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NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1936.

A LETTER TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The following excerpts are part of a longer letter sent by Heinrich Brandler and Jay Lovestone in the name of the November Conference of the International Communist Opposition to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. No reply has been received to this document sent on November 9, 1935.

The complete letter will be published in the "INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE" (English Edition) for January-March 1936. This is the official quarterly of the International Communist Opposition and will appear in printed form about the middle of January.—Editor.

THE UNITED FRONT AND ITS LIMITS

As to the united front, the resolution correctly states that the united front movement "is still in its infancy". It goes on to say that, todate, in France "the first advances of fascism have been defeated." This takes the ground from under the illusion that "the road to French fascism has been closed." The resolution lacks an adequate concrete analysis of the very serious shortcomings and errors of the French united front movement. This analysis is all the

lience has been put up as the internation al model at the Congress

The resolution states that the united front "is the most important immediate task of the international labor movement in the present historical epoch." We welcome the strong emphasis on the neces city of turning to the reformist organi zations. This is especially urgent in view of six years of ultra-leftism and the "united front from below." But the resolution lacks a simultaneous empha sis of the limits and the objective of the united front movement. The Seventh more necessary since the French exper-Congress gives directives not only for

period. Therefore, the resolution should have stated expressly and unequivocally that the winning of political power by the working class is not possible thru the united front movement. The seizure of political power presupposes that the Communist party is already the leader of the majority of the working class, i.e. the leader of the working class for an armed uprising, a civil war, and not only for partial and immediate demands as in the united front struggle. To be silent on this, for fear of repelling a temporary ally, will lead to opportunist deviations and to a possible collapse of the strong united front movement. The failure to uncover the limits of the united front movement weakens the correct appeal of the resolutions "not to give up independent work of Communist education, organization, and mobilization of the masses." A true united front movement is not weakened but strengthened thru a clarification of its limits.

United front tactics can only serve as the means for ushering in the struggle for the seizure of power. front movement is indispensible for this purpose. To grasp clearly the limits of the united front movement is the pre-requisite for the proper organization, as demanded in the resolution. "of elected (or in the countries under fascist dictatorship selected from the most authoritative participants in the movement) non-partisan class organs of the united front in the factories, among the unem-ployed, in the workers' districts, among the small townsfolk and in the villages. Only when these non-partisan broad class organs of the united front are conceived of as the preliminary stages of the future political soviets can the united front movement build the organs for an extraparliamentary struggle for partial de-

as we may be, unsatisfactory as your present conditions in the U.S. may be and are, still, we are extremely fortunate in comparison with our German comrades and friends. More than that. We are fortunate to be able to help, to do our bit at so little cost—at no risk, free from such gruesome trials and tribilations.

You: We want you to come across peedily and handsomely.

You: Will give teday because

You want to aid, because You are stirred to help, because

You are glad and proud to assist. Helping hands-mighty fists-into the

Fascist durgeons! Shed no tears. Spare no cash. Give and give-until it hurts the Hitler hooli-

gans and frees the world's bravest men and women. OVER THE TOP! BOOST THE \$5,000

successful partial struggles are impossible. The experiences had in these broad non-partisan united front organs during the struggle for partial demands from the starting point for the transformation of these organs for partial demands into political councils (soviets) -into organs for the struggle for politi-

THE UNITED FRONT vs PEOPLE'S FRONT GOVERNMENT

Such an error of omission is particularly evident in the resolution in the paragraph on the united front or Peoole's Front Government.

"If with such an upsurge of the mass movement it will prove possible and necessary in the interests of the proletariat to create a proletarian united front government or an anti-fascist People's Front government, which is not yet a government of the proletarian dictatorship, but one which undertakes to put

cism and reaction, the Communist party must see to it that such a government is formed."

It is conceivable that in the course of a mighty united front movement based on strong non-partisan united front organs the question of the government is put before it-before the Communists have a majority in the non-partisan class or-gans of the united front. Under such circumstances the attitude of the Communists toward the formation of a government is decisive for the winning over for communism of the masses organized in the united front movement. A situation may arise when such an experiment is necessary in order to eliminate the very last democratic illusions of the workers. In this sense, Lenin proposed to the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries in September 1917 to dissolve the coalition with the bourgeois parties, especially with the Cadets, and to take (Continued on Page 3)

Strengthen Courage of German Communists; Swell \$5,000 Fund

By Jay Lovestone

Dear Comrades and Friends: Our appeal last week was not in vain.

Some of you answered right away and right well. We are encouraged.

But good beginnings don't necessarily insure a fine finish. We have a long road to hoe. Every day, every hour reveals the burning urgency of our task. To show that we are not crying "wolf", re talk to you straight from the heart. We hope you will answer straight from the shoulder.

In this morning's mail our weekly report from underground Germany brings such saddening news as to cause us deep

anguish, painful concern. Here it is:
"Comrade Scheler-Titus was sentenced by the Supreme Court of Jena to 14 years prison for alleged membership in the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) and underground activity on behalf of the CPO. In addition, he has been deprived of all citizenship rights for 15 years and is subject to police su-pervision for the rest of his life. This verdict is so unspeakably unjust that it must call forth mass protest. This case proves once again that Fascist justice is indescribably brutal.

"The trials that occurred this year in Thuringia are characteristic. Comrade F. Giessner (Gera) was sentenced to 3

ly. All comrades were accused and con victed of underground work on behalf of the CPG-O.

"It is rather significant that the Ger man press designed for abroad did not publish a single word about these trials. It is, therefore, all the more necessary for the workers of other countries to come to the aid of their brothers in Hit ler Germany and to register their pro test against Hitler savagery.

Now, what is your answer? How soon are you going to answer it? And what are you going to do about it?

No Nazi bestiality can break the spir of our embattled, courageous comrades in the Hitler inferno. But failure on our part, on your part, to stand by them, to help them, to show real, practical prompt response and solidarity can and will hurt our common cause beyond

This is plain talk, unvarnished by emoion, undisturbed by the ghastly terror of the Hitler hordes. We know, and you know, that we can all count on the unstinted devotion, the inestimable self-sac rifice of the revolutionary proletarian neroes of the Third Reich.

Now-can our death-braving com rades over there count on us, on you over here? Only we, only you can answer this decisive question. In advance years prison, a few months ago. Later swer this decisive question. In advance on, Comrade W. Kopp (Greiz), Martin we say: OF COURSE, all of us, all of

New York Militant Socialists Set Up New State Organization

against the Old Guard, met on December 28, 29 to constitute themselves as the official state party and to lay plans for organization. The credentials committee reported 93 delegates from various cities thruout New York State. New York City had a representation of 41 official delegates while about 8 delegates from upstate locals were there merely as observers. The up-state delegations were markedly different in their composition being proletarian and unemployed, and in their attitudes mostly antagonistic to the Old Guard because of the latter's neglect and disregard. They showed a greater lack of political maturity than did the New York City delegates who ods of organization.

The convention opened with a key note speech by Jack Altman. He recited the many grievances against the Old Guard politicians especially hitting the attempted "reorganization" of the New York City branches which would have amounted to virtual disfranchisement of a good section of the local New York party. Altman's speech was followed by various short reports of delegates from different locals, attending the convention. The great majority of these speeches were marked by complete absence of political analysis. The upstaters were mostly concerned about their neglect by the Old (Weimar) and Krukel (Jena) were sentenced to 8, 10 and 12 years respective-these tragic, yet inspiring, hours. Poor, NEED IS GREAT.

The New York members, in revolt and steady disintegration. A notable exception was the speech of Brickner (Buffalo) which bristled with invective and revolutionary indignation against the Old Guard.

The convention went on to elect its resolutions and organization committee. The delegates accepted the two (!!) resolutions presented by the former committee. One resolution endorsed the Socialist Call and the other declared that 'we assume the responsibility of an emergency of the S.P. of New York and proceed to elect a representative State Committee and take such further action as may be necessary to save the party in New York and we instruct the State Committee to appear before the N.E.C. at least were revolting to a degree at its next meeting to claim recognition against the Old Guard politics and methats the state committee of New York." All other resolutions were referred to the State Committee especially the four RPPA mimeographed resolutions. Political issues were deliberately avoided by this procedure.

During the course of the convention, Sam Friedman spoke for the "centrists" or "Acting Action Committee for the Committee on Unity". His plea for unity or for another "harmony" pact was met with almost unanimous disapproval. The most revealing aspect of Friedman's speech was the reading of a telegram from Dan Hoan. The latter stated his agreement with the "Centrists" moves for "harmony". It was also rumored that Hoan had expressed much (Continued on Page 4)

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

SOCIALIST EXECUTIVE RESCINDS N. Y. CHARTER; F. D. BEGINS CAMPAIGN FOR REELECTION; FRAME UP CAR WORKERS IN OMAHA; SHOE STRIKE ON IN HAVERHILL

Socialist Executive Takes Charter from "Old | ing sufficient courage to lift the charter | tocracy" and stated that now with the | HAVERHILL SHOE BOSSES | free overy these "money | CALICE LINION ENTRE Guard" But Militants Face New Investigations of the stamina to complete the task. Instead they left they have they have the task. Instead they left they have they have they have the task. Instead they left they have the have the have the have the have they have the hav

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE. of | Coolidge's amendment, the Socialist Party, meeting in Philadelphia last Saturday and Sunday, from "Old Guard" and for investigations by a Temporary Supervisory Committee "Old Guard" Socialists after a bitter struggle. The decision culminated in the resignation from the committee of James Oneal, spokesman of the "Old Guard". However this cannot be considered as a victory for the Militants since not only was the recently set up Militant State Committee not recognized but their whole status, even in New York City, is left very much in doubt. The Charter, lifted from the Old Guard, being held by the N.E.C. until such time as its non-partisan committee renders a full and complete report after investi-

The sessions of the Committee got under way with a fight over jurisdiction. The N.E.C. deciding it was competent to hear the dispute (the word split is anathema). A report brought in by Devere Allen called for lifting the charter from the Old Guard and granting it to the Militants. This was bitterly fought, not only by Oneal and Graham but also by Darlington Hoopes of Penna. To make matters still worse Dan Hoan, who had posed as a pillar of the new Militant leadership of the Socialist Party threw a bomb-shell into the deliberations by sending a letter (he found it convenient to absent himself) suggesting that the five leading factionalists on each side be given a leave of absence from Party activity and an effort be made to compose the difference. No action was taken on troubles of this N.E.C. are by no means

ultimately for the State, to work with a Committee for the N.E.C. A whole series of new elections and conterences are providedincluding a new conference in New York State thus disposing of the Utica State Conference. The amendment has a million loopholes and will itself become a source of any number of new difficulties if the "Old Guard" should decide to remain and fight.

The Supervisory Committee appointed for the State consists of Lewis Tonks, Warren Atkin, Murray Baron, Joseph Baskin, F. Brushingham, Emily Bacon, Harold Raitt, Vincent Dancis, Abraham Miller, Charles Garfinkel, Adolph Held Carlotta Kinsley, William G. Perry, Max Delson and Frank Crosswaithe. The Committee from the N.E.C. consists of Allen, Coolidge and Krzcki.

It was during the course of the discussion on this amendment of Coolidge that Hoopes of Penna. finally came over to the position of the majority and this action stimulated the Militants to sharpen their line, at least as far as their speeches were concerned. Krzcki made paring them to the Green-Woll elements | and Japan. in the A. F. of L. and ended his speech by the statement that the Socialist Party would be served best if they were to betake themselves elsewhere.

The decisions of this N.E.C. meet this letter but it does indicate that the ing are characteristic of the vacillating and weak-kneed attitude of the present

the New York City and State organization up in the air while still continuing the talk of "peace" and "harmony". These half-way measures will be found Front with LaFollette and can't be both ered with "petty squabbles", nor the "Old Guard" which has declared war to the knife, nor even the Militants, who are left high and dry.

It must be stated that the attitude of the Militants at the Utica Conference was equally compromising (see article on this page) and deserved no better treatment at the hands of the N.E.C.

The Socialist Party is due for a period of more widespread demoralization and disintegration.

ROOSEVELT OPENS WAR ON OPPOSITION

DRESIDENT ROOSEVELT opened his campaign for reelection to the Presidency by his message to the joint session of the House and the Senate. The section dealing with foreign affairs gave warning to "those nations which are dominated by the twin spirits of autocracy and aggression" and has result- John Eggleston, J. M. Kitta, H. P. Stey a very sharp attack against the "Old tocracy and aggression" and has result-Guard" leadership in New York, com- ed in great resentment in Germany, Italy er, W. W. Pike, C. W. Pike, Ed Lubsen

> In the rest of his message on the state of the union he gave in broad outline his Lockwood and R. E. Marschand. plan for strict neutrality in case of war for a stronger navy and other armed forces, pledges not to increase taxation and to cut down on relief expenditures.

Militant leadership. Even those muster-labeled "our resplendent economic au- under way now.

changers" were again seeking "the restoration of their selfish power."

coupled with the restriction of relief expenditures has an ominous sound in the renew their agreement with the United ears of the unemployed. In foreign polto satisfy no one—neither Dan Hoan icy the U. S. is placed on the side of the who is now deeply involved in a United sated imperialist powers against those icy the U. S. is placed on the side of the stead the manufacturers resorted to the sated imperialist powers against those fighting for a redivision of the world.

CAR STRIKERS FRAMED IN OMAHA, NEB.

RISING OUT of a street car strike A strike continuing since April 20 the police of Omaha, Nebraska have taken steps to crush the street car union altogether (Local 1002 of the Amalgamat ed Association).

Utilizing the finding some time ag of unexploded dynamite found in various parts of the city the police drew up war rants charging "conspiracy" or spiracy to commit felony by dynamit ing" and arrested 16 active workers in the strike. The following are the arrest ed workers who have not been permitted to contact their attorney and have been grilled for 55 consecutive hours in an effort to concoct a frame-up: William Lux, August Bonacci, John Marasco E. R. Bloomberg, E. C. West, Wm. H. Howard, J. C. Perkins, H. L. Scott, I

The local press has carefully sup pressed all informaation about the whole matter but the local movement is aroused and an attempt to set up a general de-The opposition to the New Deal he fense committee for these workers is dered out in general strike. Five thou-

CAUSE UNION FEUDS

As far as home policies his pledge HAVERHILL SHOE WORKERS of approaching balancing of the budget are now involved in a general strike be-• HAVERHILL SHOE WORKERS cause of the refusal of the employers to Shoe and Leather Workers Union. Inthe other. They escorted the Boot and Shoe and the Brotherhood into town and while the three are battling it out the bosses are picking the workers' pockets.

The United Shoe demanded and sucseeded in securing a referendum of the shoe workers. Out of over 2,000 ballots cast, about 1.200 workers voted for the United while the remaining 800 votes were divided between the Brotherhood and the Boot and Shoe

Workers from other shoe centers coming in to assist in the strike are being turned back at the town line. Police are very active in their campaign to demoralalize the strikers.

MARINE UNIONS on the West Coast are again the center of national attention. Strike action may develop soon. In the meanwhile the A. F. of L. leaders of the various unions involved are planning to take steps against the militant workers. The Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco has also renewed its demand that the Department of Justice step in to assist the shipping interests. This is a combination which may face progressive labor with increasing fraquency as the struggle between the conservatives and the progressives in the unions sharpens.

* * * • FLAT GLASS WORKERS were orsand workers in 8 cities are affected.

This so-called People's Front policy

liamentarism. Instead of propagating

vote for Benes as the candidate of all

Page 3

At First GLANCE

It is all the more tragic, therefore, to find that the vanguard of the French working class, the Communist Party of France, at this late date nourishes the paratus can become the weapon with paratus can become the weapon with paratus can become the weapon with paratus. The slaw the fascist monster. Such in the control of the New Workers School starts. The Course that the new organization of the New Workers School starts. A number of new and interesting classes that the new organization of new and interesting classes that the new organization of new and interesting classes that the new organization of new and interesting classes that the new organization of new and interesting classes that the new organization of new and interesting classes that the new organization of new and interesting classes that the new organization of new and interesting classes that the new organization of new and interesting classes that the new organization of new and interest to the labor and revolutionary movements.

The Course that are being given this one ton of coke and coal gave 92% the problem of the day.

The course that are being given this one ton of coke and coal gave 92% the problem of the day.

Chamber of Deputies over the dissolu-tion of the Fascist Leagues. The con-tion of the Fascist Leagues. The con-tion of the Fascist Leagues. The con-tion of the Fascist Leagues additional coal to this extent could Fridays at 7 P. M. beginning January 24th—6 sessions.

This is the situation that the Miners Federation of Great Britain is faced with Principle Cities (in industrial areas): tents of this declaration by the French mines. tents of this declaration by the French Communist Party, fully in accord with the line of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, are unspeakable from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, from the angle of basic working class interests and elementary proletarian decency. Let the contents speak for itself. We quote in part:

minority of parasites."

attempt to steal the thunder from the 100 income—tax filers had a total an- beginning Jan. 21st, 7 P. M. against the proletariat and toiling people by the two hundred families who rule France. No working class organization, least of all a Communist organization, should resort to such unclean and suicidal tactics. The insertion in the proclamation about the dreams of the French Soviet Republic is only heaping insult upon irreparable injury. Such dreams of today will become the nightmares of tomorrow, if these tactics are persisted in. We hope the membership of the French Communist Party will soon lay Fascist ultra-nationalist forces let loose nual income below \$5,000. Any insurance rascist ultra-nationalist forces let loose against the proletariat and toiling people company president any director of an By Jim Cork. A study of the historical but of increasing them. In this demand IOD.

discovery, the findings of which reveal, I at least to their own satisfaction, that partnerships, \$641,116,000; in rents and the poor are no longer getting poorer royalties \$477,430,000; fiduciary \$301 and the rich have stopped getting richer. 407,000; and in interest other than tax A close examination of this well pre- exempt, \$963,457,000, etc. pared whirlwind reveals that it is a tem-

pest in a leaking teapot. Unquestionably, the United States not Our overpaid statisticians of first only have the best engineers, prizemagnitude are now making much noise fighters, racketeers, gangsters, but also payment reports show only 32 recipients all along the line

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DECEMBER 1 TO JANUARY 31

AN EXCELLENT GIFT FOR YOUR FRIENDS

WORKERS AGE P. O. Box 68—Station O

British Miners Near General Strike

By JAY LOVESTONE

| By JAY LOVESTONE | Contain the steps the Government was taking to deal with the present situation. Capt. Crookshank said that he hoped to receive an undertaking from the coal owners that selling organization. The effects are that in the last few the worker has increased from 17½ country of the coal was produced by machinery, in 1930, 31½ in 1 class-conscious worker being distured over events in France. Formal laws
by capitalist dictatorships, known as
bourgeois democratic governments, to bourgeois democratic governments, to dinated. By this means it was hoped other hand. The result is that we have carnings of piece workers and all high-that price evasions and internal compellimit or even outlaw Fascist organization of the problem and the working class from Fascism. The experiences we have had with the development of fascism in Italy, Germany and Austria are replete with evidence substan
working class from Fascism. The experience and enabling the industry in the revenues and enabling the industry in the surface and underground, as well as those of certain classes of officials which are above the average) the Royalty owners' plunder remains constant. There is no the surface and underground, as well as those of certain classes of officials which are above the average) the Royalty owners' plunder remains constant. The experience and underground, as well as those of certain classes of officials which are above the average) the Royalty owners' plunder remains constant. The experience and underground, as well as those of certain classes of officials which are above the average) the Royalty owners' plunder remains constant. The experience and underground, as well as those of certain classes of officials which are above the average. The average is a constant of the surface and underground, as well as those of certain classes of officials which are above the average. The average is a constant of the surface and underground, as well as those of certain classes of officials which are above the average. The average is a constant of the surface and underground, as well as those of certain classes of officials which are above the average is a constant of the surface and underground are average. The average is a constant of the surface and underground are above the classes of officials which are above the classes of fascism in Italy, Germany and Austral are replete with evidence substantiating our unequivocal conclusion.

It is all the more tragic, therefore, to find that the vanguard of the French

Mad arranged to meet the Central Council August Sesting in Italy, Germany and Austral are replete with evidence substantiating our unequivocal conclusion.

Begins Winter Term

They took from the industry nearly 5 million pounds in 1934 the greatest of these being the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who drew 300, and silk have remained in the north. More recently the chee universe to the darranged to meet the Central Council agent are replete with evidence substantiating our unequivocal conclusion.

They took from the industry nearly 5 million pounds in 1934 the greatest of these being the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who drew 300, and silk have remained in the north. More recently the chee universe to the cheaper of the cheaper contours the control of the cheaper control of

illusion that the capitalist state apparatus can become the weapon with which to slay the fascist monster. Such notions only pave the path for irremediable disaster in the not distant future. These are not subjective evaluations on our part, but conclusions arrived at after serious examination, conclusions fortified by the facts of experience and life.

Here is an exhibit of the validity of our indictment. It is crushing. A few weeks ago the walls of the Paris boulevards were plastered with a Communist Party poster captioned "Reconciliation Francise." In plain but painful English in the feetive demand, and the sur-paratus can become the weapon with which to slay the facts of experience and life.

It is interesting to note that one ton of coal in 1934 produced 10% more gain than in 1921, and 41% than in 1920, arising out of this coal sold cheaply at the Pit Mead realizes a minimum profit for the same conditions which confront the mining industry in Britain are confrontiant and political situations in France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria. Soviet Union, as well as an analysis of international Communist movement. This course will be given on Friday at 8:30 producing coal is greater for an effort of coal in 1934 produced 10% more electricity than in 1920, and 41% than in 1920. One ton of coke and coal gave 92% more electricity than in 1920, arising out of this coal sold cheaply at the Pit Mead realizes a minimum profit for the nitromation of this coal sold cheaply at the Pit Mead realizes a minimum profit for wheat concitions and electricity, which coal owner

ass interests and elementary proferian decency. Let the contents speak ritself. We quote in part:

"Enough with appeals to force. The French nation must have peace within the profession of the peace within the peace within the profession of the peace within the French nation must have peace within itself.... The French nation, true to its glorious past, wants liberty thru love of its neighbor and peace thru the brotherhood of nations... The Communist Party, which maintains the great ideal of social justice and human brotherhood, dreams of the maintains brotherhood, dreams of the present division of the protection of the protec

Unity of the Nation against the 1934 incomes totalled 3,988,269. Of these approach of the various tendencies in overwhelming vote of 93% majority NO CHANGE SINCE 1919. 1934 incomes totalled 3,988,269. Of these approach of the various tendences in 3,568,788 showed incomes below \$5,000, the labor movement to the problems faction, empowering the labor movement to the problems faction, empowering the union to take action on the wage questions, the labor movement to the problems faction, empowering the union to take action on the wage questions, and the labor movement to the problems faction. This is not a question of main leading to the labor movement to the problems faction. This is not a question of main leading to the labor movement to the problems faction. This is not a question of main leading to the labor movement to the problems faction. This is not a question of main leading to the labor movement to the labor movement to the problems faction. This is not a question of main leading to the labor movement to the problems faction. This is not a question of main leading to the labor movement to the problems faction. This is not a question of main leading to the labor movement to the problems faction. The labor movement to the problems faction are problems faction. The labor movement to the problems faction are problems faction and the labor movement to the problems faction are problems faction. The labor movement to the problems faction are problems faction and the labor movement to the

Why so "few" in the millionaire class?

Enclosed find \$____ for a____

month subscription.

m. we hope the membership of the French Communist Party will soon lay a heavy hand on those responsible for such travesties and crimes against the travesties and crimes against the working class of France and all other countries.

NISM: By D. Benjamin. A basic orientation course of those desiring to begin a systematic study of Communist theory and practice. This course of analysis, of the economic, social and political structure and functioning of the capitalist system. The controlled provided provided the controlled provided the controlled provided provided principle cities with their higher standands we will place you on our mailing and practice. This course of analysis, of the economic, social and political structure and functioning of the capitalist system. The controlled provided provi But we of the International Communist Opposition do more than hope. Realizing the gravity of this dangerous course, the tragedy in the making inherent in this ultra-right line, are determined to fight to a finish against such

herent in this ultra-right line, are determined to fight to a finish against such banalities and folly.

THE PROSPERITY prognosticators of all hues are now working up a fever. They seem to be flushed with a discovery, the findings of which reveal,

On the 24th of October 1935 the Exe- economy in the use of coal, by extrac- intensified competition both in the Ex-On the 24th of October 1935 the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation was summoned to London to greater amount of heat and energy per of the worker has increased from 1732

Francaise." In plain but painful English than the effective demand, and the surthis is: French Reconciliation—a saddening and criminally stupid evaluation by the French Communist Party of the results of the December debates in the Chamber of Deputities over the dissolu-case additional coal to this extent could be producing from the already existing.

Francaise." In plain but painful English than the effective demand, and the surplus capacity for producting certain years, and the surplus capacity for producing certain years, and the offective demand, and the surplus capacity for production exists in plus capacity for production exists in dustry have suffered more than any other in a declining capitalism. The numbers of wage earners during certain years, and ustry have suffered more than any other in a declining capitalism. The numbers of wage earners during certain years, and the surplus capacity for producting certain years, and the surplus capacity for producting certain years, and the surplus capacity for producting certain years, and the surplus capacity for production exists in large than the effective demand, and the surplus capacity for production exists in large than the effective demand, and the surplus capacity for production exists in large than the effective demand, and the surplus capacity for production exists in large than the effective demand, and the surplus capacity for production exists in large than the effective demand, and the surplus capacity for production exists in large than the effective demand, and the surplus capacity for production exists in any surplus capacity for production exists in large than the effective demand, and the surplus capacity for production exists in dustry have suffered more than any dustry have suffered more than any dustry have suffered more than any other in a declining capitalism. The numbers of workers employed in 1925 was in 1934. The workers in this basic in dustry have suffered more than any other in a declining capitalism. The numbers of workers employed

establishment of a French Republic of Soviets . . ., calls for Frenchmen to make peace among themselves, for make peace among themselves, for make peace and the impoverished uppermost class!

Industrial Organization, the tasks of organization, the tasks of the activity of the "Committee for Industrial Organization, the tasks of organization, the tasks of the miners answered this policy by an object of the progressive forces to the miners answered this policy by an object of the progressive forces to the miners answered this policy by an object of the progressive forces to the miners answered this policy by an object of the progressive forces to the miners answered this policy by an object of the progressive forces to the miners answered this policy by an object of the progressive forces to the miners answered this policy by an object of the progressive forces to the miners answered this policy by an object of the progressive forces to the miners answered this policy by an object of the progressive forces to the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners answered this policy by an object of the miners and the

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

ly skilled labor on the surface and un-

Within the last period the old "out-ofown question" has arisen in much aggravated form to plague the metropoli-

5. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM: taining wages at their present low level CREASE OF 1.9% DURING THIS PER-

peen a decrease in jobs in cities of 100,

000 which are not in industrial areas and in the smaller towns around such cities

a stationary condition is to be noted. In

all cases therefore the movement has

been away from centers of unionization

and higher or medium standards of liv-

On the other hand factories and there-

fore jobs have increased in industrial

peripheries (outside of principle or satel-

ite industrial cities), in certain indus-

100,000, and in rural areas thruout the

United States. In other words the increase has occurred in the areas of the

lowest standards of living and where

A closer examination of these figures

will show that the rate of shift was much

greater after 1929 and in some cases the

lirection of the shift was completely re-

versed after 1929. Obviously an attempt

o shift the burdens of the crisis from

This survey is so sketchy that one

interest to know in which industries did

that matter any other grouping—is faul-

So we conclude that a lot of study is

ROOM FOR FURTHER STUDY

mionization is extremely difficult.

ialized counties which have no cities of

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Quotation Marks

The present policy of the Communist International of backing the bourgeoi emocratic form of capitalist rule as against the fascist form has created illusions over the fact that the 1934 income tax expert income tax accountants—certified in the minds of many proletarians on the nature of class rule under a bourgeoi

Below is an excerpt from a speech by August Bebel in 1912 showing a con siderable degree of clarity. We suggest that members of the Communist Party ponder this question which was crystal clear as early as 1912.

OF COURSE WE ARE REPUBLICANS, socialist republicans. It has always been one of the most serious accusations brought against us, and this accusation was pronounced by Prince Bismarck and is now being pronounced by Count the greatest shift occur. The study tion was pronounced by Prince Bismarck and is now being pronounced by Count Buelow as well as the entire German press, that we are republicans, that we oppose the monarchy. But do not think that we are violently enthusiastic over the bourgeois republic. Much though we envy you Frenchmen your republic and would down considerably. The grouping "principles of the property of the grouping principles." like one for ourselves, we have not the slightest desire to have our heads bashed cipal cities" (in industrial areas)—or for in for the possession of such a blessing!

But whether it be a monarchy or a bourgeois republic, both are class states, ty in that it covers only volume but does both are equivalent to a form of the state calculated to maintain the class domina- not consider changes from city to city tion of the bourgeoisie, both are destined to protect the capitalist order of society. within that group. Perhaps a complete Therefore under both forms of the state the legislation will be shaped chiefly in industrial change in the sense of old inaccordance with the interests of the possessing classes; the workers interests will dustries leaving and new industries combe considered only to the extent that this can be done without seriously jeopardizing the interests of the governing classes. For, the moment the ruling classes

For, the moment the ruling classes

Yet such changes are highly important. run the risk of losing their political power, their economic and social authority will also be endangered.

still to be done in this field and promise AUGUST BEBEL: THE BOURGEOIS REPUBLIC IS A CLASS STATE our readers more material on this sub-Speech delivered in Amsterdam, 1912.

vociferous defender of democracy at the made by the leading political newspaper budget session of parliament. Hodza the "Venkov" which writes: "The negotiations of the coalition pa ties concerning this matter were purely of a formal nature . . . So far there has been no agreement reached as far as the Presidency is concerned." The "Wirschaft" (Economy) says:

"The struggle for power now taking

or Death: Choice of Comintern communist principles on the occasion of the elections for President, it decided to

the cabinet of Hodza resigned after an Kramarch, the representative of finance cism. And he concludes:

composition Hodza's cabinet was a mere place is not merely a struggle for the continuation of Malypetr's cabinet. Both Presidency but may be characterized as ian Party, the Czechoslovakian National an attempt to determine the future so were based on a coalition of the Agrar-Socialists, the Czech and German Social There are even in our republic anti-Democracy and the German League of The fact that this coalition had become ously that fascism cannot come to powshaky was known to a few insiders but er in a state which combines six nationthe public learned of it only when Pres- alities as does Czechoslovakia. These ident Masaryk declined to accept the resignation of Hodza. This does not cism is not merely a nationalist affair

consequences and resign. On the state of the communist Party leadership and its in fact, so much so that it failed to discuss the crisis and what's more approved It has approved the foreign budget and the budget of the resigning cabinet.

The circumstances under which the bearing the responsibility for the imperthe budget of the resigning cabinet. government resigned remind one very jalist foreign policy of the Czech bouras Czechoslovakia is not immune to the a change in policy! A year ago, the own class aims. events were confiscated. The government having lost confidence in itself a very short time. One can add sorrow-crisis. clamped down on the press—the press fully that they have overstudied their resignation there was a hushed silence Front Tactics". as if nothing had occurred. Nor was there a word on the causes of the dis-

Correction of Opportunist Line

Two events of great political import-

political world here. On December 11th

even uttered some critical words against

the Henlein fascist movement which

earned for him the approval of the three

Socialist parties and the Communist

press as well. Superficial observers be-

lieved that this cabinet was quite firm-

ly entrenched. According to its political

ance closely interrelated surprised the

pute in the coalition. press complained the following day that Hodza had resigned from the govern ment without adhering to the democratic rules of parliament. To quote from

identify ourselves with it."

coalition. The difference within the co united front government as a situation against all reformist tendencies. alition became so sharp that the entire cabinet resigned.

SEASONABLE

FOOD REASONABLE

6th Ave. at 14th St.

A section of the Social Democratic A section of the Social Democratic A section of the Social Democratic A LETTER TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (Continued from Page 1) over the government. Under the condi-"Volkswille" of December 14th:

"Lie Bolsheviks full freedom of action, carry coalition discipline so far as to carry coalition discipline and coalition are also as the properties for the carry coalition are also as a coal create the belief that all coalities parcreate the belief that all coalities parcreate the belief that all coalities parcorrect because the preparations for the
exclusively by the extra-parliamentary
against the attacks of fascists and other state. Desperately attempting to hide this ties are unanimously in favor of hiding the reasons for the reasons for the reasons for the reasons for the resignation.

".. we believe that the undemocratic the same sense, the CPG (Spartacus the same sense) the same sense t results of the secrecy in which the government has veiled its steps is quite.satisfactory to some of the groups inside

The same sense, the Gro (Spartacus) CPG into the Saxon and Thuring an govthe same sense, the Gro (Spartacus) CPG into the Saxon and Thuring an govternment has veiled its steps is quite.sattions of the then leadership of the Partions of the decision of the
dependent Social Democratic party of
ty and on the basis of the decision of the
workers can be defended in the long run to make it the scapegoat and to disthe same sense, the Gro (Spartacus) CPG into the Saxon and Thuring an govteate no need must be paid to the democratic rules as far as the fascists are
this chaos upon the shoulders of the
concerned. The democratic rights of the
trade unions,
the Social Democratic party of
ty and on the basis of the decision of the
workers can be defended in the long run to worker dependent Social Democratic party of the coalition. We, however, wish to state unequivocally: We consider the method decided upon by the coalition majority as undemocratic, as an insult to our citizens and, therefore, refuse to citizens and, therefore, refuse to citizens and, therefore, refuse to citizens and the CPG sunnorted Social Democratic party of the decision of the dependent social Democratic party of the dependent social Democratic party of the dependent of the dependent in the long run to make it the scapigoat and to dispute the coalition and pledged to support it on the same the CPG could count on the backing of broad extra-parliamentary class or gans with whose help, before the entry in the coalition of the coalitio our citizens and, therefore, retuse to identify ourselves with it."

What were the real causes that forced Hodza to resign?

It has been known for some time that President Masaryk intended to retire. The question of a successor who is elected by the National Assembly (Senate and Parliament combined) led the reactionaries to wage a more determined offensive. The right wing of the Agrarians and the Kramarsch people had been negotiating with the Henlein party in order to elect a candidate of their choosing. He Henlein would have been a Hitlerite. Masaryk discussed the next president would have been a Hitlerite. Masaryk discussed these plans in his farewell declaration and emphasized the four the present proposed anticipation of Comments and the Kramarsch people had been nectotiating with the Henlein party in order to elect a candidate of their choosing. He has a prices). This policy was essentially recreted deplay the same proposed to the president would have been a Hitlerite. Masaryk discussed these plans in his farewell declaration and emphasized the purpose of the anti-Fascist People's Front', hower, dangerously blurs the class character of such a government is provided for the present proposed participation of Communists in a united front or People's Front government with all the more lead to failure; for example, in France, where the CP is as a result of its opportunity of the trade union and the stabilization is organized labor movement. "The Communists are demands which government is different to the fact that force of a program of partial demand which government will be demands which government will be an invited front people's Front government is completely out of the united front people's policy. He named as his successor Benes, the former People's Front', how over, dangerously blurs the class character of such a government because in the provisions for the trade unions florts to the fact that Czechoslovakia must continue to pursue a good foreign policy. He named as his successor Benes, the former People actions in 1922-23 the CPG supported So-cial Democratic governments in Saxony present proposed participation of Com-to lead important mass struggles. The fight for the denial of democratic rights workers nationally. The sole force of health and vigor which can make for na-

To send Communists into such a gov-|munism to bourgeois democracy it is garments they very soon become aware nment is to break the backbone of the inadequate.

leadership-or else perish.

The reactionary forces, however, also attempted to cause a change in the government on the occasion of Masaryk's retirement. Secret negotiations to extend the coalition took place outside of the possibility of the possibil tend the coalition took place outside of parliament. The right wing of the Agrarians proposed as the next step in the re-orientation of the government the inclusion of the Slovak People's Party under the leadership of Hlinka and the Christian Socialists. These plans however were not accepted by the existing coalition. The difference within the co

coalition. The difference within the coalition became so sharp that the entire cabinet resigned.

But even these plans are not suffigured by the sufference within the coalition became as a stuation in which: (a) the beurgeois state apparatus is paralyzed so that the beurgeois state apparatus is paralyzed so that the beurgeois ennot prevent the formation of the section on the attitude of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. The necessity of Communication is entirely inadequate and improper. But even these plans are not sufficient to the reactionaries; they are trying to test their strength in a big battle. We are on the eve of the conclusion of a united reactionary front. Fas
BRADLEY'S

CAFETERIA

goisie cannot prevent the formation of such a government; (b) in which the broadest masses of the workers strongth to test their strength in a big battle. We are on the eve of the conclusion of a united reactionary front. Fas
The 1923 experience in Germany teaches us definitely that "when the masses are strongly opposed to fascism and reaction but are not yet ready to take up the struggle for soviet power."

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The 1923 experience in Germany teaches as in the fact that it is no longer the choice between bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictators in such effect that it is no longer the choice between bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictators in such effect that it is no longer the choice between bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictators in such effect that it does not analyze concretely the peculiarities of this type of work which the struggle for soviet power."

The 1923 experienc

the struggle for soviet power," every "In the struggle to defend against fas- belong to all fascist mass organization united front government or even People's cism the bourgeois democratic liberties makes it harder for the CP to select the front government will be swept away by fascism and reaction, because the work-gle to overthrow fascist dictatorship, the ers not yet being ready to wage the struggle for Soviets affords the bour
revolutionary proletariat prepares its fails to see one of the most important forces, strengthens its fight in contacts possibilities of destroying the fascist orgeoisie the possibility of strengthening their shattered rule. Thus, such a government will inevitably lead to a "banal parliamentary comedy" which will make This formulation is not incorrect, but a view of winning them over as organithe masses lose faith in the CP and give in the face of the confusion which has zations instead of organizing their de- Vol. V, No. 2. the bourgeoisie a new breathing spell. been created as to the relation of com- struction.

united front movement. The conduct of It is necessary to say that Commu-

This so-called People's Front policy has led the CP to place its trust in par-**Drive Against Mills on Wheels**

anti-fascist forces. Karl Kreibisch states cism is coming to Czechoslovakia. The in the "Rote Fahne" that the question of Stoupal wing of the Czech Agrarians is bourgeois democracy versus projetarian been deluged by the cry of employers New York is not because of out-of-town the representative of the Cartels and dictatorship is no longer on the order of complaining against out of town compelition but is due to an attempt to Trusts and is planning to ally itself with the day. The real enemy today is fas-

This is merely used first in an at-

resignation of nodes. This does not mean that the government would have been in the minority in case of a vote on a major issue and would then draw the consequences and resign. On the consequences and resign. On the consequences are resign. On the consequence a Small wonder that in such a critical run-away New York shops either went labor are certainly short-sighted and in situation the tremendous potentialities of the proletariat lie unused and go to York City after a short period of time. York proves an unprofitable undertaking waste. Instead of promoting independent political working class action, the People's Front policy ties the working fusal of skilled New York labor to move the minds of mill owners contempt to the proves an unpromoted and proves and unproves and unpromoted and proves and unpromoted and proves and un government resigned remind one very ialist foreign policy of the Czech bour-strongly of the late Schweyk. The demo-cratic bulwark of Central Europe known the state grants to its unfortunate. What own class aims of the state grants to its unfortunate. What of the state grants to its unfortunate grants are state grants to its unfortunate. What of the state grants to its unfortunate grants are state grants to its unfortunate grants are stat tive in the production of an exclusive and cities offer mill owners inducements as Czechoslovakia is not immune to the political tactics of its neighbor—Hitler Germany. The government resigned and nobody knew of it or of its causes. In Prague a number of evening papers which reported and commented on these which reported and commented on these sufficiently indicated in the present and they turn from the out-of-town of industrial centers, resulting in the unrisis.

The working class must learn quickly manufacturers have good enough busibore such treatment with patience. Following Masaryk's refusal to accept the lowing Masaryk's re

Recently the knitgoods industry has | The reason for manufacturers leaving evade the humane wages and hours which exist in the New York unionized the cabinet of Hodza resigned after an existence of 14 days and two days later existence of 14 days and two days later of Hodza groups are trying to unite with Konrad Henlein's Sudeten German Party to form a fascist coalition against the working to the Hodza government was the most vociferous defender of democracy at the made by the leading political newspaper, and the Zivno Bank. Both tenders and the Zivno Bank. Both tenders are trying to unite with Konrad Henlein's Sudeten German Party to form and must be our allies in the Work by the Union and organized labor are are the allies of the Soviet Union in the strain that the Work form that the break down labor standards established in New York by the Union and organized labor are the allies of the Soviet Union in the strain that the Work for the Masaryk and the political groups around him can and must be our allies in the fight against fascism, just as they are the allies of the Soviet Union in the strain that the Work for the Masaryk and the political groups thempt to break down labor standards established in New York by the Union and organized labor are the allies of the Soviet Union in the strain that the Work for the Masaryk and the political groups thempt to break down labor standards established in New York by the Union and organized labor are the allies of the Soviet Union in the strain that the Work for the Masaryk and the political groups thempt to break down labor standards established in New York by the Union and organized labor are the allies of the Soviet Union in the strain the Work for the Masaryk and the political groups thempt to break down labor standards established in New York by the Union and organized labor are the allies of the Soviet Union in the strain the Work for thempt to break down labor standards established in New York by the Union and organized labor are the allies of the Soviet Union in the strain the Masaryk and the political groups thempt to break down labor standards established in New York by the Union and organized labor are these standards.

The Party leadership knows full well

The two outstanding knitted outwear

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The two parts outside of New York are Phila

The two outstanding knitted outwear

The two outstanding k what price it is paying; nevertheless, it has failed to mobilize on the extra-par-liamentary field that force which alone liamentary field that force which alone with New York are Philately wages and work Union hours regardless of where they may locate. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union can oppose the reactionary, fascist coal- into competition with New York pro- and the United Textile Workers of ition thirsting for power. Despite the duction. For example, Philadelphia speflowery language at the 7th Congress cializes in the production of bathing on trade union unity there has not been suits. Cleveland manufactures only low-be found and are relentlessly waging a one progressive step made in that di- priced garments. The New York manu- fight to establish Union conditions for rection. Yet it is only thru a united trade union movement that the economic garment. As a matter of fact, Cleveland Manufacturing Company in Kingston power of the working class can be util-manufacturers and jobbers requiring a against whom a strike is now being conized fully and transformed into a politi- better made garment order from New ducted. Organized labor in Kingston has cal force. Nothing is done in order to York manufacturers instead of produc-successfully won the sympathy of the fascists who have learned nothing from form working class organs in the strug- ing these garments themselves. Many town's population and the firm is unable gle against unemployment and against high prices, to bring about the mobiliza- hundreds of thousands of suits made in The Hirsam Knitting Mills, now located tion and organization of the broad masses of city and rural proletariat and final
New York.

Further proof of the inability of outled by a court injunction obtained by the

> pendence upon relief from the Federal State and City governments. However, periods of free rent, liberal bank credits etc., cannot manufacture knitted outervear garments of the kind made in New Fork and when the run-away shops real ize that they cannot get the workers that are necessary in the production of these of the uselessness of free rent and bank

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Sat. Jan. 11, 1930

United Fur Workers Union Is Tribute to Memory of Gross

By B. BARATZ

Five years have gone by since the death of Aaron Gross, the leader and builder of the Furriers Union.

These five years have been full of stormy momentous days in our untiring efforts to convince the followers of the left-wing leadership amongst the furriers of the correctness of our trade union line

Back in 1928 at the Profintern Congress Comrade Gross could foresee the results of the disastrous dual union line that was bound to come. He opposed it there and when he came back to the United States, he as actively engaged in preparing the opposition forces in order to prevent this disater. He opposed the double perspective of some leading members of the C.P. (Foster, etc.) who in one breath spoke of the bourgeoisified workers who owned bonds, automobiles and homes, and a minute later of the wide-spread and deep-going radicaliza-tion amongst the American workers. Comrade Gross was among the first to oppose the building of new unions. He was among the first to advocate the regrouping of the left wing and progressive forces in the A. F. of L. unions. He realized at that time, that the withdrawal of the best forces from the reactionary labor unions means the actual condemnation of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class to sterility

Weakened as he was because of the murderous attack made upon him by the right wing in 1927, he devoted most of his energy to this fight and did more than his health permitted to achieve this As a practical man, he looked forward to such policies and tactics that would benefit the workers immediately and prepare them ideologically for the

Comrade Gross was always in the first line trenches. As one of the most important leaders in the 1926 strike he was entrusted with the job of chairman of the fused struggle now being waged agains Finance Committee. He had a watchfull the Motor Products Company of Detroit eye on all expenditures and also on the Here you have an astute management general conduct of the strike. It was a playing three unions against each other well known fact which Gold never dea typically bureaucratic labor leader nied, that it was upon the advice of Gross ship doing all in its power to forestal that the Furriers Union was able to ad- strike action, a brutal police force and a

just many difficult problems.

In an estimate of the life of Comrade Gross the labor Editor of the Freiheit in 1930 attributes all the shortcomings of Gold's leadership to Comrade Gross' stubborness. But this was done with the intention of discrediting the name of Comrade Gross, to mislead those who followed the line advocated by him. Yes, Comrade Gross was stubborn when he was right. So were we, when we foresaw the disastrous results of dual unionism for the workers of this country. It is for these ideas advocated by the C.P.O. that Comrade Gross and others were branded as "traitors" and "rene-

There is much to regret that Comrade Gross, who sacrificed himself in order to bring about a correctness of the ultra-left ideology, did not live to see the day of turn, the reunification of the trade union movement generally and the furriers in particular. We, who continued the fight for unity, who suffered from all kinds of physical attacks, and abuse because of our convictions, believe that the early death of Comrade Gross retarded our fight for unity. It was not an easy task to convince the fur workers of the ruination that dual unionism would bring. The furriers had to go through union line. Now we can proudly say: an irreparable loss to us, yet because of our correct approach we have succeded in bringing about a condition where all shades of opinion can be found in the

This fight as well as the occomplished

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unity is the best monument that we of the furriers fraction as well as of the progressive group could build. We hail the name of our beloved Comrade Gross, just as we hall our victorious achievement of unity, for which he fought in his last days. In this day of the fifth anniversary, we pledge ourselves to carry on this fight for the further strengthening of our movement for complete reuni fication of the entire labor movement, for the building of a real movement against war and Fascism based upon the trade unions; for the establishment of a Labor Party. It is only in this sense that we will be able to repair the loss of our comrades, who have fallen victims in the course of the class struggle.

Motor Products --Lesson in **Multi-Unionism**

The tragic price the workers must pay for disunity and dual unionism can find no better illustration than in the conkept press aiding as strike-breakers.

The strike in the Motor Products plant started on Nov. 15 after negotiations had resulted in a deadlock. came from the Automotive Industrial Workers Association but the plant members of the Mechanics Educational So ciety and of the two A. F. of L. locals the Metal Polishers and the United Auto Workers, also came out. For severa days the strike was solid, although Dilon, Green's stooge in the United Auto Workers, rejected all formal offers of unity and scurried around denouncing he strike at every possible opportunity

Then on Nov. 25, apparently believing hat the management was going to permit a plant vote under Labor Board auspices, Dillon sent the A. F. of L. men back to work, through the picket lines under police guard. This action was denounced, and very correctly so, as "a new low in working class betrayals."

At the same time the Motor Products management was able to play the independent unions against the A. F. of L. more subtly, but nevertheless effective ly. The prostitute press of Detroit head lined the leaders of the independent unions, giving Matthew Smith's declar-ation of "democracy within the new certain stages until they finally could unions" front page space, and discussing grasp the essence of our correct trade the inadequacy of the craft union form. Thus the anti-A. F. of L. sentiment and though the death of Comrade Gross was the strong dual unionist orientation in the independent unions was further strengthened.

> After having smashed whatever unity the strike had had the management cracked down hard on both sides. Thug and police surrounded the strikers, not on the picket line but at their headquar ters, beat them up, broke arms, killed one man.

> picture was the appearance on the scene of the representative of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Without of ficial status he could only investigate but his presence brought added hope to the progressives who are fighting for unity against the motor barons. Progressive auto workers are sponsoring resolutions and meetings in the locals of all the unions to popularize the ideas underlying the Committee for Industrial Organization. Dillon made it clear that he would not support activities along industrial lines-a fact which he has ade quately proved by refusing to admit the Toledo local with its 11 000 members into the auto international, insisting that it be split into craft divisions.

The latent class-consciousness of the A. F. of L. workers finally asserted itself on Dec. 21 when they walked out to join the strike without benefit of official sanction. Meanwhile the three independent unions have held a unity conference which is to re-convene on Feb. At that time they will probably form the Automotive and Metal Trades Industrial Union. It is to be hoped that before that time steps toward unity with the A. F. of L. will have been made. The necessity for this inevitable act has already been admitted by Smith, erstwhile foes of the A. F. of L. who declared on Dec. 10, "We recognize that the main stream of the labor movement is within the A. F. of L."

LOSING THEIR CHAINS... by James Sand

Samuel Gompers Before 1900

THE DEVELOPMENT of the little cigarmaker who arrived from Whitechapel, England, with his parents, at the age of thirteen, into the pompous, bombastic old man who threw the American Federation of Labor into the war behind American imperialism, and carved a niche for himself in the labor chapters of American history textbooks, is the greatest success-story in the history of the labor movement anywhere. Yet, intermediate to that development and enmeshed in all his theoretical mistakes, there lie his contributions to the labor movement.

The greater error in his character was his inability to change his approach to labor organization as class-relations changed and the temper of the workers in relation to economic forces also changed. From the time his ideas crystallizer, which we can roughly date as 1900, the road of Gompers was certain. That year is chosen to demarcate the two periods in his life not because it was the turn of the century in harmony with which Gompers turned, not because in that year Gompers reached the age of fifty; but because by that year it was clear to all who had eyes to see and were willing to look at social realities squarely that the American Federation of Labor had definitely made itself the organization of labor towards which the American worker was orienting himself and towards which Marxists would have to orient themselves in their work of revolutionizing the proletariat

Gompers' theory and practice cannot be understood except in terms of the theories and practices to which he reacted so violently during the formative period of the federation. What Gompers was looking for when he came to early consciousness of labor organization was a national group holding views on trade unionism that would work, would endure, and steer clear of the rocks which he thought had wrecked its predecessors and contemporaries. Gompers was the pragmatist of American labor, the John Dewey of labor theory. Four opponents brought him to his ideological maturation: (1) The Knights of Labor; (2) industrial unionism; (3) socialism; (4) anarchism. The Knights he decried because they were not trade-unionist, because they dabbled in reformist politics, because their cigar-makers' union was at loggerheads with Gompers and Strasser's. Industrial unionism Gompers first met in the form of Daniel DeLeon. He saw in it the evils of the Knights' industrial unionism, a primitive form arrived at through confusion and general acceptance of all workers rather than through reason and hard maneuvering. DeLeon's industrial unionism he mistook for the Knights. Industrial unionism was to hound him throughout his life, and he was to sidestep it, meet it, fight it, try to conciliate it, according as the strength of its cohorts grew

Socialists he came to hate. Before he came to hate them. he tried to curry favor with them. In the 1894 national convention of the A. F. of L. they were strong, and it seemed certain they would be able to elect their candidate as president of the federation. Gompers with his keen political nose sensed this, and for the first and last time he saluted the delegates form the presidential rostrum, not as "Brothers" but as "Comrades and Fellow-workers." It did not save him; DeLeon succeeded in getting McBride elected for 1894-5. This was the only year that Compers was not president of the federation. From 1896, the date of the formation of the present A. F. of L. until the year of his death, 1924, he held the highest office in the power of organized American labor to give. But Socialism also advocated independent political action by labor and Gompers had seen political action by labor fail and react unfavorably on labor organization. Furthermore, he felt that Socialism's goal was utopian; it was certainly too distant for his theoretical untutored mind to see clearly. Some years after 1900 he uttered his final opinion on Socialism with this rhetorical, absurd thunder: "Economically you are unsound; socially you are wrong; industrially you are an impossibility." But that was when Gompers was quite sure he could not be unseated by Socialist votes. Anarchism became anathema to Sam (he said that anyone who cared two cents for him always called him Sam) after the Haymarket affair in 1886. It was not long before it became confused in Sam's mind with Socialism, and thus he conserved his energy by fighting two enemies with but one flow of rhetoric.

On this background Gompers views on political action and trade-unionism become clear. In the field of political action he opposed either a labor party or Socialism. In the constitution of the A. F. of L. there was incorporated the clause: "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor." He became the apostle of "pure and simple" tradeunionism and of "punishing labor's enemies and rewarding labor friends" in the field of politics: His first vote was for Grant for president. After that he left the Republican party of which he was a member and never joined any other. This stand on politics he never altered all the years of his life; in fact, his opposition was intensified as bourgeois success was showered upon him during the World War.

Gompers' trade-union stand has rightly been called "business-unionism." It was first of all craft-unionism. Gompers saw that the skilled workers had most to bargain with against the employers and he held that the semi-skilled and unskilled would both weaken the skilled position as well as thrust the skilled trades into the semi-skilled and unskilled strikes from which at this early date they had little to gain. Labor, Gompers came to look upon as a competitor in the open market, haggling, striking, bargaining, compromising. High dues and restriction of membership went pari passu with craft unionism.

In his later disputes with industrial unionists and the Wobblies, Gompers enunciated his doctrine of "voluntarism." Union were to be formed by workers of their own free will. Local, national, and international unions were to have autonomy. The organization of the A. F. of L. was to be very loose. The president's power is dependent upon his ability to place strong men around him, to wield prestige, to formulate policies within the executive council between conventions, and to act as liason officer with the general public. Of the office Gompers made a great deal; in comparison with him William Green, his successor and the present incumbent, is pallid and incompetent.

It must be admitted that the craft basis of the federation with its roots in the skilled trades was the only core around which a national organization of labor could have been successfully built up until 1900. The immigration waves which led to shifting armies of unskilled and semi-skilled, the possibilities of "rugged individualism" making workers capitalists in some few cases, the entire welter and nexus of causes which made the still young and impetuous nation of people what it was in the mauve decades, forced such unionism on any one who expected to keep an organization intact

Samuel Gompers was born in January 27th, 1850 in London, England. The family was very poor, and the young boy was taught the trade of cigar-making by his father. He attended the synagogue and amassed some talmudical knowledge. In the heyday of his glory, decades later, he sedulously avoided admitting his Jewish birth; earlier he had the temerity to use the charge of Jewishness against DeLeon as an argument against his conception of trade unionism. Sylvia Kopald has spoken of the studied non-Jewishness of Gompers' later public life, and it is a just commentary.

At fourteen Gompers joined the Cigarmakers' International Union, and later became a member of the Knights of Labor. He came under the influence of Ferdinand Laurell who advised him to "attend the Socialist meetings, listen to what they have to say and understand them, but do not join the party." The same great mind taught him that "Socialists the world over are of the same mental calibre—there is only one way to deal with them-don't argue, just tell them." Among the cigarmakers he came to know Adolph Strasser, and he came under the salubrious influence of Sorge, from whom he learned the principles of trade unionism. In the early years, until he was about thirty, Sam thought of himself as something of a Marxist, and in his autobiography, Seventy Years of Life and Labor, he talks familiarly about a man named "Fred" Engels. He says nothing of "Charlie" Marx as his friend, however.

On November 15th, 1881 the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions met at Pittsburgh. Gompers was made chairman of the committee on plan of organization. He brought in a plan for "pure and simple" craft-unionism, opposing co-operatives, political reformism, etc. It raised a row, and was defeated. The delegates of the unskilled workers complained, and the Knights of Labor delegates threatened to withdraw. This early federation was not a strong organization; it was, as one historian has it, "an annual meeting." Gompers himself though little of it, and was working to have the Cigarmakers International Union amalgamate with the Knights' Progressive Cigar Makers. The Knights' executive board answered to that:

"We hardly think that the millions of the Knights of Labor whose Order was founded by the sainted Stephens for the very purpose of counteracting the selfish sectariaism of the trade unions are yet prepared to step down and out in favor of a few organized cigar makers who do not even constitute a majority of the trade."

From this time on Gompers' eyes are set on a new national organization of labor. The present American Federation of Labor was formed in Columbus, Ohio, on December 8th, 1886, and Gompers put the old federation into the new organization. The Knights were not seated there, and Gompers was elected the first president of the American Federation of Labor. Until the demise of the Knights in 1893, dickering and quarrels went on. In 1889 the American Federation of Labor proposed that the Knights "discountenance and revoke the charters of all trades assemblies or districts within the Order," and, in return, the A. F. of L. would "urge its members and all working people to become members of the Knights of Labor." This failed, and the struggle became one to the death. The Knights died.

In 1894 there came the great Pullman strike in Chicago, "Debs' Rebellion." Debs had formed an industrial union of railroad workers opposed to the craft unionism of the railroad brotherhoods, and 100,000 workers were in it. But the general strike that Debs asked Gompers to call after arbitration failed, scared Sam off, and he left Debs to lead the strike without the help of the federation.

There came the fight with DeLeon and the secession of the Socialist Labor Party into the ill-fated Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Gompers won out here when those discontented with the S.L.P.'s sectarianism and its dual-unionist tactics formed the present Socialist Party in 1900, and pledged themselves to the task of winning over the A. F. of L. to Socialism.

By 1900 the American Federation of Labor had fended off its enemies and had enrolled under its banner 500,000 workers. It faced the future with courage and assurance. It was to meet new opponents within five years, defeat them, but Gompers refused to learn from them. He became as hardened in his errors as he was confirmed in his truths, and he was not to be moved except by death.

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disapproval with the seating of the socalled "expelled" Buffalo members. This accounted, in large measure, for the Militant's attempts to play down the Buffalo "armed insurrectionists" and soft pedal political issues in order to avoid any break with Hoan.

The treatment of RPPA delegates was interesting as well as indicative. Their attempts to arouse political discussion

THE UTICA CONVENTION to one Buffalo member but rejected Hahn as a candidate because of his place in the "armed insurrection" battle. Raitt a lesser known expellee was acceptable as a candidate. The "Militants" are determined to get N.E.C. recognition even if political decapitation is the price.

The N.E.C. subcommittee, scheduled to appear as an unofficial recognition committee, failed to put in its appearance. The only N.E.C. member present was Norman Thomas—participating as a state member in the convention. constantly frustrated and side- failure of the N.E.C. to put in its aptracked. In the election for state com- pearance may be characterized as: Committee members, the "Militants" agreed ing Events Cast Their Shadows Before!

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