

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 30.

New York, Saturday, July 27, 1935

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

It is very hard to keep track of the rapid progress made by the Communist International in its desperate swing to the right. In general it would appear that the French CP has become a sort of guinea pig for the ECCI in its opportunist experimentations. But this swing is to be found in every section of the Comintern. In the U. S. this turn from ultra-leftism has been performed in a most mechanical, bureaucratic manner, and has given birth to vulgarities unequalled in the realm of Communist theory to date. A painful illustration of this is the estimate of the Roosevelt Administration made by the ECCI thru its economic expert, E. Varga. In the latter's report on economic policy for the fourth quarter of 1934 we find the following estimate of the Roosevelt Administration:

"Roosevelt saved the banking and credit system of the U. S. from collapse, cleared away the antiquated limitations imposed on the process of trustification, reduced the oppressive burden of debt to tolerable proportions by depreciating the dollar, increased the utilization of capital, pacified the farmers, and strengthened the bourgeois ideology of the majority of workers in the U. S. and their belief in neutral character of the state as towards the various classes, thanks to the liberal policy followed in the courts, and thanks to the deliberate demagoguery of many of his supporters."

We suggest that Jim Farley get this copy of the Imprecor Volume 15 number 11, March 12, 1935. He could not catalogue more "achievements" for Roosevelt than Varga and the ECCI have done. Incidentally we might also ask what happened to the revolutionary up-surge and the "general deep-going wave of radicalization" that had begun to sweep the U. S. at the zenith of Hoover's glory in 1928. Apparently the ECCI and the leadership it has appointed in the U. S. are of the opinion that six years of the crisis have made the American working class less radical and more politically backward. We hope that nobody will call the American Party leadership, the ECCI, or Comrade Varga, Rooseveltites.

In these days of Abyssinian war manouvres and German war threats, it would be best not to forget the inferno being prepared in the Far East. We are reminded of this by the following from a propaganda pamphlet recently issued by the Japanese Ministry of War: "If our English and Dutch competitors should persist in their methods of unlawful competition, the Empire will eventually be obliged to use armed force so that a spirit of fairness may triumph."

Well, for at least one thing we must give credit to these late-coming imperialist brigands. They are brutally frank and do not hide their fully inglorious plans behind glorious but empty phrases and vapid generalities. Could one ask for a more refreshingly frank statement of the relations between the ethics of capitalist economy and the political morals of imperialist war?

HITLER'S henchmen have been mouthing lots of phrases about Germany's duty to save "western civilization" from that "Asiatic barbarism called Bolshevism." What exactly is this "western civilization" of which the German Fascists are so proud? Here it is straight from the foul and furious mouth of one of the highest Nazi officials addressing a "Kameradschaftsabend" at Dusseldorf on May 1st: "The Jewish question will be settled now. . . . For some time you will be able to strike a Jew across the face (einen Juden in die Fresse schlagen) and no one will punish you, for an action is about to begin now that will not come to an end." At Weseling, near Cologne, according to the Manchester Guardian, a Jewish butcher shop was destroyed by a Nazi mob and "Even classes of school children were taken to the scene and were allowed to complete the work of destruction." At Oberammergau, home of the Passion Play, a big sign stares one in the face: "Juden sind hier unerwünscht" (Jews not wanted here)! Signs bearing the legend "Juden betreten diesen Ort auf eigene Gefahr" (Jews enter this place at their own risk) are commonplace thru-out Germany which once boasted of being the land of poets, philosophers and thinkers.

This is how capitalism is being saved these days. This is capitalist civilization in despair and destitution battling to hold on thru bestiality and savagery after its historical usefulness is long over. Merely wishing this were over won't help and is foolish. In the class

Tailor's Leaders Pin Faith In Policy of Compromise

Iron Hand of Bureaucracy Lays Blight on Amalgamated; Workers Loyalty to Union Shaken By Undemocratic Control

By B. BRILL

Stoppages have in recent years become almost a "tradition" in the men's clothing industry. It has become a practice of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union to call a stoppage every year, before the Fall season, to "bring order in the trade."

The present stoppage, too, which was called on July 10th, is supposed to "once and for all do away with the chaos and establish a healthy control of the trade." In addition, each stoppage is provided by the leadership with suitable slogans and "demands." At first, there was "classification" of garments; then "specification"; and now "registration." All of these remedies are supposed to better at least a little bit the miserable conditions of the men's clothing workers.

But, strange as it may seem, after every stoppage, which is always hailed as a great "victory" for the Union, the majority of the workers are surprised to find out that something is missing from their meagre pay envelope.

Altho, or shall we say, because, President Sidney Hillman has been a member of the now abolished National Labor Relations Board, the labor conditions of the tailors are worse than in any other needle trade. While most other needle trades workers enjoy the 35-hour week and comparatively high minimum wage scales, the tailors are working 36 hours and their minimum is \$14.40 or 40 cents

an hour. Only two crafts, cutters, and pressers, have a minimum of a dollar and seventy-five cents, respectively. The Amalgamated leadership constantly relied on the NRA to better conditions for the tailors; they refused to fight, although the union membership was ready and well organized to do so.

HILLMAN STAGES A SHAM BATTLE

Many months ago, in January 1935, the leaders of the New York Joint Board of the A. C. W. properly raised the question of establishing minimum scales for all the crafts in the entire industry thruout the country. For this demand, they said, they were going to put up a vigorous fight and all the members, including those of the Amalgamated Progressive Circle, wholeheartedly supported this just demand.

But what happened? Instead of putting up a "vigorous fight," Hillman and his New York lieutenants went to the public hearings, held in Washington at the end of January, in order to "fight" there for amendments to the Men's Clothing Code. The results of this sham fight are well known to everybody. Absolutely nothing came out of it.

Finally, the quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated, held in Washington, May 1-17, worked out a brand new demand: "To standardize work prices in the cheaper lines of garments in all the

POGROM PROMOTER



ADOLPH HITLER

union markets of the country." To carry out this task, an Inter-Market Commission, consisting of 7 vice-presidents, has been set up. The present stoppage, affecting about 40% of the industry of this city, is supposed to be the first of the markets to standardize work prices.

Let us, therefore, look now at the recently concluded collective agreement between the A. C. W. and the clothing manufacturers and see what this standardizing means in reality, and what benefits the tailors might get from it.

In the New York men's clothing market there are being produced five grades of garments—the cheaper three grades (1, 2, 3) as the main lines. Grade 1 is a \$1.80 garment; grade 2 a \$2.28; and

(Continued on Page 4)

THE WORKERS WEEK

WOOD HEEL MAKERS DEFEAT PAYCUT

BOSTON, Mass.—Wood Heel Makers of Haverhill defeated their employers' attempt to enforce a 20% downward revision of wages by emptying the wood heel shops of all workers and maintaining their picket lines until the employers abandoned their attempt. Over 400 of these workers, members of the United Shoe & Leather Workers Union, went on strike under the guidance of the United's general executive board, and in the face of great wage reductions in other crafts stubbornly refused to become panicky, fought back in organized fashion, and won.

This victory is a smashing blow at those elements in the United that contended that wage reductions were the only means of retaining factories which threatened to move to lower wage areas unless their demands were granted. While other crafts have given 15% reductions against the advice and protest of their general officials, the wood heel makers won their battle against wage concessions by adhering to the "no concession" policy laid down by the GER.

PROGRESSIVES WIN 3 POSTS ON PATERSON BOARD

Progressive candidates won three places on the Executive Board of the Plain Goods Department, American Federation of Silk Workers, Paterson district in elections held on July 20.

The three Progressives elected are Harry Flum, Elmer Hamm and Jacob Desser.

PROMINENT SKY-PILOT MAKES A BUM GUESS

The Reverend John Haynes Holmes, noted liberal, came back from Germany on July 8. "In place of the obsolete reign of terror has come an overwhelming enthusiasm for the Hitler regime," he reported.

On Tuesday, July 16, a renewed program broke out against the Jews in Berlin. Crowds directed by Storm Troopers, marched up and down the Kurfuerstendamm dragging Jews from cars, cafes and theatres, beating them with the artful technique developed in the New Germany.

That this was not an isolated, accidental instance may be seen from the items quoted in this week's Age in "At First Glance" calling for a national drive against the Jews.

The genial General Goering has ordered a campaign against the Catholics, intent on destroying completely their political influence. Thus Germany's answer to the Pope's protest was a virtual declaration of war against the Catholic Church. The Catholic youth organization and the Catholic teachers (save those who are Nazi rubber-stamps) are to be extirpated in the Third Reich.

NEW DEAL: 1 JUDGES: 2

The New Deal ended the week with a batting average of .333 which is rather worse in the Nation's capital than it would be in the National League.

The only victory our smiling President can celebrate this week is the upholding of the Tennessee Valley Authority by the Circuit Court in New Orleans. This reversed a lower-court decision made on the complaint of a group of private utility stockholders against the government's gigantic excursion into the power field.

Meanwhile in Boston the processing taxes collected under the AAA were declared invalid thus wiping out the entire agricultural program of the New Dealers and in Cincinnati a two-to-one decision denied the PWA the right of condemning land for slum clearance. All the decisions will be appealed immediately.

PREVAILING WAGE FIGHT AGAIN TO THE FORE

The New York Building Trades Council declared that none of its members should go to work on the Federal Work relief projects except at prevailing wages. Relief Administrator Hopkins answered "No!"

HAVERSTRAW SCAB-CENTER MILL REOPENS DESPITE COURT DECISION

The fight between the Hirsam Knitting Mills, operating in the open-shop "Terminal" in Haverstraw, and the Joint Council of Knit Goods Workers, entered into a new phase when, after a week lock-out, the Mills re-opened, employing non-union labor.

EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer

NAZI ECONOMICS IN WORLD TRADE

Schacht has finally put thru his plan for export dumping. The execution of this plan will have deepgoing economic and political consequences. The amount to be raised by taxing the individual industrial enterprises is given as 720 million Marks but is probably much larger. The trade imposts range from 2% to 15% of the yearly turn-over. The minimum business turn-over to be taxed will be 20,00 Marks. This, of course, means small concerns will consequently bear the brunt of it. These trade imposts, in addition to the other burdens which the fascist state is imposing upon small business, practically annihilate these concerns. The chemical and textile industries pay the highest trade imposts; the machine and heavy industries pay the lowest. It is, therefore, in the main the heavy industries which are enjoying privileges at the expenses of the other industries and smaller enterprises.

Temporarily there is no talk of inflation. The experiences of Danzig along this line have frightened them.

There are good reasons for the new aid extended to heavy industry—chiefly to the armament factories. Large reserves of war goods become antiquated. The German economic press has repeatedly called attention to the fact that war orders may be reduced in the near future and that many of these orders are made but once. The armament industry, however, must be kept busy constantly if it is to be ready for use at the outbreak of war. The government is therefore coming to the aid of the heavy industries by getting increased export orders for it at the expense of the other industries and the small producers.

The export premium amounts to about 25%. This is not sufficient for creating a general industrial and commercial boom and does not take into account the counter measures that other countries will adopt. Export dumping will not solve the problems of German economic life. It will ease matters at most only for a few months.

The levying of imposts will have deepgoing social consequences. The capitalists will try to shift the burden. In their attempt to shift it to the consumers they will meet with great difficulties. The government itself will not pay higher prices for armaments. As for the rest of the consumers, things in Germany have come to such a pass that a rise in prices of goods of general consumption will simply have the effect

war, "wishers were ever fools." What is needed and needed badly is a revolutionary struggle against Hitlerism by the workers of Germany aided unstintingly by the workers of all countries.

that the demand will decrease accordingly. The result is that the employers will try to shift the imposts first of all to the workers by way of a reduction in wages. On this field the Nazi government stands on only one principle—wages must not be increased. A new sweeping attack on wages which are already frightfully low will be the result of this new export policy.

Recently, resistance to the wage reductions have been growing among the working class. This will probably increase and coincide with growing resistance on the part of the petty bourgeoisie. The new export policy has already met with strong resistance from certain capitalist quarters which realize its potential harmful consequences. Schacht was unable to persuade business circles to accept the imposts voluntarily. He had to issue a decree. The carrying out of this decree will meet further resistance among those industrialists to whom the new policy is particularly disadvantageous.

The tension in the camp of the ruling class has again increased sharply and is rapidly leading to a new open conflict. How strong it actually is, can be seen from the speech made by Goebbels at the district party convention of the National Socialist Party in Berlin. He sharply attacked "Leagues" which were of the opinion that the National Socialist Party has already become superfluous. Evidently he was referring to employers leagues, also.

It would be wrong to conclude that the Nazi regime will be overthrown by open conflicts in the ruling class, conflicts which are threatening to break out soon. This will only be the case when the new conflict on top is accompanied by the working class independently and simultaneously attacking from below. The conditions necessary for this are to-

day more favorable than they were a year ago.

THE PEOPLES FRONT IN FRANCE

The "Peoples Front" in France, i.e. the name given the coalition between the Radical Socialists, the S.P. and the C.P., is becoming more and more opportunist. Recently, Leon Blum, the leader of the S.P. and Thorez, the General Secretary of the C.P. spoke with ex-premier Deladier on the same platform at a mass meeting in District No. 5 of Paris. The "minimum program" of the Peoples Front is: government ownership of the banks, state control of trusts and other capitalist monopolies, a certain "equalization" of taxes. This miserable and meaningless program failed even to satisfy the Socialists.

On July 14th in accordance with the program of the Peoples Front Communist and Socialist workers have sworn allegiance to the bourgeois republic behind the tricolors (and also the red flags) and the Radical Socialist officials.

The most disgraceful aspect of the whole matter is that this thoroely opportunist policy is being attacked by the Socialist Lebas and is being ardently defended by the General Secretary of the C.P. of France, Thorez. Even Frederick Engels is cited since in 1849 he conducted a constitutional campaign together with the bourgeois democrats. The General Secretary of the C.P.F. is evidently forgetting that the bourgeois revolutions in France lasted from 1789 to 1849, that the proletarian revolution in France has already passed its first stage in the Commune of 1871 and that in the France of 1935 the second and decisive step of the proletarian revolution and not the repetition of 1789 is on the order of the day.

Age Fund Drive Nears Two-Thirds Mark; Brunt of Task Still Carried by New York

CONTRIBUTION RECEIVED	
Previously Listed	\$793.00
N. Edwards	10.00
K. Sharpe	5.00
E. Frances	4.00
I. C.	2.50
R. C.	2.50
Bob Lewis	1.00
M. B.	5.00
Sylvia Rolland	2.00
Dan Nilva	7.50
J. Davis	0.50
Eve Stone	5.00
A. Rodman	3.00
Lee Hall	2.00
B. Herman	5.00
S. Freeman	5.00
Leo Al.	1.00
Ed Welsh	5.00
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Louis Nelson	25.00
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Gertrude Lifshitz	3.00
Jack Roberts	5.00
Harry Fox	2.00
Rose Brill	2.00
Miriam Title	1.00
Esther Rendlich	1.00
Chicago	50.00
Boston	8.00
Detroit	8.00
GRAND TOTAL	\$971.70
STILL TO GO	528.30

ONCE AGAIN WE ASK "WHY BE TOO LATE?"

By WILL HERBERG
For some weeks now, the columns of the Daily Worker and the Freiheit have been flooded with denunciations of the wicked Lovestonites...

Yes, the Red Unions Have Liquidated—But Never Soon Enough
It is the crying need of the hour. We propose that this preliminary conference be decided as follows:
1. The preliminary conference shall elect a special committee to take the initiative in organizing a committee representative of all forces in the fur workers ranks...

In 1931 the CPO Proposed The Policy For Furriers Adopted Now
The furriers union and the Industrial Union with the aim of accomplishing the fusion of the two. Why did these conferences fail? What brought about their shipwreck? Far be it from us to parade the skeleton at the feast but, in the interest of truth, we must recall the fact that unity could not be achieved in 1931 because Gold absolutely refused to agree that the amalgamated union should be part of the A. F. of L.

Runaway Shops, 'Left' Groups Menace Organization of United Shoe
The General Executive Board of the United Shoe & Leather Workers Union has initiated a referendum to take place on July 8th for a special convention to be held on the second week of September, 1935.

Shoe Union Faces Foes On All Sides
It has already worked out and presented a program which when put into effect will more than meet the situation. The coming convention must rectify the mistakes of the previous one or the organization is doomed.

REMEMBER WHEN THE A.F.L. WAS A "COMUNYON"
At the beginning of 1930, altho the Communist Opposition was then only just beginning to grope its way toward an independent policy, we were already calling for the formation of progressive groups in the A. F. of L. Needle trades unions.

Drive To Destroy The Union
Attempts of manufacturers to slash wages are no novelty to New England shoe workers. But at no time have the bosses so openly defied and violated their agreements with the union.

THE MELTING OF THE RED UNIONS
Today the Industrial Union is admittedly out of existence. The practical purposes of the dress and furriers unions have already been dissolved so that nothing is left except a dualist group here and there. But again too late! Again it has come not as the result of a real change of policy...

Consolidate The Organization
The present sad state of affairs in the union is a result of this looseness. The principal districts comprising the union have time and again disregarded and violated the policy of the convention and resolutions adopted at many district conferences: decisions dealing with uniform prices and moving of factories.

Source Of Present Crisis In The Union
As far back as Dec. 1933, at the Amalgamation convention, the furriers showed intelligent, far seeing elements warning that the loose organization established at the time would prevent the normal growth of the union...

Intellectuals' Doubts on Discipline Question Answered
By BERTRAM D. WOLFE
In this issue Comrade Wolfe answers the thirteenth of fourteen questions, an intellectual asked "Things We Want to Know."

Things We Want to Know
An upper-bracket white collar worker wrote us a letter asking a series of extremely pertinent questions. The answers are given in this issue. Written by Bert Wolfe, are collected in this pamphlet, Published less than a month ago, "Things We Want to Know" has aroused interest and comment from all over the country.

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"NOW WE HAVE BEEN MOVED"

By JAY LOVESTONE

Last Socialist NEC Meet Marks Collapse of "Militants"
Within the thirteen months that have elapsed since its Detroit Convention, the Socialist Party has been moving definitely to the right at an accelerated pace. The NEC Boston sessions of last November laid the political basis for the present policy. The Buffalo meeting only provided additional ammunition for the extreme Right in its consistent and determined war against the Left and the "Militants"...

Now the Socialist Party Will Steer a Course Firmly to Right
The New York State committee and the members of the NEC thrashed out all the points of difference that had resulted in party paralysis. . . . We hasten to add that it did not take this new Moses forty hours to lead his forty years, to lead his chosen people into the promised land of bourgeois legality and capitalist democracy. Hoan came between the "Militant" dragon and his wrath and disposed of both of them in what I (Kreuger) used to believe in the "peace pact" will be lowered. The "peace pact" will lose force undermining the authority of party leadership. Symptomatic of this was Kreuger's statement at the NEC that he "lost faith in the position of the Right" and the majority of this committee.

Stabilizing Disintegration And Chaos
Nothing could be further from the truth than the conclusion that the latest NEC decisions will bring harmony, order and progress to the S.P. Of course, the position of the Right will be strengthened. This will make the struggle much more difficult for the Lefts. It will bring about demoralization and hasten realignments among the "Militants" inside the S.P. the prestige of Thomas Hoan in him as a leader "who shall not be moved" will be lowered. The "peace pact" will lose force undermining the authority of party leadership.

A Logical Outcome
There is nothing sudden or cataclysmic about this veritable counter-revolution in the S.P. For months the "Militant" NEC gave the right wing openings as wide as church doors. The month-long vogue of Thomas Lovestone's "Militants" were always broken ere the sweat had dried that accompanied their utterance. The "red" NEC of Thomas and Hoan treated the extreme right NY SEC with the very pink of courtesy. At the same time it completely allowed the "Militants" measures to be taken against those suspected of the slightest left inclinations.

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The Detroit Congress Of Errors
The Detroit Congress Of Errors has been less representative than one with 100 delegates. Not how many delegates are present but who is represented is what counts! But more alarming than the narrow representation are the blunders committed by the Y.P.S.L. leadership at the congress. These mistakes flow directly from the character of the A.Y.C., which is a monstrosity whether in the hands of Viola Ilma or of the Y.C.L. The leadership of the Y.C.L. sense that the S.P. will faithfully abide by the law of the land as laid down by any bourgeois state, by any capitalist government—whether it be republican or Fascist in form. Here is advance notice to the

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Second American Youth Meet Shows How Far YCL is on Opportunist Path
By ALBERT EPSTEIN
The American Youth Congress, though mothered by Viola Ilma has been adopted and Young Peoples Socialist League. If the male is still recognized as the stronger sex we are ready to hazard the guess that the Y.C.L. is the father and the Y.P.S.L. the mother. In fact, it seems that the Y.P.S.L. has been forced into this thankless and thankless mother. On several occasions it has sought release from its painful duties but the watchful father would not permit desertion.

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The YCL PROVES GREEN WAS RIGHT
Gil Green's fears have been more than justified. But the most shameful part of it is that the Y.C.L. itself was responsible for swinging this movement off its present proletarian rails into petty bourgeois swamps. Even the program is no longer proletarian. The first American Youth Congress announced in a letter that it was a youth movement that shall consider its mission to be to wipe war from the face of the earth, to destroy Fascism, to work for concrete and immediate economic measures as set forth in our program and to work for the building of a new social order, based upon production for use rather than for profit.

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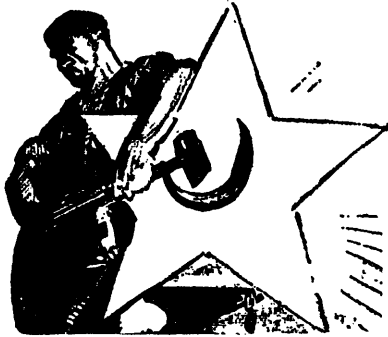
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Saturday, July 27, 1935

The Right Danger in the Communist International

FOR one reason or another I am unable to forget that we were once denounced thruout the length and breadth of the Comintern as "right opportunists"! A "terrible" count against us in this indictment was that we ridiculed as meaningless or ultra-left sectarian the slogan of "class against class" and opposition to election blocs with Socialists as ordered by the ECCI in February 1928, we said then that such anti-union front tactics were harmful and that the whole strategic course was based entirely on a non-existent situation—on an imaginary radicalization of the French proletariat.

In the five years that have gone, much has happened. Today—in comparison with 1928—the French proletariat is well on the road to radicalization. But what do we find the ECCI and the French C.P. doing in the face of infinitely morse sharpened class relations? Steering to the left? Nothing of the sort! With incalculable clumsiness, with unlimited unprincipledness the owners and controllers of the CI and its French section stealthily break with the old suicidal ultra-left course and begin a flight to the right—a disastrous rout.

The French CP no longer shrieks from the house-tops "class against class," "down with the social fascists," "down with defense of imperialist France" and "all power to the French Soviets." Today, the slogans are: for organic unity with the reformist socialist party, for a "left" coalition government (S.P. and Herriot's Radicals supported by the CP in Parliament and even on the streets, for defense of the republic and similar tripe of a kind that might make Roosevelt look like a red!

For the skeptics and doubters, for those who might think we are guilty of "a slight exaggeration," we herewith produce some excerpts from the Bastille Day United Front Manifesto issued by the Peoples Front consisting of the French C.P., S.P. and Herriot's Radical Socialist Party:

"On July 14, 1789 the people of France destroyed the Bastille and revealed liberty to the world. One hundred and fifty years of continuous effort and four revolutions have enabled them to keep and strengthen their gains. We appeal to you to take up again the great revolutionary tradition which makes of July 14 a day of memory and hope.

"Today an armed Fascist organization is trying to storm the Republic and destroy liberty. A great conspiracy is on foot to strike down democracy and replace the rule of the majority by the dictatorship of two hundred feudal families . . .

"Since 1789 every defeat of the people was caused by a lack of unity. Neighbouring democracies have been crushed because they were unable to unite against the common enemy.

"We swear to remain united, to defend democracy, and to disarm and dissolve the Fascist leagues. We swear on the day which marks the first victory of the Republic to defend the democratic liberties that the people of France have won, to give bread to the workers, work to the young generation, and a great human peace to the world." (emphasis mine—J.L.)

What a revelation! Communists speaking like socialists of the 'extreme right in the days prior to the proletarian revolution in Russia, before German and Austrian democracy gave birth to Fascism! Communists who are supposed to be committed to the revolutionary class struggle speaking of "the unity of the people!" Communists who have for years very correctly fought the social democratic principles and illusions now talk of French capitalist democracy as "the rule of the majority" and the sanctity of "the democratic liberties!" Small wonder that Herriot, member of the cabinet which has just ordered wage cuts and reductions of social services, has been able to say: "The parties of the extreme Left (Socialist and Communist) have realized that Republican Freedom is the condition for all other forms of freedom . . ."

And how does the ECCI explain this hari-kari? Thorez, General Secretary of the French C.P. says; (LHumanite, June 26:)

"Before the World War as well as during 1924 and 1925 in the period of relative stabilization of capitalism the policy of parliamentary blocs or cartels subjected the working class to the influence and leadership of the big bourgeoisie. This policy was harmful to the interests of socialism, to the people.

"A Marxist should not look upon a democratic and progressive movement as a form of class collaboration. Did not Engels repeatedly boast of his participation in street fights in 1848 on the side of the Democrats during the revolution in Germany? How can a Socialist reject such "cooperation..."

"The working class is heading towards the Peoples Front. It is heading towards socialism, towards a Soviet France."

What piffle! With Herriot's party to Socialism, to Soviet France! And when Thorez cites Marx and Engels it's a case of desperation swathed in ignorance. In 1848-9 Marx and Engels even went further; they were even members of the Left wing of the German constitutional movement. But Thorez has forgotten to understand one "little" difference. In Germany in 1848-9 we were facing and fighting for the bourgeois revolution. Are we facing such a situation, are we fighting for such a revolution in France in 1935? Our very dear comrade Thorez should learn that this question of the bourgeois revolution was settled in France in the years 1789-1848-9. Furthermore, our comrade General Secretary should not forget that the Paris Commune was the first actual phase of the proletarian revolution in France. This beginning of the French proletarian revolution is today 64 years behind us. Somehow or other Thorez dropped this whole historical period—perhaps under ECCI instructions.

We have no objections to and are entirely in favor of the French C.P., the French proletariat, cooperating with sections of the French petty bourgeoisie against the biggest capitalists, the Comite des Forges, the Bank of France, the Havas Agency. What we condemn, and reject as rancid opportunism is the joining hands with instead of fighting against the Radical Party whose dominant leadership is but a pawn of big capital.

But France is no exception. The French C.P. is today the model for the whole C.I. In Czecho-Slovakia, England, Spain, the drive rightward is on in full force. Hence, the American C.P. leadership, scarred veterans in the struggled against "exceptionalism," is doing its bit to practice the same policies. Witness the campaign "to purge the American navy of fascist elements" thru the dismissal of Admiral Stirling! Note how the Civil Liberties Union has finally won over the C.P. to the pure petty bourgeois point of view of fighting for democratic rights in the abstract—as in the case in Chicago where the CP recently joined in support of court action to assure Father Coughlin the right to use Soldier Field for a mass meeting. Note the orders given by Hathway to the American Youth Congress to reject the mild Oxford pledge to give support to the home government in case of war—all because of Browder's speculation that the U. S. might conceivably, some day in some distant future, have a military alliance with the USSR. Page the united front from on high with Father Divine! Attempt to enumerate the countless blocs with reactionary and even underworld "elements" in the trade union in order to smash the progressive forces!

Yes, comrades and brothers! At last the right danger in the Communist International in general and in the American C.P. in particular—in an exceptionally virulent outbreak—is a reality, a serious danger, an ominous signal of unavoidable catastrophe if persisted in much longer. We of the IO and the OPO can only pledge ourselves to untiring efforts to prevent the ruination of the present official Communist movement thru the current drive to opportunism and to fight at least as energetically against the right danger as we have fought against the ultra-left menace.

To our official Communist comrades we can only add: This time don't waste any time fighting us with abuse. By now we are hardened veterans to the mud and filth showered upon us by the Party leadership appointed for you. How about talking it over a comrade to comrade? How about forcing your officials to treat us at least in the spirit they have been treating General Smedley Butler, Father Divine, former Premier Daladier, and ex-minister of aviation Pierre Cot?

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE PATHS OF GLORY, by Humphrey Cobb, Viking Press. 265 pp. \$2.50

The greatest war novel since "All Quiet on the Western Front." If it lacks some of the poetry and tenderness of the latter, it makes up for it by a greater bitterness, a sharper irony, and above all by a terrific compression and nakedness of action. Not the whole war, but a single episode taking up only a few days, serves as a powerful preachment against the brutality, bureaucracy and criminal senselessness of the imperialist military system. A communique erroneously reports the taking of a well-nigh impregnable fortified hill. The general staff, one to avoid correcting the communique, another to win a decoration, drive an already exhausted regiment back to the front as they are being relieved, and into the senseless attack. They are easily repulsed and the enraged general, cheated of his reputation and medal, orders the execution of certain men, chosen at random, as "an example" on the charge of cowardice. With the inexorability and stupidity of the military machine, the executions are

carried out despite the conviction of all the participants who permit themselves to use their judgment, that the action is without a shadow of justification.

The story is told in nervous, swift, athletic prose. It sweeps on to its brutal conclusion with the tragic inevitability of a tank attacking unarmed men. In its compression lies its power. A postscript evidences that it is based on real incidents of "exemplary" shooting during the world war. But one thing it lacks, which was no less factually as well as it would have been "fictionally" true—some glimpse of the growing discontent inspired by such and other incidents of war in the ranks of the soldiery, a discontent which led to repeated mutinies in the French army. The book is too much an officers' story, and the only one who refuses to carry out his part in the dirty business is a pull-protected officer. Some glimpse into the minds of the rank and file soldiers ordered to carry out the executions, some glimmers of resistance on their part, would have changed this from powerful, pacifist preachment into a revolutionary novel.

"Why Be Too Late?"

(Continued from Page 2)

only one way—by dissolving the Industrial Union and sending its members into the A. F. of L. organization. The answer we received was in characteristic Gold style: the A. F. of L. union was a "scab nest"; its officials and active members were "joint gangsters"; we were "Azevs," "provocators" and "renegades," and some more in the same delicate vein. Again we were denounced as the "main obstacle to unity"—unity on the basis of Gold's rampant dual unionism! This lasted until almost yesterday.

Meanwhile, under our pressure and upon our initiative, the recent Toronto convention of the International Fur Workers Union adopted a unity resolution along the lines we had been urging for years—dissolution of the Industrial Union, free admission of all its members into the Joint Council, reinstatement of all the expelled, new elections. This is the program of unity now being carried out, amidst a good deal of confusion and irresponsibility, it is true, but being carried out anyway. And, in spite of all the exultation and triumphant self-congratulation of the ex-industrial Union leaders today, I think the future will show that again the C.P. yielded to the logic of circumstances just a little bit too late!

And so it goes! Refusing to surrender its fundamentally dualist and anti-A. F. of L. orientation and yet unable to resist the overwhelming pressure of events, the whole policy of the official Communist Party in recent years has been made up of a series of demoralizing twists and turns, of disorderly retreats that availed nothing, of forced concessions that came too late! All of the hysterical shouting about the wicked Lovestoneites cannot change this simple fact!

WHY ARE YOU ALWAYS SO LATE?

A little more than four years ago, Comrade Zimmerman closed his open letter to Louis Hyman, president of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, with these significant words (Revolutionary Age, May 1, 1931):

"Eventually you will adopt our proposals but why should you always be too late? Is it really impossible for you to see things in time and to have the courage to act upon your convictions?"

This question is still completely to the point today. The leaders of the so-called Knitgoods Workers Industrial Union, for example, know perfectly well that the way to unity is open to them, that all they have to do is to dissolve their dualist outfit and send their handful of members to the Joint Council, the A. F. of L. union, where they will be received freely and without discrimination. But no, they have learned nothing and have forgotten nothing! They still think they can get somewhere merely by abusing Nelson and spinning out fantastic schemes about "conferences" and "committees." Well, let them! They may not know it perhaps but they are already mere echoes of the dead past. The workers have already brushed them aside and achieved unity over their heads in this field as well as in so many others!

As far as we are concerned, we are proud of our record of exposing and defeating every trickery scheme of fake "unity," every unprincipled maneuver to further confusion and disruption under the name of "unity." And we are equally proud of our determined and successful fight for genuine trade union unity already realized among the dressmakers, cloakmakers, textile workers and furriers today and certain to be realized among the knitgoods workers and shoe workers and others to-morrow!

CAR GOING TO LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, AT END OF JULY or beginning of August will take passengers at very reasonable rate. Inquire Berg, 2700 Bronx Park, East, Q. 32.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F MILES

Opposition Flops At I.L.A. Convention

Now that the convention of the International Longshoremen's Association is over and Joseph P. Ryan has been re-elected President without any opposition one can state quite definitely that approximately 99% of the stories in the Daily Worker about what Bridges and the Rank and File were going to do to Ryan were the good old unadulterated bunk.

For many weeks the columns of the C.P. press were full of stories about the west coast. One was led to believe that the whole coast was aflame with revolt against Ryan and this revolt was to express itself at the convention thru a powerful "Rank and File" opposition headed by Bridges.

To lend plausibility to this story Bridges breezed into town for the convention, looking very wise and talking very big indeed to the press. He was out, said this modest leader, to oust Ryan. This, he said, was the instruction of his local union and this would be done at this convention.

Now just imagine everyone's surprise when Bridges did not even ask a question during most of the convention. Towards the end he arose and made a speech against Ryan for his strike-breaking work during the Frisco strike, and was supported in this opinion by less than a half dozen delegates. The last day of the convention, when everyone expected a real test of strength between Bridges and Ryan fighting it out for the presidency, was the meekest of all. Bridges did not even run leaving the field free for Ryan.

How Come?

How does it come that the Rank and File groups (C.P. members and sympathizers) made such a poor showing after promising so much. The answer lies in the strategy and the tactics pursued by the C.P. in painting the Frisco strike red during the strike. Certain it is that the militant strike leadership of Bridges had the strikers behind it but it is equally certain that toward the conclusion of the strike, the support of the masses had been lost and has not been won even for such a worth-while task as ousting Ryan.

It seems to us that even the half-dozen opposition delegates could have made a better fight. Outside of the formal introduction of numerous resolutions which were not even defended, the opposition strategy seems to have been one of head on collision with the bureaucracy. This was a mistake. A strategy worked out for a powerful opposition which hopes to win cannot remain unchanged when it is proven that the opposition is woefully weak. Yet this insignificant group of 5 or 6 went thru the motions of an opposition threatening Ryan's rule. A ridiculous position to be in.

President Green, who did so much to strangle the strikes of the longshoremen, appeared and addressed the convention without even the sign of a protest. This recalls the fact that under the militant leadership of Keller and Herman, the last convention of the United Textile Workers almost carried a resolution to censure Green for his strike-breaking in Frisco.

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