Workers of all Countries, Unite!

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

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# As Senate Defeats Bonus Bill

Senate Kills Bill By Vote Of 62-18 As 10,000 Ex-Soldiers Roar Protest: Militancy Spreads In Ranks: **Authorities Try To Disperse Movement** 

ment upon the rank and files it has set the ex-soldiers to thinking sertion to attain their demands as well as an alliance with the jobless, the of Representatives a bill has been iniabor movement and the farmers for common ends and against a common enemy. At the same time it has stimulated the efforts of the authoritics in the capital to disperse and demoralize the bonus army by every pos-

On June 17, while the Senate was considering the bonus bill, over 10,-000 angry veterans massed in front of the Capitol, awaiting the outcome. It was "the tensest day Washington had known since the war... in the midst of scenes never before enacted in the Capitol grounds," writes the New York Times. When the news spread that the bonus had been defeated by the smashing vote of 62 to 18, a roar of protest arose from the throats of the assembled thousands and "for the first time the bonus army seemed about to get out of hand" (New York Times). It proved possible however, for Commander Waters and the other conservative leaders to dampen the rebellious mood of the veterans and to lead them quietly

back to the encampments. But the lesson of the Senate vote soon began to tell. The temper of national will show that there has dethe men had changed, all observers commented, from "weary, stolid pa-tience to high excitability." The spectacle of the do-nothing cynicism and the right, as in Poland, England of unemployment doles in Germany the reckless extravagance of the gov- (MacDonald) and Japan (where the and England, their open aid to toternment in a situation of extreme distress on the part of the masses of the people, has produced a sharp feeling of resentment among the illegaling of resentment among the illegaling of the left. In Germany this development took the form of a split in which in the health-detroying conditions of some 60 000 Socialists are sized and the proposed coalition in France. in the health-detroying conditions of some 60,000 Socialists organized a and the proposed coalition in France, the Washington swamps. All day on new party—the Socialist Workers have led to a loss of influence by the June 17 and half the following day party; in Holland, where the Social-the bonus marchers, in defiance of their leaders, listened eagerly to imballing party was born; in Engpromptu speeches of their comrades land, where the Independent Labor attacking the bankers and politicians party has assumed a much more miliand urging militant action side by tant pose and has seriously consid-side with other oppressed sections of ered, at its last convention, secession the American people. A change of attitude also became noticeable on ed States this expressed itself in the conscision, the greater the working class composition, the greater the movement of the movement of the conscision the leader the movement of the leader t the part of the great mass of veter-ans towards the radical elements of To maintain that these are all acans towards the radical elements of the movement, the members and folcidental and unrelated incidents lowers of the Workers Ex-Service- would be to approach the problem men's League. In spite of the cru- from a non-Marxian angle. The gen sade against any form of militancy eral programmatic nature of all these by Commander Waters and his clique, leftward tendencies and their more of of police spies in the encampments, cate that they arose from a com-a number of divisions of the bonus ar-mon source. The basis upon which my deposed their conservative leaders they arose and developed is the deep and chose members of the W.E.S.L. going economic crisis, a crisis which

The mood of the men has forced the official leadership of the bonus world, a crisis which has even af marchers to bend somewhat to the the imperialist front, American capisued declaring that the fight has talism. "only just begun" and that there would be no thought of returning home until "our cause is won." At the same time political questions arose for consideration, in spite of futile gestures to bar them. It was decided by the legislative and executive committees of the bonus army to positively reject the Republican party, to ascertain the attitude of the Democrats to the veterans demands and, if this attitude turns out to be unsatisfactory, to stand for the for-mation of a "third party." A representative of the leadership of the "Bonus Expeditionary Force" has already left for Chicago to be present at the Democratic Convention. But among the rank and file members of the B. E. F. a growing recognition is making headway that nothing is to be expected from either of the two big parties of the bankers and the capitalists and that only a party of labor and the farmers will be willing to do justice to the veterans.

As the mood of the assembled veterans grows more militant, so do the

Washington, D. C. ger." On the day of the Senate vote The defeat in the Senate on June a considerable force of policemen ed here as the "Bonus Expeditionary ization. A large number of police Force." It has loosened the hold of the conservative leaders of the moveing out radicals for arrest and of spreading false rumors and stories to iously about politics and the government; it has led large numbers of them to advocate more militant actions are suppressed in s

(Continued on Page 2)

DeValera For United Irish Republic; Thomas Bans Free State Demands

LONDON.—A single republic for Ireland, embracing both the Free State and Ulster, bearing "some sort of relation to the British Empire and of relation to the British Empire and to the British Crown, but with the same relation to other lands," was the proposal that Eamon DeValera sub-17 of the bill for the immediate payment of the \$2,400,000,000 bonus certificates has produced a profound effect upon the 23,000 veterans gathered by the greatest reliance is demoralimperialistic government that "not only the present British government but no British government could ever

agree to such suggestions.' DeValera also expressed his willing-

(Continued on Page 2)

## Tendencies in American Socialism

# The Socialist Party Convention

by Alex Bail

The importance of the recent convention of the Socialist party of America lies not so much in its detailed decisions but rather in the clash of various tendencies which in clash of various tendencies which in

glance at the various important or industry, is beginning to break. ganizations within the Second Interspite of the activities of hordes less simultaneous development indi

> fected the most powerful fortress on And what did this crisis bring to the toiling masses under capitalism? It brought mass misery and starvation to millions of proletarian homes. It brought the most ruthless wageslashing and worsening of the conditions of the employed masses. brought the most stubborn refusal of

has shattered the stability of the eco

nomic foundations of the capitalist

capitalism to granting any type of unemployed insurance as in the U.S.A. It brought slashes in the unemployed doles, as in Germany and England. It brought out the true face of capitalist democracy which, fearing that its economic system is in danger, suppresses with an iron hand the most elementary demands of the masses for food and shelter. It brought the black-shirted bands of Fascism who are preparing the hang-man's noose for the proletariat. It brought, in the Far East, the beginning of a new imperialist world carnage, the beginning of open war against our Socialist fatherland, the

clash of various tendencies which, in class-conscious proletarians begin to a distorted manner it is true, reflect- see thru the lies of Green and his ed tendencies within the working like, that mass productions means class and within other classes. If the differences within the Socialist party were purely local and were peculiar to the U. S. only, they would be of but need to be the U. S. only, they would be of but need to be the U. S. only they would be of but need to be the trade union to be of but need to be the trade union to be of but need to be the trade union to be of the trade uni be of but passing importance. But and Socialist burocrats, tied the prothey are not such. Even a superficial letariat to the wheels of capitalist

The complete bankruptcy of the reformist policies and tactics in the veloped, during the last two or three face of this severe crisis, the open years, a process of differentiation. support which the Socialists have giv-This process assumed two forms. To en to wage-cuts and to the slashing Social-democracy. The masses are turning away from Social-democracy because it is an open ally of capitalism in which the masses are losing

> The more closely the Socialist parties are identified with large masses opposition, the louder the demand that Social-democracy cease to be the shock-brigade of capitalism in crisis. The refusal of the leaders of the Socialist parties to yield to these demands exposes them as agents of capitalism within the ranks of the working class and gives rise to splits and organized factions fighting for more militant policies.

This general leftward development presents itself with varying degrees of clarity and on various issues, de-(Continued on Page 3)

## Two New Pamph lets!

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

by Jay Lovestone 10c-Bundle Orders 8c

SOME PLAIN WORDS ON **COMMUNIST UNITY** by Benjamin Gitlow

5c-Bundle Orders 4c

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Bill To Deport Militants Papen Legalizes Fascist Passes House; Senate **Committee Approves** 

WASHINGTON .- A movement of protest is under way against the utterly vicious Dies Communist exclu on June 6 and now favorably recom

munists" from the United States. In the meaning of this law, "Communist" means any one affiliated to any organization that stands for, among other things, "a system based upon common ownership of property." This means that any non-citizen who believes in even the mildest form of Socialism, in some varieties of liberalism even, will run the danger of being deported from this country if he wins the displeasure of his employer or of some petty official. The Dies bill, which stands a good chance of becoming law, is a horrible menace to the whole working class, to every

labor organization of whatever political character it may be. It is therefore necessary for the entire labor movement to unite to defeat it, to prevent its passage in the Senate.

# AT LAUSANNE

July Debt Lapse; No Hope For A Solution On Basis Of Versailles System

LAUSANNE. - "Reservation" for the month of July at least of all war debt and reparation payments among the powers taking part in the con ference here, was decided on June 17. This "reservation", which is to last as long as the conference continues, really amounts to a wipingout of about \$45,000,000 in debts since no one actually believes that they wil ever be paid. The remission of debta was absolutely essential if the con-ference is to be held altogether. At the same time the rumor is spreading that the "reservation" of payments will be extended until a "final set tlement of the debt-reparations ques tion is reached", perhaps not at thi

It is becoming continually clearer that the debts-reparations tangle, always unsolvable even in the days of "prosperity", has become cbsolutely hopeless in these days of acute world crisis. The differences of the pow ers on this question reflect the sharp clash of imperialistic interests, which cannot be reconciled. It is impossible for Germany to continue paying any reparations at all, even the so-called "unconditional" items, and it is practically impossible for France and other recipient countries to balance their budgets without these repara tion payments. Altho the United States is not officially represented at the Lausanne conference, the ques tion of war debt payments to the U

S. A. looms large indeed. The reparations-debt tangle has been going from bad to worse since the days of the robber Versailles treaty and the much hailed "final solution", the Dawes plan. The Lausanne conference will only intensify the chaos and confusion. No solution is possible except a revolutionary solution, involving the elimination of all imperialistic interests and the scrapping of the whole Versailles system.

BERLIN.-The Nazis scored another victory in the elections in Hesse 2 mandates raising their total to 17; ed the "moderation" and pro-Amerithe Communists lost 3, dropping to 7. The Centrists hold their 10 seats. The Socialist Workers party obtained volving the confiscation of the big one mandate.

# Revolt Rises Among Vet Marchers Irish republic is u.s. toilers must nazi troops ban G. O.P. Names Hoover, Frames Platform of Bitter Reaction

Bands: Sharp Cut In **Jobless Benefits** 

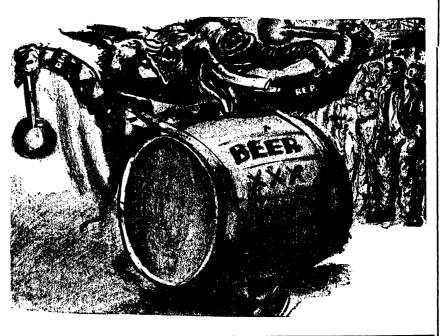
Berlin, Germany. June 16, 1932. The sharp turn to the right, forecast in the elevation to power of the von Papen Junker-militarist Cabinet, has already begun to take on concrete form. On June 16 a new emergency decree was issued that not only again egalized the Fascist Storm and Guard battalions but also increased the rigor of political censorship and surveillance against the left, that is, against the political or economic organiza-tions of the working class. While the ban against the Nazi troops, which was never enforced, was removed, as well as the prohibition of wearing Nazi uniforms publicly, the suppression of the Communist Red Front Fighters and of the Red Freethinkers League was maintained. In addition (Continued on page 2)

## Ticket And Platform Decided Upon By Cliques Of Boss Politicians Under Orders Of Wall Street; Platform **Endorses Hoover Attacks On Masses**

ings ever held in this country, the Republican National Convention chose, June 16, Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis as the nominees of the party for the Presidency and Vice-Presiden-cy of the United States respectively. Hoover was nominated by a vote of 1,126½ out of a total or 1,154; Curtis received a safe majority of 634 1/4. Both decisions were made on the first ballot.

The convention was dominated as to all previous pretexts for suppres- perhaps never before by the extreme conservative wing of the Republican

THE CHICAGO CIRCUS



# DAVILA REACTION TRIUMPHS IN CHILE MASS ARRESTS OF WORKERS SPREAD

Radical Grove Faction Overthrown With Help of U. S.; Railway Workers Declare General Strike; Great Britain Sends Warship To Chile Waters

Santiago Chile,

A bitter struggle between the right and the left wings of the revolutionary junta that has been dominant in this country since the overthrow of the Montero regime on June 4, has been the chief feature of the political developments of the last week

As soon as it had taken power, ostensibly in the name of a "Socialist revolution" but actually as the expression of the insurgent native bourgeoisie supported by the desperate and rebellious masses of the peasants and workers, a growing differentia-tion began to manifest itself in the revolutionary junta. One section of it, headed by Carlos Davila, proposed to strike out on a policy of "moderation", to concentrate all attacks upon the landowning aristocracy and upon British imperialism closely associated with it, to make an agreement with American imperialism and to protect its interests in Chile, and finally to curb the "excesses of the mob", that is, the revolutionary activities of the masses who were demanding the fruits of the revolution in the form on June 19. They polled 328,268 of a firm policy against all foreign votes as compared with 314,039 in imperialism and against the native second Reighs-Presidential elections landlords and big capitalists. Another and 291,183 in the 1931 Diet elections, obtaining 32 of the 70 man-radical position. Altho no nearer to dates. The Social-democrats gained any real Socialist program, it rejectholdings of both British and United

States capital, especially the Cosach nitrate monopoly. This tendency was thruout supported by the organizations of the workers in the cities, especially in the capital and by the politically awake sections of the peasantry. Some support among the military forces was also forthcoming.

From the very first day of its rule, the revolutionary junta, under Carlos Davila, began to move rapidly to the right, suppressing the activities of the masses and giving all so ts of at the mercy of the employers, is assurances and protection to the Wall Street interests (especially to the Guggenheim interests in the Casach monopoly), and to the native capitalists associated with them. Protest against this course of practical liquidation of the revolution grew stronger until, on June 12, Davila was forced to resign and the Grove faction emerged dominant. But with the help of the reactionary elements, including even the partisans of the old dictator, Ibanez, with the blessing of American Ambassador Culbertson, and with the assistance of the cliques of young officers who were fuming at the "threat of Communism", Da ila carefully staged a counter-revolution and, four days later (June 16). again seized control of the State and arrested Grove and his followers. The restored Davila regime immediately became active on two fronts: persecution and mass arrests of all radical elements—it is reported that 500 "Communists" were arrested in Santiago on June 16 and thrown into jail; and servile assurances to all im | not felt it necessary to make even a perialistic and reactionary forces that gesture of concession to or concilia-(Continued from Page 2)

Chicago, Illinois.
As a fitting culmination to one of the most reactionary political gatherNot a single note of even the mildest progressive dissent could be discerned. The Borah tendency was completely absent, self-annihilated by its frequent capitulations to the stand-patters; the LaFollette forces had been beaten by the "regulars" in Wisconsin and no longer controlled that State delegation. The result was that the dictates of big business and finance-capital were supreme and unchallenged and not the faintest voice in the interests of the lower middle class, not to speak of the workers and farmers, was heard.

> On the prohibition question which, by common consent, was pushed to the very center of attention, there was indeed a sharp tussle which ended by the acceptance on the part of the convention of the Administration resubmission plank, an essentially compromise proposal giving no clear answer to the questions involved, one way or the other. Altho a number of delegations, notably that of New York State, were dissatisfied with this portion of the program, no sign of a bolt was apparent. Thru the work of Ogden Mills, the approval, or at least the acceptance of the resubmis-sion plank by Henry J. Allen, representative of the Methodist board of strategy, was obtained. The support of the Methodist Church, which controls millions of votes among the farmers and middle class elements of the Middle West, is an extremely important asset of the Republican party.

> To cap the climax this convention ilso marked a milestone in President Hoover's crusade to turn the Republican party in the South into a "lilywhite" organization. Under the slo-gan of "purification" (why isn't this slogan applied to the Republican machines in Pennsylvania, New York and elsewhere?) the South Carolina delegation, containing some Negroes, was unseated and the rival "pure" delegation welcomed!

## "Great Swing To The Right!"

"The great swing was to the right," comments the New York Times. That this estimate is correct is adequately hown by the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention. A blanket endorsement of the Adminstration policies lies at the basis of this declaration. At a time when ten millions are out of work, when dozens of millions are in actual starvation, when wage-cuts have reduced stanlards below the existence level, the Republican platform has the cynical mpudence to claim that the Adminisration has "cushioned" the crisis in its impact upon the American people and that "wage-scales have not been reduced except under compelling necessity." In the most brazen manns the Hoover-Green "no strike" p of 1929, which has been a decisive factor in binding labor hand and foot lauded in the convention pronouncement and it is complacently added: 'As a result there have been fewer strikes and less social disturbance than during any similar period of hard times"—a declaration that should be a stinging challenge to all labor, organized and unorganized! In full keeping with the spirit of black reacion that dominated the gathering, the platform endorses Hoover's starvation system of "unemployment re-lief" (the system of "self-help" and 'rugged individualism") and declares against "the Federal government going into the field . . . of direct relief to the individual," that is, against any sort of Federal unemployment relief or insurance!

The rest of the platform is of a piece with the points already men-

It is a sign of the contempt that the masters of big business and finance of this country feel for the masses of the people that they have tion of the workers, the farmers, or the lower middle classes. The masses have nothing to hope for from the Republican party except further starvation and oppression. And the Democratic convention, in spite of the greater play demagogy and hollow "progressivism" will have there, will basically stand on the same ground

(Continued on page 2)

erans grows more militant, so do the efforts of the authorities to disperse them grow more strenuous. The New York Times, speaking for the capitalist class, calls the bonus marchers "not only a great nuisance but a dan-

For The Unity Of The Trade Unions!

# AN APPEAL TO THE MONTREAL TAILORS

Statement Of The Amalgamated Progressive Circle

We publish below the appeal of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Pro-Amalgamated Clothing Workers Pro-gressive Circle to the clothing work-close to us. We feel their heavy bur ers of Montreal, Canada. A number dens just as they feel their own. We of members of the A. C. W. in that know that the tailors of Montreal find city recently split away from the themselves in the same miserable con-union and joined another organiza-ditions as do the tailors in all men's

against the leadership and policies of ers.

the union In this revolt, certain We know that you are right. But the union. In this revolt, certain persons and certain elements, out of don't let yourselves be made into the union. And indeed a significant what ringing phrases and fine names. part has affiliated to the All-Canadian They all serve but one purpose and Labor Congress.

We, the undersigned group, have always been in the front ranks in every struggle of the tailors against the bosses for better conditions, as ests of the tailors. We were also those who fought against the leadership and policies of the rotten and

We want to tell you that lately we reawakening of progressive ideas in the minds and hearts of the Amalgamated members.

The dangerous and raise step! Do fundamentally he, like all liberal humanitarians, stands on the same platic mated members.

The dangerous and raise step! Do fundamentally he, like all liberal humanitarians, stands on the same platic mated members. mated members . . .

The union has come to its present state because it has turned its back upon progressive thought and the line of class struggle. Its leaders have adopted false policies and have begun to wander in the darkness. Unfortunately they have taken a large num-ber of members with them in the darkness and have misled them. This has brought about confusion, disputes and splits in the workers ranks, from which only the bosses profited while the tailors are literally dying of hun-

Now, when the members are be ginning to think along the right channels and are beginning to understand who is responsible for their troubles bers be in a position to change its policies and leadership and make it fulfill the interests of the member-

# **G.O.P. CONVENTION** IN CHICAGO

(Continued from Page 1) as the Republican gathering just held
—defense of the interests of the capitalists against those of the toiling masses. Only an independent party of labor, winning the support of the farmers as well, would be in a posi-tion to defend the interests of the masses of the people and to challenge the two parties of big business. For the formation of such a Labor party, basing itself on the organizations of the workers and the farmers, all live and really progressive elements in the labor movement should strive on

Today, in the elections this year the only party that will really challenge the two Wall Street political outfits will be the Communist Party. In spite, therefore, of that party's temporarily false tactics and policies at the present time, no worker, who has the interests of his class at heart, can do other than vote for it. Vote Communist! Vote for Foster and Ford!

every possible occasion!

## VET MARCHERS

(Continued from page 1) troduced, with official sanction, it seems, for the provision of troop trains, equipped with rations and cook cars, to take back home again those bonus marchers who can be

tempted to desert the movement. Meanwhile expressions of sympathy for the veterans encamped here are pouring in from all over the country, as well as substantial gifts of food and clothing. According to an official statement of Commander Waters, about 8,000 more ex-soldiers faction bears no Socialist or Com-

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A REST PLACE FOR WORKERS

The tailors of Canada, altho hun clothing centers. We know that with splits in our union our conditions will and explosion", was issued by Dr. of the Workmen's Circle." M. Olgin not be improved. There is only one Sidney E. Goldstein, chairman of the was to be the reporter and all meming of Montreal way in which we can improve our splits in our union our conditions will In the Tailors Union of Montreal, way in which we can improve our Canada, affiliated to the Amalgamated conditions, a struggle against the

desperation, got the tailors to split tools by anyone, no matter under that is, to split and to break the

union.
The Amalgamated is our union. We built it with our blood and sweat. We and his associates start at the wrong sacrificed for it what we could. Dozwell as against the leadership and ens of us even lost their lives. Hunpolicies which do not serve the interlines. Hundreds more spent weeks in jail. And if the union leadership does mand for the working classes imme not serve the interests of the tailors, corrupt United Garment Workers and that means that we must carry on a Dr. Goldstein also advocated public corrupt United Garment Workers and corrupt United Garment Workers and struggle against it and elect such lead less as will represent our interests. In Dr. Goldstein's criticism of the in its early years, really did defend the name of all honest, progressive Hoover program is well taken ever the interests of the tailors and took into account their demands.

We want to tell you that lately we Brothers and sisters of Montreal!

Brothers and sisters of Montreal! Avoid a dangerous and false step! Do fundamentally he, like all liberal hu-It is not in this way that we will the endorsement of the capitalist sysbuild up a better union.

group, we express our sorrow at the the rise of militancy of the unemploystep of those who have been respons- ed, any one who has the interests of ible for splitting the Montreal union. the masses at heart should welcome strength! Only thru unity and class- the workers not only immediate re consciousness will we build up the lief but also a change of the entire

# WARNING AGAINST **JOBLESS REVOLT**

Tells Congress It Must Do "Something" To Head Off Workers Militancy

unless Congress does "something" about the unemployment situation, executive committee of the Joint Com-

Those of us who are nearer the working classes know that their temper is changing and that they will not suffer much longer without redress. No government can sow injustice without reaping a revolution."
Dr. Goldstein also sharply criticized the Administration policies in the unemployment crisis. "Mr. Hoover end," he declared. "What is needed is not an increase in the credit power diate relief and employment . .

among the unemployed he shows that tem which breeds unemployment, In the name of our progressive hunger, misery. Instead of fearing Brothers and sisters! In unity is it, for only this militancy can get for system of war and starvation

# DAVILA REACTION TRIUMPHS IN CHILE

(Continued from Page 1) the "new junta vill uphold all stait is necessary that they react to the situation in a clear manner. They ent constitution and existing laws of ent constitution and existing laws of must use all their energies not to allow any split in their ranks. Under the republic. . . ', that no confiscation against the strangle-hold of Wall Street and Great British and and Great Brit all circumstances must the union re- above all that the Cosach monopoly main united, unbroken. Only thru agreements would not be "violated." maintaining its unity will the memgroup only accentuated the struggle. The workers organizations in Santiago and in other cities got into action very soon, protesting against Da- of the radical wing of the movement. munist Party had not done anything vila and demanding the recall of the Grove regime. A strike of railway workers thruout the country was called and, altho train service between ling organization (a strong Communication and Continuous many many line partial line of the movement. Intuitist laity had not consider the left wing forces in the struggle, plays no independent part in t; it has neither its own leading organization. "In your speech you convention. "In your speech you ling organization (a strong Communication organization class elements demanding the return

of Colonel Grove. On June 19 an anti-Davila rebelion broke out in the Chilean air force. The destroyer on which Colonel Grove was being taken a prison er to Juan Fernandez Island stopped and the Colonel released. Demonstrations were organized in the streets of Santiago in support of this most recent revolt against the Davila

The Attitude of Foreign Imperialism
The attitude of the two most important imperialist powers directly nterested in Chile is significant, Great Britain is against the revolution as a whole and against both factions in it, particularly in view of Davila's pro-American orientation. The cruiser Durban, the flagship of the British South American squadron, has already been dispatched to "protect British nationals and interests. Washington, on the other hand, is officially being described as "calm' about the Chilean situation. It is REVOLT RISES AMONG friendly to the Davila faction. Am bassador Culbertson has declared himself "confident of his (Davila's) moderation" and of his "desire and ability to curb the extremists." That Wall Street will do everything in its foregone conclusion.

The Character of the Revolution In view of the way in which the phrases "Socialism" and "Communism" are being bandied about, not al together without motive, it is im portant to recognize that even the left "extreme" program of the Grove are on the march to Washington. | munist character at all, not to speak

of the pro-imperialistic policies of the Davila wing,. It is essentially a question of a bourgeois anti-imper-verman (Branch 11), a man more than verman (Branch 11), a man more than ialist revolution against the strangle- twenty-five years in the labor movenold of Wall Street and Great Britain. Its leadership is exclusively composed of the petty bourgeoisie and of the radical elements of the radical elem of the radical elements of the native stoneites. Now you, Comrade Olgin bourgeoisie. In the nature of the case, it has attracted the support of the shall I do? I am all confused." masses of the toiling people, including the city workers. This is the strength the speaker to explain why the Com-Valparaiso and Santiago was maintained by the army, the strike is spreading and growing more determined. The streets are filled with crowds of workers and lower middle crowds of the lower middl mocratic revolution, can be successful unless it is carried thru under the leadership of the proletariat supported by the masses of the peasan-

> NEW YORK CITY.—A wage-cut of about 15% for the 130,000 building trades workers of this city was accepted on June 15 by the building trades unions after a period of negotiations following a general strike. The original demand of the employers, acceded to by most of the union leaders, was for a 25%-30% wage-cut but the resistance of a group of or-ganizations, especially the Elevator Constructors Union and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union, forced a reduction in the size of the cut. These unions had continued the strike which took on the aspects of a lock-out, from May 2 until June 15. The new contract is to last until

The New Party Course In The W. C.

# OLGIN DEFENDS THE "NEW

A Report Of Two Meetings

Olgin's answers exposed the bank

ruptcy of the C.P. policy even more

against Lovestoneite leadership in the left wing struggle in the W.C.," he

said, "because they still call them-selves the 'Majority Group', because

to do with the W.C. situation Olgin

did not think it necessary to explain

had "perhaps made a mistake" in call-

ing it a bosses order. Again he "for

got" to mention that it was precisely

"a little late" and making "perhaps

and was then attacking in the most

Finally Olgin came to the main

point-the relations between the I

W.O. and the left wing in the W.C

its decision to split will mean the

splitting away of large masses, then we will take this question up." This

to all the W.C. members present.

In spite of the original promise, no

"Comrade Olgin answered all

progressive workers belong to the W.

C. or I. W. O.?" At this debate, Lif-

shitz succeeded in proving the harm-

fulness and danger of the official Com-

munist split policy and outlining a

constructive and militant course of

action for the left wing workers in

International Trade Union Federation

(Amsterdam International), publishes

detailed statistics on the world trade

union movement in the year 1928. We

borrow the following data on the va-

rious tendencies of world unionism.

The Social-Democratic Unions

tions: During the year 1928, the total

membership of the "free" trade unions

(i.e., controlled by the Social-democ

19,862,307 or by 484,859 (2.5%). Of

the four principal tendencies in the

trade union movement, the "free'

trade unions showed the greatest pro-

gress during the year. In Europe in

December 1928 the "free" trade union

tendency had a membership of 13,991,

1143. This figure represents an in-

crease of 396,684 (2.9%) over the

America was second with 5,548,794

organized in "free" trade unions, a total 168,722 (3%) larger than the 5,380,072 members listed in 1927. In

Asia, the membership of the "frce' trade unions decreased in 1928 from

230,584 to 227,685 that is, by 2899

(1.2%). A decrease took place also

in Africa, where the membership dropped from 122,333 to 30,885 repre-

senting a decrease of 91,448 (74.7%)

The Australian membership increased

from 50,000 to 55,800 or by 5,800

the "free" trade union movement was

represented was 56 on December 31,

1927 and increased by one in 1928. The

number of such countries in Europe

remained the same, namely 27; in

North and South America, the number decreased by one, to 15; in Austra-

lia, the number remained 2; in Asia,

it increased by one to 6; and in Afri-

The Red Trade Union Movement

The Red trade union movement

(affiliated to the R.I.L.U.) declined

considerably in 1928. On December 31, 1927, it comprised 13,670,462 members; at the end of 1928 the figure was 11,706,908, or 1,963,556 (14.3%) spaal-

ler. This was primarily the result of

the collapse of the Red trade union

place primarily in the Soviet trade

Asia was second in Red trade union

membership altho it had only 74,452

such members in 1928 compared with

2,805,000 at the end of 1927. This tre-

mendous decline resulted, as has been

ca by one to 7.

membership of 13,594,459 in

increased from 19,377,448 to

The "free" trade union organiza-

This

TENDENCIES IN WORLD UNIONISM

bitter and abusive manner!

than his speech had done.

New York City. A very significant discussion meet-WASHINGTON.—A warning that left wing in the Workmen's Circle was held on Tuesday, June 14. The meeting was first called by the Comthe resentment of the unemployed will rise to the point of "outbreak and explosion", was issued by Dr. of the Workmen's Circle." M. Olgin nist Party for years!" What this had bers of the Workmen's Circle were mittee for Unemployment Relief, in invited. There were to be questions He did, however, admit that the Par-Clothing Workers of America, there union policies and leadership which do has recently developed a revolt not serve the interests of the work-It was characteristic that the meet-

ing was run by a self-appointed chair-

man who was not even a member of

the W.C.! Of the 200 workers who crowded the hall, not more than 50 were members of the order, the others belonging to the International Workers Order or to Communist Party. The report of M. Olgin was very weak and unclear. He dealt with the general economic crisis, the reaction-ary leadership of the W.C., the recent convention, and the like. But he also mentioned, more than once the great necessity of organizing a left wing struggle in the W.C.-with what aim (whether to win or to split the organization) he did not openly say. But he did say: "I bring before you the I.W.O. (which was produced by a split of the W.C. and other mass fraternal societies.—Editor) as a model to show you the way! In all your

activities, keep your eyes on the Then came the questions. A ruling was made for three minutes for questions which, as the events showed aimed to stifle discussion. Brother Jaffee (Br. 396) asked: "Why don't you call upon us to split the W.C. One year you split so much, nex year a little less, and so on." (Branch 386) wanted to know why the Freiheit had acted in so shame fully antagonistic a manner to the progressive branches of the W.C., refusing to report their activities or even to accept their paid advertisenents. He also called attention to the questionable character of Olgin's appeal for the I.W.O. as superior to the W.C. because its rates were lower! But the most interesting of Daroshkin, representing the I.W.O. called upon the progressive members of the W.C. to split off from that organization and to join the I.W.O. What about this?" A similar ques-What about this?" A similar question as to relations of the I.W.O. and left wing in the W.C. was asked by E. Laebovitz of the Young Circle League. Brother Broder wanted

left wing already established and func tioning in the W.C. Before giving the floor to Olgin to answer the questions, the chairman utilized his opportunity to attack the existing and functioning left wing in the W. C. as "Lovestoneites," as "helping the burocrats," and in other equally serious ways.

to know what was the change of situ-

ation in the W.C. today as compared

with two years ago that then the C.P

forced thru a split and today Olgin

was speaking about "building up a

left wing." From the same angle Kliebard (Br. 656 )asked what rela-

tions Olgin proposed to have with the

# NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

1. REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

Instructor: WILL HERBERG

MONDAYS AT 8:30 P. M.

June 27—"Agrarianism, The Labor Movement And

1 1 1

Instructor: JAY LOVESTONE.

The overwhelming majority of the members of the Red trade unions were to be found in Europe where the membership increased from 10,788,117 to 11,582,764, or by 794,647 (7.3%). This increase took

rnion movement.

(11.6%).

Opposition"

**ADMISSION 25 CENTS** 

# With the VORKING

# ARE WORKING GIRLS TO LIVE?

to pay for necessities and have a lit-tle left over for "advancement," the Young Women's Christian Association was told at its national convention held last month. Are we to understand that a factory girl is made of different clay and can live on less? Or perhaps the Y.W.C.A. is too rethose who had warned against being spectable to deal with others than a mistake" whom Olgin had attacked white-collar slaves. But let us go on with the finding of one of the invest-

Miss Treva Garver of Sacramento, California, estimated on the basis of budgets of 317 office girls living in This question must be approached "dialectically," he said. "When the all sections of the country that a girl left wing becomes so powerful that vancement and 50c for sundries.

showed that the so-called "new turn" of the Party in the W.C. is \$22.50 a week to live decently, what only a new method of how to proceed with the same old policy of splits and factory and department store who ty (Opposition). does not even make ten dollars a disruption! This lesson became clear week. And at present we hear of girls discussion from the floor was allowed. To cap the climax comes the following report of this meeting in the Freiheit:

Miss Ruth Steinmetz of Germantown,

questions to the satisfaction of all "Wages which had reached a standmembers, except a few Lovestoneard of decency for girls," she said, ites who tried to demoralize the have been cut from 10% to 45%. meeting of several hundred Work-In some cases this was necessary. In men's Circle members, repeating others advantage was taken of the overstocked labor market to reduce the words of the Forward and the Day . . . After Comrade Olgin's costs unnecessarily. lecture there took place a discus-

On Sunday, June 12, there took have to do more than merely question place a debate in Branch 546, Middle the "justice of the situation." They Village, L. I., between Brother Da- will have to do something about it. roshkin, representing the International Workers Order, and Ben Lifshitz of Branch 34, W.C.. The subject of the debate was: "Shall the unions. They must learn that employers will always find it "necessary' to cut wages or to maintain them a the lowest possible level. They will have to think in terms of their own class interests. They can rest as-sured that their employers have been thinking of their own class interests

had 3612 at the end of 1928.

The number of countries having a

Red trade union movement remained

the same thruout 1928—29. of which

15 were in Europe, 8 in Americas,

in Asia, one in Australia and one ir

Religious Trade Unions

The total membership of the "reli

gious" trade union movement (affi-

liated to religious sects) decreased in

1928 from 2,149,069 to 2,120,562 or by

28,507 (1.3%). The European mem

bership fell from 2,101,922 to 2,094,212

the decrease being 7,710 (0.3%). In

America the membership was reduced

from 47,147 to 26,000 or by 21,147 (44.8%). At the end of 1927 there

were as yet no religious trade unions

in Asia but at the end of 1928 there

were 350 affiliated with such organ-

having religious trade unions rose in

1928 from 16 to 17, there being 13 in

Europe, 3 in America, and one in

Syndicalist Trade Unions

The combined membership of sys

dicalist trade unions increased in 1928

from 285,500 to 323,643, or by 38,143

(13.3%). This rise is only apparent

for it was due principally to the more

"free" trade union national cen

complete data available from the Po-

tral which reported no syndicalist

The membership of European syr

dicalist trade unions rose from 112,500

to 228,443 or by 115,943 (103%). In

membership decreased from 173,000 to

89,200 or by 83,800 (48.4%). For Asia

6,000 members were reported for 1928

while our data for 1927 list no mem

bers for that continent. Two countries in Africa have syndicalist trade

unions but their membership is no

known. In Australia there are no

The number of countries with

syndicalist trade union movemen

rose in 1928 from 15 to 25 of which 13 were in Europe, 9 in the Amer

ican, 2 in Africa and one in Asia. The

increase was due here also chiefly to

Trade unions which did not belon

to any of the principal tendencies or

whose tendency was undetermined had, at the end of 1928, a total mem-

bership of 10,177,107 as compared with

The total membership of all trade

unions at the end of 1928 amounted

to 44,190,525 as compared with 46,-

187,060 at the end of the previous

The membership of the four main

10,704,501 at the end of 1927.

syndicalist organizations.

more complete data.

membership of 120,000 for 1928.

America, on the other hand,

izations.

The number of countries in which membership in 1927 but reported a

said above, from the collapse of the tendencies according to these statist-

Red trade unions in China. In Amer- ics formed the following percentage

The number of countries

### A "business" girl requires a minimum weekly wage of \$22.50 if she is VOITTH OPPOSITION YOUTH OPPOSITION

Berlin, Germany. A very successful National Functionaries Conference of the Young Communist League of Germany (Opposition) was held recently in Berlin. All districts except one were represented. The order of business consisted of

three points: (1) the results of the discussion on centrism; (2) the political situation; and (3) the situation and the tasks of the districts.

Under the first point of the order of business a report was made of requires: \$10.60 for room, board and the vigorous discussion that had takrequires: \$10.00 for room, board and carfare; \$4.60 for clothing; \$2.25 for insurance and savings; \$4.15 for advancement and 50c for sundries If a "business" girl must have ers party and the Socialist Working Youth. The conference stood unanimously for the position of the Nacan be said of the working girl in tional Council of the Communist Par-

This was followed by a discussion of the position of the working youth earning \$2 or \$3 a week in Lawrence and in some towns in Connecticut! in Germany and of the condition of the official Young Communist League. At the very center of dispersion of the condition o problem for business girls, reported cussion stood the newest "new turn" of the Y.C.L., especially on the question of building youth united fronts. The conference confirmed the general course followed by the national leadership of the Youth Opposition and concretized it for the future.

A broad discussion also took place on the so-called "voluntary labor service", a new scheme of the German bourgeoisie to reduce the social bene-"Business girls are questioning the fits of the unemployed and to mobil-justice of the situation." They will lize the youth for what really amounts to forced labor.

The conference proved extremely productive for the work of the German Youth Opposition.

# FASCIST TROOPS LEGALIZED

(Continued from Page 1) sing working class opinion, the new decree provides that a meeting can be dispersed and a newspaper suspended for "the defamation of any religious community, its institutions or customs." This practically prohibits any real anti-clerical, agnostic or atheist propaganda. Thus is con-

pen Cabinet had issued a decree cuting down the already miserable dole of the unemployed by 20%, thus diminishing it to about \$10 a month, on which millions of families have to subsist. The unemployment benefits are now reduced to the poor relief

rates of the municipalities! At the same time a special unemployment tax ranging from 1.5% to 5.5% was ordered, not upon the rich but "upon all those gainfully employed," the bulk of which are the miserably underpaid workers and starving poor farmers and small mer-Everything chants and artisans. against the workers! in favor of the big landowners and trust-capital! These seem to be the guiding slogans of the von Papen government which, in the few weeks of its existence, has already gone far beyond even the notorious Bruening regime!

The Nazis are openly hailing the von Papen Cabinet as a transition to complete Fascist rule. The Socialdemocratic party sharply condemned the relegalization of the Hitler aramy as "an act of madness." But the So cial-democratic leaders "forget" to point out that it was precisely the support of the Social-democratic party which elected von Hindenburg as Reichs-President and put him in a position where he could carry thru the coup d'etat and elevate the Junker-militarist clique into power!

### Two Communist Measures BERLIN.-A Communist bill pro-

posing the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations was passed on June 15 when it won the upport of the Communist and Nazi fractions, all others voting against. A Communist proposal urging the Reich to cease all payments under the Young and Dawes plans was defeated at the same time, the Nazis abstaining from voting, the others voting against.

## DE VALERA FOR IRISH REPUBLIC

(Continued from page 1) fused by Mr. Thomas.

The attitude of the Tory-"National" government for whom Thomas spoke was endorsed by Lloyd George. The Laborites, on the other hand, to the great surprise of everybody, supported the Free State case on annuities but were mon-committal on the question of an Irish Republic.

union movement in the years 1927 (1928), respectively: "free' trade unions 45% (42%); Red unions (mostly in the U.S.S.R.) 26.5%, (29.6%); religious" unions 4.8% (4.6%); syn dicalist unions 0.7% (0.6%); the reica, which occupies third place, the of the membership of the world trade maining unions 23% (23.29')

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1 1 1

3. WHICH PROGRAM FOR REVOLUTIONISTS?

Instructor: HERBERT ZAM.

MONDAYS AT 7:00 P. M.

June 27—"Platform Of The International Communist

## Tendencies in American Socialism

# The Socialist Party Convention

by Alex Bail

(Continued from Page 1) pending upon the peculiar conditions in each country, such as the depth of the crisis, the degree of organization of the workers, the size and influence of the Socialist parties and the degree of political maturity of the working class.

The Socialist party of America is weak numerically and in influence It is still weaker in proletarian composition. The bulk of the membership of the Socialist party comes from the petty bourgeoisie. The rest is made up of better paid workers and students. It is therefore, not surprising that the fermentation in the Socialist party has assumed the form of two simultaneously developing tendencies of opposition, which lately fused into one. The first is the "Militants", consisting of workers and student youth. The second is the extreme right, the Thomas group, whose basis of support is the middle class element. The use by this group of petty bourgeois radical phrases has caused considerable confusion among the politically immature "Militants."

### PROGRAM OF THE GROUPS The Hillquit Group

Hillquit and the group around him (the "old guard"), known in the S. P. as the "Marxists" or "International Socialists". are the American expression of international Social-democra-They persist in using the form and terminology of Marxism, reject-ing of course, its content—revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Their orientation is towards the trade union burocracy and they are supporters of the various class-collaboration schemes. As a result of the struggle against the oppositions, this group emphasizes the necessity of maintaining the S. P. as an independent political factor and tends to scoff at the liberal and reformist organizations (L. I. D., City Affairs Committee) in which the Thomas group has considerable support. Within the S. P. this group is supported by the older sections of the membership.

### The Thomas Group

The Thomas group has never presented a program of its own and must be judged by the writings of its spokesman—Norman Thomas. It con-sists of a block of distinct elements: (1.) The element around the City Affairs Committee consisting of petty bourgeois reformers who are interested in good, clean, efficient municipal government; (2.) The Milwaukee group headed by Mayor Hoan, which is realizing "socialism in our day" by building bigger and better uniforms for the "city's finest"; (3.) The League for Industrial Democracy, consisting of students and intellectuals, who are busy drafting plans for American capitalism; (4.) Certain Western "American" elements, who represent a vague Populist sentiment. Many of these elements would welcome and join a middle class or third party.

The Thomas group is not opposed to the liquidation of the S. P. but insists it must be into a big labor or third party. On the trade union question it has a liberal attitude of tolerance to all opinions. It support-ed Hillquit against the "Militants" one year ago. Even at the last convention it made but a half-hearted fight for the Hapgood resolution. This resolution was defeated despite the majority which Thomas had at the convention. In its attitude on municipal politics, it differs in no way from the City Affairs Committee. It stands four-square for democracy in United States to this Nipponese imthe abstract, refusing to see the class character of capitalist democracy. It is strongly opposed to confiscation as a means of socializing industry. burdensome taxation. A terrific rise ther disintegration of the middle in taxes throughout the bourgeois classes throut the world. It will nomination for presidency if the proposal for confiscation was carried. Instead, Thomas proposed the "very

titude towards Russia because "an present system. The worse the econ- in a measure still, a model village, Before they shovel the dirt over my interesting experiment in planned omic crisis, the weaker the economic put up by the Russell Sage Foundaeconomy is proceeding" (the results order; the weaker the economic order tion. Houses which but yesterday of which we will not know for twenty the more government will be called were beautiful homes of upper midyears, says Thomas!) and because upon to play a stabilizing role. Hence, dle class families are now boarded up great masses of people are interested in Russia. The counter-revolutionary the government. Desperate efforts will "To Let." A veritable deserted vil-Menshevicks, however, must be released from the jails and given all lib- cut down the budget for schools, hoserties, to organize the counter-revolution, we presume.

On international questions Mr. Thomas believes in the U.S.A. as an agency of peace (in China) and is decline. Hence, there must be a con- to 1927 there was a yearly decline of certain that the League of Nations certain that the League of Nations can be made "a more effective agency of internationalism"!

ing war illegal!"

## The Militants

It is difficult today to say what the "Militants" stand for because of their constantly changing attitude on such vital matters as the Soviet

group. They fought against the Hill-tions of Mr. Thomas, on the other, quit group policy of integrating the the "Militants" became horrified at Socialist party with the trade union their own boldness. There began a burocracy and proposed in their reso-period of retreat, on all questions, lution that the S. P. members in the which finally landed them in the trade unions are to

"oppose non-partisan political action and favor independent political action, combat the philosophy of the identity of fundamental interests of labor and capital, take the lead in organization work and advance industrial unionism as the only form of organization for the workers able to cope with trustified

Also on the Soviet Union, the "Militants" spoke up clearly. In a detailed resolution on Russia, they maintained, among other things, that (1) the Soviet government is a workers government; (2) that the Soviet
Union is building Socialism; (3) that
what is taking place in Russia is consistent with Socialist philosophy and
with Marxism; (4) That the antiConstitution of the mildest municipal reformers, since all these crusaders insist they are fighting counter-revolutionary role.

lenged not only the Hillquit group fare."
and the Thomas group, whose efforts

At amend the resolution they defeated, but also the fathers of the Second International, who had maintain-

site viewpoint. But this position was not persisted in. Under the bitter attacks of Hillquit, Oneal and Lee on the one hand threatening them with expulsion and warning that their road leads to Communism, and the subtle and pro-bably more effective fatherly admoni-

camp of Thomas.

One or two examples will suffice to prove the case. At the city convention of the Socialist party in May of 1931, only six months after the previous resolutions had been pro-posed, we find the "Militants" supform which says in part:

"Corruption and inefficiency are however, not our sole or principal grievance against the administration.
We are even more concerned about And this is a "Socialist"? its total failure as an agency of social

Soviet Mensheviks are playing a against this failure as an agency of social welfare. One can not fight so-It is clear from the above quota- cial-reformism by accepting the premtions that there existed considerable ise that capitalist government, which clarity on these basic questions. Es- oppresses and crushes the working pecially in the last two points on the masses, can be anything but "a total Russian question the "Militants" chalfailure as an agency of social wel-

the S. P. the "Militants" retreated stitutional right. also on the Russian question. We find ed, and still do, a diametrically oppoliution on Russia. The city conventhe following paragraph in the reso

> "insistently urges upon the govern ment that a greater measure of political democracy be granted to the Russian workers in line with the spirit of Socialist philosophy."
> (Concluded in the next issue)

Consequences Of The World Crisis

# THE CRISIS AND STATE-CAPITALISM

by Jay Lovestone

war had certain major political con-Mayor Hoan, alism in our rand better phenomena to develop. This comfortable finest"; (3.)

The Milwau Mayor Hoan, alism in all sequences. It took some time for these phenomena to develop. This dency towards state capitalism will become very much more marked. State capitalism will grow rapidly and extensively in most of the countries. South of Cape Hatteras if he engaged himself for a voyage which was to terminate "North of Cape Hatteras if he engaged himself for a voyage which was crisis sharply precipitated and speeded up their development. Likewise, the war had certain economic consecution of the Spandard properties. The Mayor Hoan, alien and the Communist Party of Spain to terminate "North of Cape Hatteras if he engaged himself for a voyage which was crisis sharply precipitated and speeded and the Communist Party of Spain to terminate "North of Cape Hatteras" unless he himself is willing to terminate "State capitalism will become very much more marked. State capitalism will grow rapidly and extensively in most of the countries. Should be be fired against his will, he capitalism and extensively in most of the countries. omic phenomena. For instance, the reparation and debts question would have become an acute problem anyway. The crisis merely advanced the date of acuteness and increased the aration and war debt payments. The mony in the Pacific. The crisis speeded up the Japanese efforts to establish such hegemony. Let no one connotes have changed the situation any. A Chinese publicist has correctly es- tion Finance Corporation. timated these notes historically when perialist hegemony.

This crisis will bring on still more world is coming. For the individual bring a further pauperization of the capitalist the burden will become more middle classes. The middle class will and more something like this: The lose still more of its economic base practical" idea of slowly buying back the industries from the bosses (unemployed workers, please take note!). less money he makes the more taxes the will have to pay, at least relatively, which is decisive. He may rant over this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this; he may call it crazy; but after will find vacant store after vacant this crazy less money he makes the more taxes If you ride along the swellest shop The Thomas group has a liberal at- all lunacy is an organic feature of the store. Go to Forest Hills, once, and be made to reduce social services, to lage of 1932. pitals, parks. Such institutions cost the cities are suffering from the money. The the individual tax bur-crisis. The great rural population den will rise, the total amount col- the great mass of farmers is, likelected by the government in taxes will wise, being expropriated. From 1920 of expenses. The bourgeoisie consid- farms. Then many farmers were tinues unabated and, in some respects, er items like schools, hospitals, li- being drawn into industry, were lurbraries and playgrounds as luxuries, ed to the factories by "high wages"

credit structure. Of course, the average worker "I should worry: I don't pay an in- to pay his taxes, let alone feed his of New York, in December 1930, the In the eighteen year period 1912 to mortgages.

We publish below the fourth of a legitimate expenses in the cost of series of articles by Jay Lovestone production. Consequently, this inon the "Social and Economic Consecuration on electric light quences of the World Crisis."—Editor and power is paid for with the money you have to hand over to the collec-This crisis has brought to a head, has precipitated and hastened the maturing of the economic and political consequences of the World War. The consequences 1932).

and extensively in most of the counquences. This crisis sharply precipitries. Let me stress, however, that tated the development of these econin different countries state capitalin different countries state capitalism will assume different forms. Some people think of state capitalism merely in the pattern of Bismarck's state enterprises in Germany. The Socialist parties of the world even depth of the complications of rep- look upon such state capitalist enterprises as the post office department, same may be said in regard to the the jails and the police department, tendency for Japan to assume hege- as examples of state socialism. In a country like the United States, state capitalism will assume specific American forms. In a sense, state charity clude for a moment that Stimson's institution, charity institutions for the its power when and where violations big bankers. Witness the Reconstructhe Federal Farm Board. Note the he spoke of them as having the tail increasing gifts, subsidies and bonus of a rat the head of a dragon. America's recent concentration of her fleet States government to railroads, indus in the Pacific doesn't disprove the trial corporations and finance insti establishment of Japan's hegemony in tutions. This form of bourgeois econthe Pacific but merely emphasizes it omy has been picturesquely but acand hastens the open challenge by the curately named by some German economists as "Liebesgabenwirtschaft"

(economy of love-gifts). The crisis will bring about a fur

But not only the middle classes in cits for the government and thus the unemployed city workers to the consequences. Many a farmer doesn't

## Socialist Party and Trade Unions

What the Socialist party trade union policy really means in prac-tise is shown by the statement of David Dubinsky, new Socialist president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, published in the New York American of June 20,

"My work will be guided by the er regards the manufacturers as our enemies. We give our utmost cooperation and frown on any effort to cheat the bosses.'

Is this not the very crudest negaporting a resolution on municipal re- tion of the whole idea of the class struggle? Is this not the most shameess class-collaboration? Could even Matthew Woll, Acting-President of the National Civic Federation, find

### ATTENTION! Seamen, Harbor Workers!

We are glad to publish the following communication received from N. J. McKenna, agent of the Seamen's and Harbor Workers Club.-Editor.

Altho a seaman has the right to "pay-off" ship in any port of the United States, it does seem that there are yet many seafarers unacquainted At the June 1932 city convention of with this long since established con-

> When a seaman signs "articles-ofagreement" for a voyage, say, from New York to Gulf Ports, and a clause s inserted in the terms of agreement to the effect that the voyage shall terminate "North of Cape Hatteras," some seamen erroneously believe that they, if they so desire, cannot "pay-off" ship. Nothing could be more removed from the truth.

> As said before, a seaman can "pay off" anywhere in the "Home Trade, i. e., inter-state or coastwise. All he need do is to give reasonable "notice of time" which is generally conceded be within 24 hours of entering or departing from port. In such cases, however, a seaman cannot claim trans portation expense to what is termed, in nautical vernacular, "the original port," which would, in the example quoted above, be the Port of New

The reason the clause "voyage to terminate North of Cape Hatteras" is inserted is to enable the ship-owner to "lay the crew off" when she re- pleted by the establishment of a (returns North, thereby saving the extors for every kilowatt hour, for pense of keeping the crew until the

No seaman can be fired from a ship difficult struggles the Communist South of Cape Hatteras if he encan claim an extra "month's wage" and transportation expense to a destination desired by him "North of Cape Hatteras." This is why so many ships officers-not all-endeavor to force the seaman to voluntarily quit, so that the expense here mentioned might be saved.

It has come to the notice of the Seamen's and Harbor Workers Club that there has been too many violations of this "constitutional right" of late years, and the Club intends to cional de Trabajo). Before the revoseek redress by every means within lution the Communist Party in Spain occur.

The Club membership, in fact all seafarers, are requested to draw the attention of the Club Port Executive o any violation of the part of the Vavigation Law.

Address all communications to the Club Secretary, Seamen's and Harbor Workers Club, 31 South Street, New York, N. Y.

At A Peasant's Funeral (From a Lettish Folk Piece) Dearly beloved in Christ Jesus, What's a man's life?

Sour as a pickle Brief as a belch; This is the life of a man. Amen!"

"Nu, Holy Father, that all you have to say to the folks

In that black hole there? Such a short funeral sermon!"

"Let my pants-leg go, widow! What more do you expect for half a a rouble?" -Adapted by Fred R. Miller. (Reprinted from Rebel Poet)

Since Hoover favors vacations without pay, it's up to us to give him one.

even intensified during the crisis. The big banking corporations, the big On the question of war Mr. Thomas is strongly in favor of a "proposed amendment to the constitution makphysicians are having a harder time avoid additional difficulties for the farms are efforts of desperation collecting their bills from those who which will have no serious economic used to be able to pay high fees and are being called with decreasing fremight react superficially and say: have an income today enabling him quency by the poorer workers whose incomes has shrunk to nothing or to come tax anyway." In the last re- family. Farm after farm is falling almost nothing in the unemployment sort, however, a great deal of the into the hands of the banks: victims crisis. The collapse of the building Union and the trade-union question. | Sold, however, a great user of the backs of of foreclosures because the farmers boom has put many architect on the At the city convention of the S.P. the workers. Here's a concrete case. are unable to meet payments on their bread line and many an engineer next to him on the coffee and sandwich "Militants" first appeared as an organized faction. They came forward er companies rose 1450%. We need and educated sections of the middle without white collars teachers, all as a distinct group fighting the Hill-quit group as well as the Thomas of these public utilities to convince yers, architects are being declassed, day lengthening the unemployment group. They spoke and voted against ourselves, if any of us doubt, that are being shorn of their privileges by and free food lines in the big industree municipal politics of the Thomas taxes are reckoned in the books as the rationalization process which contrial centers.

## The Story of Fascism in Italy

# Background of Italian Fascism

by Alfa

Fascism forms the most outstand-ing feature of contemporary world bers. It emerged from the 1890's un-ist policies of the West European Soprinciple that everything we do to politics as well as the bitterest and help our employers will help im- most irreconcilable enemy of the in- wing whose leader was Filippo Tura- the party adopted a pacifist position, measurably in improving the work-ternational labor movement. A clear ers standards. Our union no long-understanding of the social roots, decoalition experiments (support of Italy's entrance into the war. Of velopment, forms, and manifestations of Fascism is therefore a prerequisite for any effective revolutionary strategy in the present period. Now altho Fascism does not simply repeat itself in its appearance in various countries (German Fascism is no mere carbon-copy of Italian Fascism!), yet there is a sufficiently common fundamental base to repay comparative study. For this reason we are beginning the publication of a series of articles sketching the evolution of Italian Fascism, to be followed by a similar series dealing with Germany.—Editor.

Pre-war Italy was economically quite backward. Only in the North was there any industry worth men tioning. The country was largely agricultural and agrarian relations ranged all the way from the tremendous estates of the large landowners to the tiny holdings of the poor peas ants. The conditions of the peasants and workers were very bad: extreme exploitation, low wages and long hours, practically no measures for the stances. The Italian government protection of labor. As a consequence broke the Triple Alliance, which was of this and of the relative ex- primarily aimed against France but

not strong. In 1914 the trade unions side of the Entente. As a result the embraced about 320,000 members. Italian working class and the So-Among the workers the influence of cialist party were not overwhelmed the anarchists and syndicalists was by the war hysteria right off but had relatively great. The Socialist partite opportunity to see the disastrous

oft-repeated fact that the revolution

in this country has not been com-

actionary) bourgeois-democratic gov

movement is slowly being formed

dominated a good section of the Span-

ish workers as well as the trade union

federation under reformist leadership,

the General Labor Union (Union Gen-

eral de Trabajo). An equally im-

portant section of the workers, espe-

cially in the industrial region of Cata-lonia and in its capital, Barcelona,

have stood and stand today under the

influence and leadership of the an-

archo-syndicalists whose trade union

center is called the National Federa

tion of Labor (Confederacion Na

was very weak, disrupted and para-

lyzed by inner conflicts, several Trot-

skyist splits, incompetent leadership

The revolutionary transformation

the overthrow of the monarchy and

the consequent struggles of the awak-

ening Spanish people, greatly stimu-lated the process of the clarification

of the labor movement and of its poli-

tical groupings. Thereby was also

sharpened the crisis in the Communist

movement rooting in the contradic-

tion between the conditions and needs

and mechanical directives of the Com-

munist International. A split took

place and today there are two Com-

nunist Parties: a small sect adhering

to the Comintern and an organiza-

tion, until recently known as the Ca-

its center in Barcelona and extending

nfluence thruout Catalonia and in

other parts of Spain. A few weeks

ago, the Catalonian Federation was

transformed into an organization em-

bracing the entire country in its scope

under the name of the Iberian Com-

The Iberian Communist Federation

(general secretary: J. Maurin) has a membership of over 10,000. It has a

weekly central organ, La Batalla, with

a considerable circulation and several

Around the Iberian Communis

Federation has been developed a large

mass organization, the Workers and

Peasants Block (Bloque Obrero

Campesino), which has extensive in

fluence among the masses. In recent

months this organization has grown

The political opponents of the I.C

F. in the labor movement are the So

cial-democrats, the anarcho-syndical

ists, some petty bourgeois dema-gogues, the official Comintern Party

and several Trotskyist groups, but

The Social-democracy, today

these opponents are steadily losing

participating in the government, i

utilizing all means at the disposal of

the state to suppress the militant la-

bor movement. The reformist trade

union federation counts about 800,000

members. Its general secretary, Lar

lgo Caballero, is one of the three So-

munist Federation (Federacion Com-

unista Iberica).

other local papers.

with special rapidity.

ground.

talonian Communist Federation, with

and an ultra-left course.

In The World Communist Movement

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

A Letter From Barcelona

Barcelona, Spain. | cial-democratic members of the gov-Recent events in Spain confirm the crument, as Minister of Labor. But

the Zanardelli-Giolitti government). course, this attitude had its shadings, Because of the relative weakness of and in the leadership of the party, the bourgeoisie and of racial tradi- pacifism was effectively challenged tions of the petty bourgeoisie, the by a really revolutionary outlook on Socialist party was able to play a greater political role than its actual strength would seem to have war
October revolutions in Russia, evolutions of the revolutions of the revoluti ranted. The party was well on its ed great enthusiasm among the Ital-way to complete opportunist demor-ian workers. It helped to push forresistance of the overwhelming majority of the party membership and followers. The extreme right wing, under the leadership of Bissolati, surrendered to imperialist "Socialism" and was expelled. The left wing seized control of the party. Benito Mussolini, a left winger with syndicalist

The War and After

When the war came the Socialist party was much favored by circumcess population, mass emigration (especially to the United States) was the rule before the war.

at the same time the close connections between Italian and German bank and industrial capital hindered, The labor movement in Italy was at first, any open intervention on the

the protound economic crisis and the

rapidly growing experiences of strug-

gle are beginning to tear the masses

of the workers away fro mthe Social-

In Spain anarcho-syndicalism has

deep roots. Its trade union federa-

tion also numbers about 800,000, large-

y in Catalonia. The false policies of

the syndicalists have brought serious defeats to these unions. The C.N.T.

(anarcho-syndicalist trade union fed-

field of activity of the Iberian Com-

munist Federation, first, because it too

is strongest in Catalonia and second-

ly, because in the C.N.T. are to be

found large numbers of revolutionary

workers. The syndicalists are already

beginning to persecute the Commu-

nists in the unions, quite in the style

A large section of the workers still

emain under the influence of the pet-

y bourgeois democratic parties and

their demagogy. Here the Communists face a difficult situation and

The official section of the Comin-

tern numbers about 3,000 members

and is again in deep crisis. A strong

opposition to the leadership is grow-

ing up among the membership, an

course of the Party as well as against

the method of installing leaderships

from the top, that is, by the Comin-

tern without consulting the Party

The E.C.C.I. is trying to suppress the

crisis thru fraudulent "self-criticisms'

and has just sent a long open letter to

letter which, by the way, the C.P.

leaders tried to suppress for many weeks. The Trotskyites are very

weak numerically and in influence;

In the hard battles that are being

fought daily in Spain, the Comintern

Party is as good as absent. It has

been unable to understand the charac-

ter of our revolution. In the early

days of the proclamation of the bour-

geois republic it wanted to convert by

magic the bourgeois-democratic revo-

emarks there will appear in the next

issue a thoro political analysis of the

various tendencies in the Spanish

The Law

Communist movement.-Editor.

The Law is like a fishing net,

For both have meshes dark

But seldom hold the Shark.

Which serve to catch the little fish

-Gaston Burridge in The Rebel Poet.

they do not number over 300.

socialist revolution!

forms the most important

democratic party.

of the reformists.

great tasks.

of struggle in Spain and the ultra-left the Party branding its weaknesss-a

alization when a sharp turn came as ward in the labor movement a new gena reaction to the Italo-Turkish (Tri- eration of young revolutionary leadpoli) War in 1912. This brazenly im- ers who were to become of decisive perialistic robber war met with the importance later on. Mussolini's Nationalist Beginnings Opposition to the war was Benito Mussolini's first attitude and he remained with the radical wing of the party. But in October 1914 he made a complete right-about-face and betendencies, became editor-in-chief of came a violent champion of interven-

tion. His exclusion from the Social-ist party followed.

On November 15, 1914 he issued the first number of Il Popolo d'Italia. It was an open secret that this paper was heavily subsidized by the French General Staff and by interventionist sections of the Italian bour-geoisie. The following programmatic declaration was contained in the first

"To stand aside from the war means to work for reaction and not for social revolution. The neutrality propaganda of the Socialists is anti-revolutionary. Is not our call to war revolutionary! Many rebellious spirits will gather around me because my attitude coincides with the national and international interests of the proletariat."

This line of argument resembles very greatly the views of the German extreme chauvinist-Socialists during the war. It recalls Paul Lensch's contemporaneous propaganda for the "revolutionary war against England, the despot of the world market." In general, Mussolini has never been an reformist, petty bourgeois-radical, and even bourgeois-liberal sources.

tire dynastic politics of the House of Savoy, with the aim of striking militarism to its very heart, with the aim of opening the way for all political

Italy was the country among the victorious powers in which revolution came first. The chaos in the postwar world economic system had the most serious consequences for it. During the war there was created an extensive heavy industry for which now there were lacking both sources of raw material (iron, coal) and markets. Foreign trade declined sharply and the door was closed to mass emigration thru the American ban on im. migration. The long drawn out crisis and the monetary collapse had disastrous consequences for the workers, the peasants and the city petty bouropposition protesting against the

gevisie. noticeably. Its anti-war attitude had greatly strengthened the labor movetrade unions increased their membership to two million; the Socialist party jumped to 200,000. The workers were anxious to fight; there took place numerous strikes, even a num-

The petty bourgeoisie stood in strong opposition to the working class. It blamed the consequences of the war and of the post-war crisis on the "bolshevism" of the labor movement; it attributed the disappointment of the "national aspirations" of Italy thru the Versailles Treaty to the opposition of labor to the war. At the same time the Socialist party alienated the peasantry because it allowed lution into a socialist revolution. Then the impression to become current that it retreated altogether too far. In the Socialists wanted to "confiscate"

The position of the Iberian Com- to the left. It recognized the Comnunist Federation is: We stand be- munist International; but its course fore a democratic revolution, partly was insufficiently revolutionary and already in it. But the bourgeoisie is it still maintained in positions of inneither willing nor able to carry thru fluence the old reformist leaders. Under such circumstances a split was this revolution. It can only be caricd thru under the leadership of the linevitable; it came in December 1920 working class and thru its organiza- over the acceptance of the "21 points" ions of struggle. At the head of the (the conditions laid down by the Secpeasantry, it must carry thru the bour- ond Congress of the Communist Ingeois revolution, which the bourgeoi- ternational for the admission of parsie is trying to suppress, and then the ties). The majority refused to remove and to expel the reformist leaders and so the minority left and, in January 1921, formed the Communist Supplementing the above general

Weakness and Revolt

In the meantime the bourgeoisie continued to pursue a weak and impotent policy. The Giolitti, Nitti, Facta and Bonomi cabinets tried to evade all difficulties and responsibiliies. They showed themselves opportunists without principles or ideas who hoped against hope that every-thing would be set to rights by itself. Concessions were made on all sides, to

(Continued on Page 4)

original thinker; he picks his ideas from all sorts of places, from revolutionary, nationalistic, syndicalistic, In November 1914, too Mussolini organized the Fasci d'Azione Interventisti (League of Action for Intervention). In the statutes of this organization are found the following "In the war and in the period imme diately following we see a broad field of activity for the realization of the revolutionary ideals; we do not therefore want to lose the chance of a common movement. The Fasci want to create a situation for Italy to enter the war with the aim of abolishing the en-

and economic demands?

The class struggle sharpened very ment internally and externally. The ber of general strikes.

general, it is always too early or too late, too fast or too slow—never right!

the Socialist party swund the socialist pa The Socialist party swung rapidly

| Party of Italy.

# Workers Age

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## THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

MORE than one striking lesson in the practical meaning of American "democracy" springs from the Republican National Convention just concluded in Chicago. Even the hardened capitalist press is forced to comment sardonically upon the spectacle of hundreds of men, coming together to get drunk and have a high time generally, under pretense of "framing" a platform and "selecting" a ticket really framed and selected, as everyone knows, in some smoke-filled hotel room by cliques of politicians who are themselves the agents of powerful capitalist groups and interests. The Chicago farce was even more tawdry than usual for the strings were totally undisguised and no attempt was made to impart any lifelike appearance to the movements of the marionettes!

A platform was adopted at Chicago which can quite justly claim to express the political ideas and ideals of the candidate who is to stand upon it, Herbert Hoover, the ex-slave trader, and of its sponsor, Ogden Mills, the millionaire Secretary of the Treasury. It is a platform that not only justifies the unrelieved reaction of the Hoover Administration in the past but actually pledges it for the future! It is a platform that openly champions the murderous interests of trust capital and the big banks and just as openly turns a disdainful shoulder to the mounting suffering of the scores of millions of workers, farmers and lower middle class people of this country. It is the program of capitalist reaction triumphant and militant!

The complete breakdown of the much vaunted economic system of capitalism, which even the blind may see as the outstanding fact of the world crisis, does not exist for the drafters of the Republican platform for whom, as for that self-advertised "liberal", Franklin D. Roosevelt, the present economic and social system is "everlasting". The acute misery of the masses of the people, reflecting the bankruptcy of this system, is treated in a spirit of incredible cynicism. Hoover's entire policy of transfering the burdens of the crisis onto the shoulders of the poor, all his measures of "relieving" the big banking and industrial interests, while recommending to the jobless worker and the starving farmer the beauties of "self-help" and "rugged individualism", are explicitly endorsed. The Hoover-Green "no-strike" pact of 1929, which has crippled the labor move- of split. ment and paralyzed the ordinary methods of defense against the wave of brutal wage-cuts, is hailed with the gleeful conclusion that "there have home fewer strikes and less social disturbance than during any similar and Fascism, imminence of the danbeen fewer strikes and less social disturbance than during any similar and Fascism, imminence of the danperiod of hard times." The poisonous company union is openly sponsored ger of war, in the face of the mountin the plank providing for "collective bargaining . . . without the interferin the plank providing for "collective bargaining . . . without the interfer-ence of anyone" (that is, of the "outside" union representatives). Even which has been split for the last three from such a situation there has emthe most modest plan of Federal unemployment relief or insurance is re- years, stands today more impotent jected; indeed the platform makes the advocacy of such plans a basis for among the masses falling fast, its confalse method of leadership, the reassault against the Democrats. "The Republican party . . . is opposed to the Federal government entering into . . . direct relief for the individ- broken, its own sections demoralized, cal transference of Soviet Party strug-

The impoverished farmer, whose economic position has been deteriorating since the war at an accelerated pace, is told that "the position of agriculture was gradually improved" under Republican rule and is urged astrophical "lefeats of the official Comto recognize the virtues of the Federal Farm Board, that useful agency of market speculators and grain gamblers. Together with the industrial worker and poor city dweller generally, he is called upon to cheer the robber tariff which receives the special blessing of the Republican saints.

But surely unscaled heights of brazen cynicism are reached in the sections dealing with "Conditions in the Pacific" and "Latin America." The imperialist aggressions of Wall Street are wholeheartedly endorsed and pictured as the missionary ventures of the Angel of Peace. The phrase: "We have aided Nicaragua in the solution of her troubles . . . . " makes all comment unnecessary!

The convention that drove out the mixed delegation from South ternational action by purely formal calendar campaigns." The leading Carolina, the convention that nominated Herbert Hoover, the champion of "lily-white" politics, did not hesitate to declare that "for seventy years the Republican party has been the friend of the Negro." In the section thus failed to give correct leadership on "Labor" it took its stand against peonage. Elsewhere it announced that to the Communist International in "the Republican party is the party of the Constitution." So debased has this world-shaking crisis and in these American life become that these words were heard, repeated and printed with perfect equanimity. Is it possible that no one arose to ask: What about the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution? What has happened to them under an almost uninterrupted ated to drive millions of reformist series of Republican administrations? What has happened to them pre-1 workers to the left, the tactical and movement as essentially incurable on cisely under the Hoover Administration?

But to what advantage is it to proceed? Those who drafted the platform have themselves made no serious effort, aside from a few well-worn phrases, to disguise its thoroly reactionary and capitalist class character. Apparently they rely too much upon the powerful support of big capital and upon the notorious efficacy of the well-oiled political machine to worry about the finer forms of demagogy at which the Democrats are such adepts. It is not difficult for any worker, farmer or even member of the lower middle classes, who listens to what it has to say of itself, to realize that the Republican party is his bitter enemy, is the bitter enemy of all his hopes and aspirations. But the Democratic party is a pea out of the same pod. With a more clever turn of phrase, with a concession here and there to popular demand, with a greater play of demagogy, the Democratic platform will defend the same system and champion the same interests as does the Republican. It will have nothing more to offer to the masses than the same starvation, the same despair, the same misery . . . .

Only a party of the workers and farmers themselves, only a party based on their organizations and defending their immediate interests, can hold out any hope to the downtrodden and exploited. Such a party the Communists and all progressive elements in the labor movement must fight for and build. The workers and farmers must break with the parties of capital and build up a powerful party of their own.

In the present elections, the only party openly confronting the two capitalist organizations with an uncompromising class program of the workers and farmers is the Communist Party For this reason all those who want to vote against misery and starvation, against unemployment and wage-cuts, against war, imperialism, racial oppression and discrimination, and against the system that breeds all of these horrors, must **VOTE COMMUNIST!** 

Vote for Foster and Ford!

## The Pre-Conference Discussion

In connection with the Pre-Con- group to the coming International Communist Party, all readers of the ference Discussion before the national Conference of the Communist Oppo- WORKERS AGE are urged to parconference of the Communist Party sition. (Majority Group) Labor Day week end, September 3, 4 and 5, we are publishing below the resolution adopt-

We again call attention that from ed by the Buro of the National Country, the WORKERS AGE will devote a movement in this country, the policy

ticipate in this discussion. The prob-lems of the international Communis and Communist Opposition movenow on until the national conference ments, the situation and tasks of the cil of the C.P.-Majority Group, after a most thoro discussion, as the basis of instructions for the delegate of our Majority Group, all members of the C.P.Majority Group, after regular section to pre-Conference discussion. After the AGE, are all subject to discussion. Aritcles and contributions of the Struggle for Technique Bukha-should be about 500-750 words long.

In "Socialist Reconstruction and the Struggle for Technique" Bukha-should be about 500-750 words long.

## Resolution on the International Conference

ertain important new phases. First of all, it has been extended to in clude all bourgeois countries without exception. Secondly, it has been deepening seriously at an almost constantly accelerating pace, particularly in the most highly developed indus-trial countries (U. S., Germany, England). Thirdly, it has begun and continues to undermine rapidly the entire credit structure of international capitalism. Finally, the extension and continued intensification of the world crisis have brought about a spirit of despair among large secspirit of helplessness as to a way out among the dominating forces of the international bourgeoisie. The sweep and intensity of the world-wide economic crisis, along side of the rapid growth of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., have brought every walk of life, thought and action in the bour-

geois world, into deepgoing crisis. 2. It is against this background of world economic crisis that the recent developments of the international laor movement stand out in bold re-The stress of the crisis has sharpened both elements of the contradiction tearing Social-democracy from within; it has intensified the militancy and the Socialist strivings of large section of the proletarian mem-bership of the Social-democratic parties; but it has also brought out in more open, more developed and more extensive form the bourgeois course of the Social-democratic leaders in aiding to save and rehabilitate broken down capitalism. It has thereby led to a profound crisis in Social-democratic ranks all over the world. Not only is the influence of the Socialdemocratic parties declining among the most important programmatic the masses of the workers but within these parties themselves a process of inner disintegration is under way, manifested in the crystallization of left opposition movements, proceed-

3. In the face of the profound ecoing disintegration of Social-democrato the brink of ruin. The recent catmunist Parties in Germany and France are desperate indications. The Comintern has proved unable either to stem the tide of Fascism or to win to its ranks the masses of Sociallemocratic workers repelled from the reformist parties. It has proved utterly unable to become the driving force for the class unification and mobilization of the proletariat in this difficult period. It has even proved unable to initiate a single really effective international compaign within the last few years, replacing such in-Party in the Comintern, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has particularly favorable objective conditions for Communist growth.

4. While the political class bankruptcy of Social-democracy has operorganizational bankruptcy of the Comntern has undeniably operated to hinder and has so far prevented this move centrism and culminating in a revolutionary Communist position. As a result, the spontaneous revolt in the Social-democratic ranks has led either to the consolidation of left opposi ions within the Social-democratic parties and the Labor and Socialist International or else to the emergence of new centrist parties outside of both and the strengthening of those al ready in existence. The movement went a step further recently when, in Berlin, an international conference took place of the representatives of number of the centrist organizations (Socialist Workers party of Germany, Independent Labor party of Great Britain, Labor party of Norway, In dependent Socialist party of Holland, etc.). The new centrism is now approaching the point of international organization.

5. Under the impact of these changes in the world labor movement the international Trotskyist tendency has assumed a new aspect. The so called "Left Opposition" itself has been even further weakened politicaly and organizationally and has reached in this respect its lowest point but at the same time Trotsky himself has initiated a deliberate policy of political rapprochement with the centrist organizations, a move generally welcomed by the latter. It is not an altogether unfamiliar role for Trotsky to play as the crystalizing force for

1. Since the international confer-Igrouping. The political platform of wards Communism by centrism. ndicate a leftward move-a move to- Soviet Union.

## The Situation in the Int'l Opposition

tions of the toiling masses and a the correctness of the fundamentals of trism and the relations of the Oppothe program of the International sition towards it. We must recog-Communist Opposition. This pro- nize that the split in the Cominters Yet, the International countries. Communist Opposition, considered as political entity, as a cohesive, moothly functioning international action in the C.I., has failed to measure up to the tasks which the situa-tion in the world labor movement and in the Comintern has placed before t. The International Communist Op-

position today is in a serious crisis, political as well as organizational. 7. The chief manifestation of this risis in the International Communist Opposition is the fact that the subtantial unanimity in principles upon which it was built up has now to a considerable extent been reduced to merely agreement on tactical questtions. From various directions and in various ways, differences have arisen or become more defined on some of questions. The crisis in the International Communist Opposition also manifests itself in the form of internal crises in some of the Oppositions.

the real sources of the present crisis in the Comintern. Instead of tracing it to the widening gap in the degrees a gap unbridged by an international collective leadership in the Cominerged the whole ultra-left orientation ections with the labor movement peated twists and turns, the mechaniconfused, generally greatly reduced in gles to the other Parties, etc., there strength. The un-Leninist, ultra-left is developing a tendency in some general course, strategy and tactics of quarters to consider the false line of the Comintern have been bringing it the Comintern as dictated by the alleged necessities of Soviet State diplomacy, which, of course, are here assumed to stand in at least partial, opposition to the interests of the revolutionary struggle in Western Europe and America.

9. In the now-expelled minority of the German Opposition and in the group around Neurath in the Czech Trotskyist tendencies have become nanifest. In general, only a few of the Opposition groups have worked out a definite viewpoint on the quesion of Trotskyism.

10. There is a growing difference of the official Communist Parties and feeling of voluntary subordination towards the related problem of a new party or organized tendency. The question of the attitude of the Inter- nation. The employers must hor or national Communist Opposition towards the struggle for and the conditions of the reunification of the Comintern is also tied up with this basic problem. There are some (Swedish Oppostion) who regard the present crisis in the world Communist the basis of the rehabilitation of the existing Communist International and the existing Communist Parties thru ment from breaking the bounds of the radical transformation of their orientation, policies and methods of They believe that the only realistic perspective is the emergence of the Oppositions into Comvelopment of a new international mion of Communist Parties is on the this viewpoint, therefore, believe that all unity campaigns on the part of the Communist Opposition, taking other forms than drives to liquidate as false and demoralizing. As against platform of the International Opposition Conference (December 1930) which maintains that the Communist Opposition must orientate its activities upon winning the Communist Parties (where they are not already clerks, managers and superintendents, part played by youngsters in the deupon the Communist Opposition, na- In December 1920 d'Annunzio the Communist Party) and internaionally, as an organized tendency, as various centrist tendencies into a of a Fourth International.

ence of the Communist Opposition this newest Trotskyist alliance can be is precisely thru the non-revolutionary phase world crisis of capitalism has assumed ments: Trotsky (as the "left" of the "left") lends the centrists the much-needed mantle of revolutionary integrity, while they agree to operate as ism against the Soviet State and the the West European supports of the C.P.S.U., as well as its scepticism as Trotsky faction in the C.P.S.U. Tho rotskyism is a tendency of the in-struction in the U.S.S.R., are eagerly ernational Communist movement, yet received by the centrists as a cloak his rapprochement between Trotsky and "revolutionary" justification for

6. All developments within the last | 11. There is not sufficient agree three years have completely confirmed ment, finally, on the question of cengram has been carried out with con- in itself facilitates the development of siderable success by a number of centrism in the Social-democratic par Communist Opposition groups, with a resulting growth of political influence practically everywhere and of wrong methods of leadership does not organizational strength in many tend to attract Social-democratic workers. Besides under such conditions centrism tends to appeal to Social-democratic workers as a more leftward orientation, as a force makleftward orientation, as a force mak-ing for a greater all-inclusive and has played its historically necessary even mythical unification of the working class. In the discussion that The march of the unemployed milarose in the International Communist Opposition, the existence of certain of the still mills, plants, factories, unclarity on and even toleration of mines. The curtain is falling! centrism in a number of Opposition groups become visible. From this ight it must also be recognized that there are serious dangers of centrism n the proposal to stimulate a general more or less permanent international block of parties and tendencies standng outside of both Internationals.

12. Faced with these growing political differences in the ranks of the International Communist Opposition, the newly formed International Center, with only weak connections and no resources, could hardly function as the international leadership of a world-wide Opposition faction. And 8. Disagreement has arisen as to indeed it can be said with entire truth that except for the transmission of correspondence between the various

(Concluded in the next issue)

### THE BACKGROUND OF ITALIAN FASCISM

(Continued from Page 3) the working class as well. There deers and the petty bourgeoisie.

The profound disillusionment and despair of the petty bourgeoisie drove it towards reaction but at the same time pricked it into social activity. The petty bourgeois youth, come back from the trenches, organized itself in numerous leagues, with the most varied programs and ideals. A rallying center for these leagues appeared in the person of the author, Gabriele Opposition, definitive and avowed d'Annunzio, who provided them with a romantically tinged nationalistic ideology that formulated in concise manner the later program of Fascism. "A new spirit must free Italy This new spirit manifests itself: in the feeling of national worth; in the attitude towards the Comintern and feeling of the worth of labor; in the Every thought must be dedicated to the greatness and the power of the working class, technique has once labor as work in which the spirit participates . . . To work well must be the aim of everyone. . . . Creative thought is the privilege of the individual personality: truth cannot be determined thru counting . . . Pride should be felt in taking hold of the thoughts of a great personality and in contributing towards their realization . . . Not parliament—but arditi (leagues of determined men) . . . "

bourgeoisie: grandiose phrases, moralizing about the "excesses" of capitalism, the "conciliation" of worker al books prepared for workers child of the Fascist outlook!

the official parties, must be rejected spectacular coup d'etat and captured could fail to grasp their significance. Fiume (a town on the Adriatic, with this viewpoint there is the attitude of other Opposition groups and of the overwhelmingly Italian population but given to Jugoslavia by the Versailles treaty.) Here d'Annunzio erected a state according to his ideals. He established a personal dictatorship guilds were created for workers, won, as in Sweden, Alsace) and the cooperators, officials, artists, schol-Comintern to the Leninist line of the ars, and so on. But this new germin-Opposition. This standpoint looks al Fascist state lasted about a year. tionally (where it has not yet won driven out of Fiume by the Italian government under the pressure of the a faction, within the Communist In- for it had gotten itself into a inexternational. From this viewpoint, it tricable crisis. But the impression much fun to attract very young calls for unity on the basis of the the Fiume episode had upon the Ital-children. There is no better present minimum demand of Party democra-cy. It naturally rejects the formation great indeed



SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR TECHNIQUE, by N. Bukharin, Cooperative Publishing Society o Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R. Moscow, 1932.

In ".. 'Socialist Reconstruction and with the vital importance the struggle for technique plays in the construction of a socialist society in the U.S.S.R. in contradistinction to the anti-techni cal tendencies in the decadent capital ist world. The machine that but yes terday was tended with so much care becomes today a "wild and dangerous beast" (Chase). The present chaotic condition of capitalism is attributed to "scientific materialism, the ground for which was made favorable by the simultaneous development of technique and industry" (Popp). The very odor of the machine-oil becomes unbearable. "People are absorbed in sport instead of technical experiment. and international centrism does not their equivocal attitude towards the They want to tear themselves away from the yoke of soulless activity from the slavery of the machine. Occultism, spiritualism, Indian phil osophy . . . , all of which were treated with contempt in the Darwinist period have again risen to the surface. the born leaders are beginning to fly

from the machine" (O. Spengler). Back to small production, back to primitive tools, let science take a holi day, are the cries coming from a chok ing capitalism. In a fundamental sense nothing reveals more strikingly the moribund stage of world capital ism than this movement against tech nique. "Capitalism is proving a hindrance to the further advance of technique," Bukharin tells us, and thererole. All the applause has been given lions echoes in the terrifying silence

In the U.S.S.R. industrialization, electrification, the development of mass production, the mechanization and chemicalization of industry and agriculture, the widest development and application of science, proceed at a terrific tempo unparalleled in history. Over 160,000,000 unfettered free people, with fervid revolutionary energy, are at work in the building up of a new classless society

All these stupendous enterprises are not being developed for a handful of exploiters at the expense of the masses of the Soviet Union. Bukharin clearly points this out. nique today stands in the center of our thoughts, but it is regarded as a groups, the International Center has hardly functioned. develop the masses, to raise their ma-terial and cultural level—these are the chief and all determining objects, in contradistinction to the principle of profit and in contradistinction to bare technicalization, which transforms technique into a fetish standing over mankind.

The struggle for and the mastering veloped an atmosphere of stifling cor- of technique, however, depends upon Smith? The name's completely new; ruption. Parliamentarism sank into the rapid liquidation of illiteracy and ever greater discredit with the workers and the petty bourgeoisie.

technical ignorance. Technical muscums and the rapid acquisition of a social-technical culture, the flooding of the country with all kinds of tech nical literature, the building up o technical cadres, of technical schools laboratories, research institutes, etc. etc., must take place at the same time as the construction and the operation of the numerous gigantic works.

Retrogression has set in in the capitalist world. The Soviet Union pal pitates with accelerated progress. The bourgeoisie that yesterday gave the greatest impetus to technique in order to entrench itself as a ruling class, today seeks a way out of its crisis by curbing technique. In the Soviet Union, where the restraining shell o capitalism has been broken, the de velopment of technique goes on un hindered. There, in the hands of the more assumed its supreme position in building a socialist society, a workers fatherland, destroying the rem nants of capitalism and thus spreading the proletarian revolution. Ed. Wright.

THE RED CORNER BOOK FOR CHILDREN, published by Bartin

Lawrence, Ltd., London. The stories in this book, some written by children, others by adults The whole thing is characteristic of form a very interesting collection, inthe ideological make-up of the petty deed. As fine a book of this character has not been published in English before. There have been sever munist Parties, where they are not such already, or at least conscious and deliberate activity in such a direction. On the world scale, they feel the development of a new international of the replacement of the class struggle by nationalism, loss of confidence in its own powers and the replacement of the class struggle by nationalism, loss of confidence in its own powers and therefore the replacement of the sharpest critics of proletarian literature for children could hardly find any fault with it. It aims to and really includes material of in therefore transference of hope to some "savior", and so on. And yet order of the day. Those who hold here we have the essential features as well as to many adults. It interprets for them the lives of outstandng rebels in history, such as James In November 1919, d'Annunzio pro-ceeded to action. He organized a stories are clear and vivid; no child

> Stories by children occupy a prominent place. An account of Lenin's childhood, written by children, proves very interesting. A miner's story telling the part children can play in the miners struggles, is noteworthy based upon a system of guilds. Such Nor must we fail to mention the tale of the boys of Paris, a story of the fense of the Paris Commune. The book also includes practical

> lessons in swimming, elements of was drawing, hiking plans, and many other appealing things dear to child's heart and mind. Games are Entente powers-and none too early, emphasized. The workers railway for instance, is a story and game o ian petty bourgeoisie and especially that working class parents can get -E.



JIMMY THE WELL-DRESSED MAN

A VAUDEVILLE ACT WITH MUSIC

> By George S. Kaufmann (In The Nation)

The scene is a cross between a vaudeville street "drop" and a meeting of the Hofstadter Committee. Except for Mr. Seabury and Mr. Walker, the entire gathering is painted on the curtain. The Tammany members are in the act of laughing and applauding, while the Chairman, with gavel upraised, is threatening to clear the street. Mr. Walker is on the stand; Mr. Seabury leans against an ash-

There is a chord in the orchestra as the curtain rises.

Mr. SEABURY

Your Honor, this committee Has some questions it would hand To the Mayor of New York City, Who is sitting on the stand.

Mr. Walker promise not to halt or pause; I'm famous for my wit; I'm sitting on the stand because I can't stand on the sit.

(He dances) Mr. Seabury Now, to you it's old and hoary. But it's very new to us, So we'd like to hear the story

Of the Equitable bus. MR. WALKER remember! Why, the driver Sees a woman grab her knee, And he says, "Not worth a fiver!

Legs they ain't no treat to me! (He cuts a caper. He offers half of it to Mr. Seabury who refuses because he has just had his lunch)

Mr. Seabury Now, to open matters wider (I guess this is where we clash):

Did Samuel Ungerleider

MR. WALKER Say, here's the greatest yarn on earth The one about the dame That got into the Pullman birth-But I'll never tell her name. (He throws his hat into the air

It comes down with \$263,000 in

MR. SEABURY And that little trip to Europe-What did you go on and with? Though you never hold the poor up, What about this Mr. Smith?

Mr. Walker I'm working in the dark— Unless you mean the brothers who Are known as Trade and Mark?

(He turns a cartwheel, furnished by the Parmelee Taxicab Company)

Mr. Seabury And now also on the list-0. Will you please relate to me What you know of Mr. Sisto And his taxi company?

Mr. WALKER I'm very glad you asked me, kid— I got just what was due me, For all that fellow ever did Was be a Sisto to me.

(He disappears for a second behind the stand, reappearing almost immediately in a brand-new suit. Kindness of countless friends)

Mr. Seabury At this point attention centers On a certain bag of gold-Mr. Block discreetly enters, And his thoughtful ten-year-old

MR. WALKER Inquire of Mr. Freud, you sap! That's back to chicken-pox! For since I was a little chap I've always played with Blocks

> (He does a buck and wing. He then does ninety-nine more bucks, making a hundred bucks in all. It isn't much, but of course there was no investment).

Mr. Seabury You got some money from Mr. Schwartz For services of various sorts-

wish that you'd explain to me Just why he gave you such a fee. MR. WALKER Fee, fi, fo, fum!

Whoops-adaisy, and ho hum! The whole committee is on the bum-Where do you get your questions from? Hey, diddle, doodle! The cash and the boodle-

It's ten to one they'll win again! So what do I care If you give me the air—
They'll only vote me in again! In again! In again!

They'll only vote mc-

(He dances. The rest of the committee comes down off the curtain and joins in the dance. At this point the piper comes on to the scene. The public pays him). CURTAIN

B. D. W.