thirsty for retaining its grip on the membership. But if as the League contends millions of youth are going left then why the pitiful handful of young Communists who not the League grown enormously with its ever "correct line"?

It is in the American Federation of Labor where hundreds of thousands of young workers have pour ed in the past year that we find the most significant signs of youth learning the first elementary lessons in the class struggle. And what does the League propose ir this connection? Disrupting the A. F. of L. and building an Independent Federation. Proposing ir body of youth who have begun to fight to the mercies of the Greens against the high-handed conduct of Joseph P. Ryan, who, as chairand Wolls instead of being with this mass to show them the road for cleaning their unions and developing them further along the lines of militant working-class action politically as well as in the economic field. This desertion of the masses is what characterizes the policies of the League today This accounts for their self-confessed isolation from the the mass of young workers. In the student field the League thru the National Students League has been in the forefront of some heroic and splendid battles, but it at the same time fought against the creation of a wide militant organization which would include students moving toward the left but still having a



THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE NRA" Local 22, I. L. G.

Vigorous criticism of the NRA from the radical labor standpoint, as well as a general program for trade unionism to avoid its perils and reap any advantages possible under it, are contained in the new attractively gotten up pamphlet just published by Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., under the title, "The Labor Movement and the NRA."

The pamphlet is an exposition of the viewpoint of progressive unionism as typified by Local 22. It includes the minority report presented to the Chicago convention of the International by Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, in his capacity as member of the convention's committee on officers report. In brief but incisive terms Zimmerman examines the nature of the NRA, its effects on wages, hours, and profits, the menace of company unionism and "govern-ment unionism" being fostered by it, and the dangers it holds out to labor's right to strike. He then proceeds to outline an effective policy for the trade unions. It was because the International fol-lowed such a policy, a "policy of aggressive strike action and dependence only on the forces of the union", that this union made such headway during last year. Now, Zimmerman concludes, it is necessary for the International openly to recognize this policy, acknowledge the estimation of the NRA on which it is based and champion this viewpoint vigorously in the general labor movement, in the A. F. of L. In the declaration of Local 2 on the NRA, which forms the second part of the pamphlet, the same conceptions are laid down in a formal manner.

Copies of the pamphlet are to be obtained free at the union office, 232 West 40 Street, Room 508.

ZIMMERMAN SCORES GREEN

(Continued from Page 1)

ent. This action on the part of Joseph P. Ryan, chairman of the Council and head of the International Longshoremen's Association, is interpreted by the dressmakers' executive board as not simply a violation of its own rights and privileges in the council but primarily as a maneuver to keep the council from taking any action on

the San Francisco strike. Charges that, in his capacity as chairman of the council, Ryan suppressed attempts to place the council on record in support of the re-cent San Francisco general strike, were made in a special declaration protest adopted unanimously the Executive Board of Dressmakers Union Local No. 22, I. L. G. W. U., on Tuesday, July 24th. The declaration of Local 22 fol-

lows:
"The Executive Board of Dressmakers Union Local No. 22, I.L. bor Council at its last meeting, on July 19, 1934, arbitrarily prevented the representative of our local, Brother Charles S. Zimmerman, from reporting on the decisions of the Local and from introducing, in accordance with in structions of our local, a resolution pledging support to the San Francisco general strike then in progress.
"Such conduct on Mr. Ryans

part constitutes an intolerable violation of the rights and privileges of our Local in the Central Trades and Labor Council. But, in this case, the consequences go even further, for thereby the New York labor movement has been prevented by Mr. Ryan from officially expressing its solidarity with the inspiring struggle of the San Francisco trade unions on behalf of the common interests of labor.

JAY LOVESTONE

WHAT'S AHEAD FOR AMERICAN

LABOR

Thursday, August 9 at 8:30 P. M. OAKLEY HALL 211 MARKET ST., PATERSON