

**PROVOCATIVENESS
A VIRTUE**

In this column we shall strive to make our motto this advice of Lenin: "Every man with convictions, who thinks he has something new to say, writes 'provocatively' and expresses his views strongly. Only those who are accustomed to sit between two stools lack 'provocative-ness'."

**AND THE RICH
GROW RICHER**

Now there comes to our hand the latest income tax payment figures, covering the first year of the New Deal. These should serve as more bricks in the mausoleum in which the New Deal should be placed by every worker. What do these figures show? The actual income of corporations increased by more than 35%. The actual income of individuals declined by nearly \$340,000,000. The number of persons getting incomes of less than \$25,000 a year, as well as the total amount of their income, declined in the first New Deal year in comparison with the last Hoover's new era year. The number of total net incomes in brackets over \$25,000 increased. Individuals receiving incomes of one million dollars or more rose from 20 to 46 and their total net income rose from \$35,000,000 to \$81,000,000. A heavy decline is to be registered in the number of individuals up to the \$5,000 class paying income tax and the total of their net incomes. The total number of returns is nearly 3% less.

However, it is not only these figures that should alarm the workers and impoverished farmers. It is the reaction of the Roosevelt administration to this, which is equally alarming. High in the councils of the White House there are increasing indications that Roosevelt and his brain trust will seize upon the decline in the total number of income tax payers as an additional excuse for devising new forms of taxation and shifting still more burdens to the backs of those who are less able to bear them. The sales tax put over by LaGuardia in New York City is an ominous sign on the horizon. Very likely under the banner of balancing the budget the great mass of workers will soon be called upon to make their condition still more unbalanced and to give up still more of their declining standards.

The New Deal is rapidly unfolding itself as nothing else but a New Ordeal for the workers in the cities and on the land.

**PROSPERITY
IN BILLS**

More than 2,200 bills have already been presented to the Seventy-fourth Congress. No one need really be bewildered at this mass outbreak or be worried at what will happen to these proposals. Senator-elect W. B. Rodgers recently assured his most worthwhile friends that "he would support no new legislation without first freely consulting industrialists and other business men who would be affected." Boss Farley hastened to warn Congress before it opened that its members better behave well because "they slid in on the President's popularity". Within two hours after Congress opened it promptly revoked the liberalized rules of procedure adopted in Hoover's days, three years ago. Roosevelt progressivism on the march! Strengthening the committee system of stifling congress as the nearest being, tho very inadequate, to an expression of "the will of the people." Now Big Business can all the more easily transact its affairs behind the closed doors of select committeemen. American (capitalist) democracy does merrily roll on and over the masses in the cities and on the land. This action of Congress at the behest of Roosevelt means sure death in the speediest time to any bill which might in the least way be of service to the working and lower middle classes.

**OUR AMERICAN
NEWSREEL**

Perusing the headlines is it itself a liberal education in these days of eddy and cross-current. Let us merely cull a few to assess and indicate the movement of the stream. President Green of the A. F. of L. declares "Relief Burden at New Peak." Lieutenant Col. F. M. Andrews is to direct a new and costly project in which "Army Air Corps is Centralized" and "71 New Airplanes Ordered For Army." The Citizens Welfare Committee discovers that "Illness is No. 1 Problem of Depression." At the same time Moody's Investors Service discloses that "Dividends Gain by 172 Million." And now all class divisions are being wiped out by the New Deal because: "Princess Mdvani, 22, has \$4,000 Party; Does not 'Think It Fitting to Spend Too Much.'" Finally, in democratic France there is a move to raise the pay of an army Marshall. The latter today gets 155,650 francs a year for living expenses and 30,000 francs annually for entertainment. A jobless worker would have to get 22,000 days of unemployment relief (over sixty years) to equal the income of the poor underpaid Marshall in 365 days!

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 2.

Saturday, Jan. 12, 1935

Five Cents

FUSION SALES TAX PUTS LOAD ON POOR

Push Cart Buyers Pay Levy;
Rich Suburbanites Don't

By Jack Smith

A newsreel recently shown in New York movie houses portrayed the following scenes of the operation of the 2 percent sales tax. At first it showed a crowded east-side street where push-cart vendors display their wares. A middle aged shabbily clad woman is purchasing various "bargains," ranging from 20 to 50 cents each, on which purchases she pays a 1 cent tax. Then the screen shifts to a rich fur house and shows a salesman exhibiting a valuable fur coat to a lady customer. The following conversation takes place:

Salesman: "This coat will cost you \$1950 plus \$39.00 sales tax."

Customer: "I live outside of New York—do I have to pay the sales tax?"

Salesman: "Oh, in that event, we will simply deliver the coat to your house, and you will not have to pay the sales tax."

This movie unwittingly depicted not only the manner in which the sales tax is being collected, but also showed clearly, who carries the burden of this infamous tax.

**The Amendments Benefit
The Rich Still More**

The original sales tax bill was adopted as the easiest way out of the financial and political situation that the relief problem placed on the fusion administration with La Guardia at its head, and
(Continued on Page 4)

LABOR ELECTS ITS MAYOR IN TORONTO

Commonwealth Federation
Man Secures 54,000 Votes

The city of Toronto, Canada, finds itself for the first time in history compelled to suffer the indignity of a labor mayor. James Simpson, member of the Typographical Union and of the C.C.F., (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation), delegate to the International Labor Office, vice-president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, was elected on January 1st, receiving 54,000 votes. Comrade Reverend A. E. Smith, communist candidate for the same office received 4,666 votes.

In the polling for the minor offices, Comrade Alice Buck rolled up nearly ten thousand votes, a small decrease over her last year's figures. Running openly as Communists for the first time in years, the several other candidates also dropped from the former totals.

Analysis of these figures reveals the fact that in the "concentration" areas of wards 4, 5 and (partly) 6, the results were to be seen in the vote. And the relatively high vote for Alice Buck as compared with that of Smith the elder, shows that the workers have not forgotten the imprisonment of Comrade Tim Buck. Analysis of the campaign reveals something else. First, the bankruptcy of the tactics used. Believe it or not, the Communist election committee offered to effect a "united front" with the CCF election committee, and to support Simpson for mayor provided that Simpson would "renounce his past in the City Council." As a maneuver this offer smelled. As a working class tactic it was a wash-out. Further, how in the name of common-sense could an election agreement between the Communist committee and the CCF be considered as a "United Front of Labor"? Is not the CCF today more of a third party than ever it was? At the Ontario convention of last year, the CCF threw out the trades unions, abandoning its federative basis. Before the convention, the Communist spokesmen attacked the CCF. This at a time when they should have been upholding the unity of labor, and fighting for the preservation of such unity.

NEXT WEEK'S AGE
A SPECIAL 8 PAGE ISSUE

The Communist Opposition
answers the Communist
Party Unity letter.

The CPO resolution for a
Labor Party.

Jay Lovestone's reply to a
CP member's inquiries.

Flash!

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Albert Bell, Jack Arthur and Dorothy Dare, delegates of the C.P.O. were physically assaulted at the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance. Dorothy Dare was beaten unconscious.

Their "crime" was the distribution of CPO resolutions which had been submitted to the Resolutions Committee.

One of the resolutions called for a Labor Party based on the trade unions. Our delegates were greatly surprised to hear Earl Browder suddenly reverse the C.P. policy by coming out for a Labor Party, along our proposal, in his report on Sunday night.

(Full report in next issue)

ROOSEVELT PLEDGES PROFIT SANCTITY AS CONGRESS STEAMROLLER STARTS

Unemployed Will Get Work Relief Jobs At Subsistence
Wages; Burden Of Job And Social Insurance
Will Be Borne By Workers

The Seventy-fourth Congress got under way on January 3rd and within a matter of a few hours, the overwhelming Democratic Congress made quite certain that no upsets occur, thru a change of the rules making the minority opposition impotent and assuring the easy passage of every administration measure.

**The President Speaks
To The Nation**

On January 4th, President Roosevelt delivered, in person, his message to Congress. The claims of a large section of the bourgeois press that the message constitutes a shift to the right is fundamentally correct even tho the message bristles with such statements as "We have undertaken a new order of things" and "The outlines of the new economic order, rising from the disintegration of the old, are apparent."

Having thus tipped his hat, with these radical sounding phrases, to easily satisfied liberals who have flocked to his banner in search of this new economic order, Roosevelt promptly proceeds to inform the nation that "No wise man has any intention of destroying what is known as the profit motive." On this basis Roosevelt proudly points to "increased industrial activity and profits to our merchants."

Recovery For Whom?

Our President is fully justified, in this sense, in speaking of substantial signs of recovery. He is amply supported by the returns of the income tax reports showing the more than doubling of the number of millionaires and substantial increases of the higher bracket incomes. True enough the lowest taxable incomes have declined but then one does not have to consider that in a presidential message.

The Forgotten 6,000,000.

Roosevelt speaks of 5,000,000 unemployed and thus, by the mere magic of his words, lops off an additional 6,000,000 who remain unemployed and forgotten. What is proposed for the unemployed? Only one remedy—the extension of public works projects with the deliberate stipulation by our "liberal" President that compensation (wages) is to be "not so large as to encourage the rejection of opportunities for private employment . . ." The trade unions who have consistently fought for the payment of union scales, or scales prevalent in the industries, are thus told in so many words that living standards in these industries would be slashed. Labor knows only too well that the scales decided upon by the government will tend to become the prevailing maximum wage for all workers in these industries.

Unemployment Insurance

In the face of the most widespread demands for unemployment insurance the President spoke in the most general terms of this most burning problem. From Presidential spokesmen it becomes clear, however, that whatever scheme the President will propose in the coming days, the financial resources of the nation will not be overtaxed. The Federal government will propose a system of insurance in which the employers and labor are the main contributors. Furthermore, this insurance scheme will apply only to those employed now. The 11,000,000 unemployed will have nothing to gain from any such insurance proposals and will have to fall back upon the present inadequate relief measures.

Labor Is Snubbed

By not one word does Roosevelt refer to the problems which have agitated the labor movement. The right to organize, company unionism, Richberg's interpretation of Section 7a which has aroused a storm of indignation in the ranks of labor—all are passed over in silence.

Labor Must Act

Organized labor, the mass of the unemployed and the largest sections of the farmers can find nothing in the Presidential message that promises any aid for them. The sooner these masses realize that nothing is to be expected from a capitalist President who guards jealously the profits of the "merchants" the faster will they proceed to build a Party of their own, to fight for their own class interests.

COMMUNIST OPPOSITION PLENUM CALLS FOR INTENSIFIED WORK

Emphasis Laid on Labor Party Agitation — Trade Union
Work Reviewed — Communist Party Unity Proposals
Considered — Answer Being Drafted

On Monday night, December 31, the sessions of the plenum of the Communist Party (Opposition) were closed with a Banquet, attended by over 700 workers, at which a collection of more than \$300 for the weekly Workers Age was realized.

**Lovestone Reports On
World Situation**

The first session of the Plenum was opened by D. Benjamin as Organization head of the CPO. Bill Moriarty was elected to the chair and in the presence of some 500 workers Jay Lovestone, secretary of the CPO began his report on the International labor movement. In great detail Lovestone dealt with the effects of the crisis on the various European powers and the U.S.A.; the proposed roads for recovery and the ensuing contradictions arising from them; the preparations for war and the frantic imperialist maneuvers in an effort to make certain the possible line-up in the coming conflict; the sharpened situation in the Far East, on the one hand between Japan and the Soviet Union and on the other between Japan and the U.S.A. Lovestone also took up the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and sharply scored the Trotskyist and Social Democratic slanders.

Passing over to a consideration of the situation in the labor movement he took up the rising wave of mass discontent, the instability of bourgeois democracy in Europe and the rise of Fascism as the last-ditch fighter for the preservation of capitalism as a system. It was the defeats of the workers in Germany and Austria which most dramatically illustrated the need for a common working class front against capitalism, said Lovestone. It was on the basis of the lessons of these defeats, he continued, that the Communist and Socialist Inter-

(Continued on Page 4)

Our Weekly European Letter

EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer

**STORM CLOUDS GATHER
IN HITLER GERMANY**

The following facts shed light on the conditions in Hitler Germany.

The government has decreed against the unlawful wearing of the SA (Sturm Abteilung) and SS (Schutz Staffel) uniforms. This is obviously directed against mutinies in the SA which are expected.

One of the finest musicians of Germany, Furtwaengler, has been dismissed. Other leading musicians have expressed their sympathy for him. When musicians, who are surely the most harmless section of the bourgeois intelligentsia, rebel there must be a rapidly growing dissatisfaction of these strata.

The National Socialist theoretician Feder has been pensioned. At the same time Herr Krupp has taken leave as "leader of the industrial league." Heavy industry is proposing new demands.

The generals of the Reichswehr demand that the air forces now under the command of Goering be subordinated to them. They further demand the partial disarmament of the SS organizations.

**AGAIN WE HEAR OF
"PEOPLES SOCIALISM"**

It is characteristic that Social Democracy, which lost its faith in the Reichswehr, after June 30th, is again harboring illusions of a similar nature. The same Prague leadership of Social Democracy which opposed united fronts with the Communists at the Paris sessions of the Second International, proposes now, thru its press, a united front of proletarian, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois-conservative elements, under the all-inclusive banner of a "Peoples Socialism."

This "Peoples Socialism" was the pet plan of General Schleicher and is today revived by a certain section of the military clique. The slogan of "Peoples Socialism" is therefore nothing but another expression of Social Democracy's willingness to make common cause with a military dictatorship.

The working class in Germany is continuing slowly but surely with its preparations for increased activities under the most difficult circumstances.

**WORKERS MILITIA IN SAAR?
LEAGUE SAYS NO!**

The League of Nations has also "solved" the Saar question after its own

fashion. English, Italian, Swedish and Dutch troops are marching into the Saar basin. It is obvious that the military occupation of this territory thru foreign troops is not welcomed by the working population of the Saar basin. The Nazis are trying to arouse national sentiments on this basis and they are utilizing such incidents as the one when an (apparently tipsy) English Police officer charged a crowd of natives in Saarbrueken.

Thanks above all to Litvinoff Geneva has left the way open for a second plebiscite in the Saar case the Hitler regime in Germany is overthrown.

The CP and SP demand, instead of the occupation by foreign troops, the organization of defense corps of workers. The League Commission of the Saar has rejected this.

The united front movement in the Saar has recently issued a joint manifesto of demands in case of a victory for the status quo. This program has peculiar gaps. The most surprising fact is that not a word is said on the form of government for the Saar in case it continues to remain under the supervision of the League of Nations. If the SP did not want to say anything on this point the CP should have propagated its own slogans.

**ITALIAN AGGRESSION IN
ABYSSINIA TOLERATED
BY FRANCE**

The general public has not been acquainted with the repressive measures used to compel Hungary to withdraw its charges. It is only known that Yugoslavia threatened, for a moment, to leave the League of Nations.

Perhaps the following two facts which are directly linked up with the "solution of the Marseilles conflict" will shed more light on it. First, France has made important concessions to Italy on the colonial field. The second factor is the Italian-Abyssinian boundary dispute which was in reality a provocation of Italian imperialism. Has France cleared the way for Italy to conquer Abyssinia? This is very possible. Perhaps the next war will start in Abyssinia and the next world war will be preceded by a number of "local" colonial wars. The fascist regime in Italy would welcome such a diversion from its domestic difficulties. At any rate, the fact that during the attack of Italian troops on Abyssinians, machine guns, tanks, and airplanes were ready, points to thorough preparedness.

**JAY LOVESTONE
AND
CHARLES ZIMMERMAN
WILL SPEAK ON
PROBLEMS OF
COMMUNIST UNITY
THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 8 P. M.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th St. & Irving Place
Admission 10 Cents**

WORKERS AGE

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The Bankruptcy Of Craft Unions

NOTHING could afford more crushing evidence of the grave dangers to labor, inherent in craft unionism, than the deep-going division now paralyzing the fifteen building trades unions. On the basis of the decision of the last A.F.L. convention, the heads of the old building trades department have just been gotten out of their quarters. The war between the officials of the "Big Three" (bricklayers, carpenters, electricians), backed by the convention, and the "Little Twelve" (asbestos workers, boilermakers, iron workers, elevator constructors, granite cutters, painters, etc.) will now be fought to a finish. Superficially and crudely the fight appears to be over a couple of highly remunerative jobs involved in the control of the department. Actually, much more is at stake and involved here. We have here the nadir of business unionism. Were all these unions amalgamated into one, such conflicts could never arise. None of the jurisdictional disputes, which have for decades plagued the building trade unions' ranks, grow out of a conflict of interests between the workers in the various unions. On the contrary, all of these quarrels have been only at the expense of the workers. These fights are rooted in the jealousies inevitably engendered by the craft form of organization and in the mad competition for lucrative jobs among the "fat boys" making up the reactionary officialdom. This rift, threatening for some time, could not have come as a head a more unfortunate moment for American labor. There is every reason to expect the corrupt job-hunting top leaders of both factions to seek a solution in court, to

Books of the Age

By Bertram D. Wolfe

LITERATURE AND DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

coming into conflict with its own property-relations; and whereas decay in bourgeois philosophy set in before Hegel's corpse was cold; and decay in bourgeois revolutionary politics with the June uprising of the Paris proletariat in 1848; in literature a decline becomes marked only with the rise of modern imperialism at the turn of the century. Having laid down his general thesis Strachey proceeds to exemplify his conceptions as to fascism and decay in literature by considering in some detail Maclachlan, Hemingway and Krutich; and his own views on Marxist literary criticism by analysis of the works of Granville Hicks. His revision of Hicks' critical appraisals of Hemingway, Faulkner and other contemporary writers is much better on dead men whose merits he was taught to perceive before he became an adherent of Marxism) is sound and just. With his estimate of Maclachlan we have no quarrel. But his accompanying discussion on "The fascist unconscious" leads to less solid ground. He writes: "Now where have these two emotions of revolt—of revolt against the bankers and revolt against anything foreign—appeared together before? The answer is that they have appeared only with the rise of every fascist movement in the world. These two emotions are precisely, as Michael Gold has said, the unconscious background of fascism... the mental soil out of which fascism grows." This also is correct. But it is no less doubtful on firm ground. But when he tries to find the same change in literature "about 100 years ago" he is schematic and incorrect. Since then we have had Balzac and Zola, Ibsen, the Hauptmann of "The Weavers," Shelley, Browning, Thomas Hardy, Goldens, Walt Whitman and all the great Russians, to mention only a few of the outstanding nineteenth century writers that mark the last great, and in that sense, flowering of bourgeois literature. Whereas decay set in in economics with beginning of the series of modern economic crises in 1825, crises which reveal the historical limitlessness of capitalism and its inability to expand production indefinitely without

ask for justice from these citadels of injunctions. This at a time when it is more dangerous than ever to draw courts into labor disputes, let alone to call upon courts to be final arbiters. Wall Street could not ask more from a regiment of Santa Clauses. The cunning anti-labor forces skillfully manipulating the New Deal cards will seize upon the ensuing jurisdictional disputes as just the opportunity to be seized to push through legislation curbing the right to strike. The building trades employers will undoubtedly take advantage of the divisions in the workers' ranks to put across wage cuts. For this the bosses are already assured the blessing and support of the Public Works administrators who have been hailing wage cuts as the necessary stimulus to private initiative in the construction industries. Needless to add, the rift will not be limited to the luxuriously furnished offices of the high-salaried officials. It will spread to the ranks, thus weakening the whole labor movement and doing incalculable damage to the workers' struggle for a shorter work week, higher wages, better working conditions, and social insurance. A particularly unwise and unwise move on the part of this division will be the probable slowing down of the wave of unionization, checking the influx of new members into the unions. However, the situation is not necessarily hopeless. The workers in the building trades unions and in all other unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. have it in their power to take certain immediate corrective and remedial measures. The workers can place the much needed make-weights on the other side of the scale. The A. F. of L. local unions and city federations of labor there should forthwith be launched a drive for amalgamating the craft unions into industrial unions. Of course, the building trades locals should become the center of such a campaign. Besides, all the unions should immediately address themselves in unmistakable terms to the building trades locals not to enter into suicidal inter-craft strife. The mess is a rather bad one. The lessons that can be drawn from it are as clear as the process of learning the hard way. Craft unionism, business unionism, is bankrupt, has long ago outlived its flimsiest pretense for existence. Amalgamation of the competitive craft organizations into powerful, industrial unions is the first point in the order of the day for American trade unionists. Co-operation, firm labor solidarity, must bind all of the amalgamated organizations within the A. F. of L. And the A. F. of L. must become a cleaner, more militant, and bigger organization. For the achievement of these ends, the Communists and the militant and progressive trade unionists must spare no efforts, must do their utmost.

Stage and Screen

By Robert Arthur

Our ideas, it is true, develop a peculiar language for their expression. Often, by extraordinary pressure, this language leads us astray. As if the function of the best style were not to convey one's meaning with the greatest clarity, words too readily hide rather than disclose our thoughts. Yet this exposure is on the whole uncommonly accurate, and the themes we develop and their by-products are nearly always true guides to the labyrinthine chambers where doctrines are most intricately patterned. In such a maze the writer of playwright might well suspect he had gained a certain freedom thru language without ever realizing that his winged words had developed conceptions long since caught, and tortuously disguised, in the deeper web of the contradictions of capitalism. Just as capitalism, by definition, contains within its most potent victories its most certain defeats, so the ideas born of this struggle even when most keen and self-critical, are certain to betray their owner. The proletarian writer alone, and then, only when he is free of these influences, can best develop the logic of his position. Standing outside the false currents of his time he has removed the shackles of its ideological bondage. Unconsciously certain ideas are formed in the mind of the playwright and in the mind of the audience; certain relationships, conceived as they are popularly understood within our social set-up, serve as a sort of antipodal background for circumstances which may completely differ from the intended conception. One man is called a failure, another a success, altho the concepts of success and failure, as we understand them, are never, of themselves, examined. It is superficially doing battle with the common house of ideas there is a dragon in our front parlor we imply that the

Between HAMMER And ANVIL

ONE FROM ONE LEAVES TWO Higzledy, pigzledy, my black hen, She lays eggs for gentlemen. Gentlemen come every day, To count what my black hen doth lay. If perchance she lays too many, The fine my hen a pretty penny; If perchance she fails to lay, The gentlemen a bonus pay.

Mumbledy, pumbledy, my red cow, She's co-operating now. At first she didn't understand That milk production must be planned; She didn't understand at first, But either had to plan or burst, But now the government reports She's giving pints instead of quarts.

Abraacadabra, thus we learn The more you create, the less you earn, These conflicting elements in their psychological make-up, are we developing under radical-sounding phrases, a Communist defeatism, which surrenders all our potential allies of the poor farmer and petty bourgeois to the bulk of the intellectuals and even the backward workers, without a real struggle. It amounts to an ultra-leftist line, a sort of theory of "social-fascism," on the literary front.

That this is more than a mere potential danger is proved by the Daily Worker's review of Strachey's book where the concept of "unconscious fascism" is extended to "dozens of influential writers like Joseph Wood Krutch and Henry Hazlitt, who would stoutly pool their accusation that they were fascists, but who by their so-called liberal writings, are surely paving the way to fascism." (Daily Worker, Dec. 31, 1934).

However, in justice to Strachey he does not seem natural to him but is rather absorbed unconsciously from the party line. Where he becomes conscious of it, he rejects it, he rejects it and reacts in more fully communist fashion. For the rest his sketchy remarks on literary figures reveal him to be a better critic than most of his American brethren of the New Masses. The general spirit of his criticism they would do well to absorb. "It would be indeed a blunder," he writes, "if we tried to pretend that a man was a bad poet because he was a bad Marxist or a good poet because he was a good Marxist." The wise and warning words can serve as a motto for all would-be Marxist critics.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

A PROPHETIC VISION COMES TRUE On glancing over some of the back issues of our publication we are surprised at the almost prophetic statements which we foresaw the coming events. Take for instance the Revolutionary Age for May 1, 1931 (almost five years ago) and turn to an article by Charles S. Zimmerman entitled "An Open Letter to President Hymus." Says Zimmerman to the President of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union: "We reiterate our proposals: that the Industrial Union be changed into a left wing propaganda center, that the Industrial Union officially urge its members to join the right wing unions, that the workers should be called upon immediately to begin the organization of a left wing in all local unions."

EVENTUALLY YOU WILL ADOPT OUR PROPOSAL, BUT WHY SHOULD YOU ALWAYS BE TOO LATE?

In any comment necessary in the light of the liquidation of section after section of the N.T.W.U.?' SPIRITUALISM REPLACES FAITH IN LINE At last a breathless world has been rewarded for its patience by the printing of a long statement in which Joseph Zacks expounds his new faith, followed by an expose of "The Methods of Stalinism" which casts long and deep shadows over Zacks more definitely than over Stalin whom Zacks would so thoroughly demolish. Apparently, Zacks is trying out C.P. policies after he had "smelled a rat" as far back as 1929, was too much for the worldly intellect of even a Joseph Zack—and the result is these articles. How else can one explain the spiritualism in my consciousness as he writes: "But the 'molecular' processes keep on working down deep in my consciousness. Something put me 'at attention.'" And again "a sort of uncanny distrust took hold of me. Somehow Stalin appeared in my consciousness as a dark force and I could hardly get rid of that feeling ever after."

Just as a scared child turns to its mother for safety so does the nervous Zacks, who walked so long in the "dark shadow" of Stalin turn to Reverend Hymus to expiate his sins and secure for himself a measure of peacefulness of soul. But enough of this. We confess that we were concerned not so much with the battle scene of Zacks as with the little cry inscribed upon his banner, and this is barely mentioned. There are some tears shed over the fact that the Comintern is shaking off its own nightmares (without benefit of clergy) of ultra-leftism and its setting of the record for liquidating its rival unions, but so far this is not the main item in Zacks rusty arsenal.

CANNON APOLOGIZES FOR WORKERS PARTY

However Zacks was not wanting, when he appeared at his coming-out party in Irving Plaza. There he developed at great length his trade union line and proved its correctness to everyone not younger than '86 and not older '3 years. A young "Lovestoner" trade unionist shot the floor and in a matter of about 8 minutes so thoroughly demolished the dual-unionist line of Zacks, that Jim Cannon himself had to rush forward to save the day. Cannon took the floor and, without a thought for the sensitive Zacks, announced that the position of Zacks was not shared by the Workers Party.

A MODEL OF W.P. CONSISTENCY

But this was stretching the point a good deal. In reality the trade union program of the W.P. is today more ultra-leftist than any other political group or party—yes, more to the left than the program of the C.P., and that's saying a lot. We give below a few excerpts from the W.P. Declaration of Principles. Behind this contradictory statement there is the line of dual unionism in full bloom:

"The W.P. stands for trade union unity. . . . The Workers Party is opposed to the Communist Party policy of building paper unions. . . . The W.P. favors the organization of workers into unions related with them."

A COUPLE OF DENIALS OF AUTHORSHIP

Bertram D. Wolfe, author of "Marx and America," "Portrait of America," "What is the C.P.O?," etc., etc., (purchase from literature department) is not the Blacksmith all rumors to the contrary. The Blacksmith is not Bertram D. Wolfe. They are two totally different people. It has taken us something more than an hour to write this last paragraph because the Blacksmith is a good writer and an inviolable gag about keeping the Wolfe from the Door. But he's still there. —THE BLACKSMITH

Job Insurance Plans Hide Relief Cut Danger

Workers Must Guard Against Insurance Resulting In Concealed Lowering Of Living Standards Of Masses

By A. M.

A significant change has come over American thinking in the last year. Some of it is due to the liberal phraseology of the New Deal, much more to staggering objective factors that cannot be ignored. When the Seventy-third Congress convened the man who mentioned "Social Insurance" was still branded as a Bolshevik, intent on overthrowing American institutions and foisting a delusion upon a nation stung by individualists. But that the Seventy-fourth Congress will be forced to some unemployment insurance measures of some sort, is a foregone conclusion conceded even by the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal. An Adjustment To Reality This turnabout is hardly the result of the Christmas spirit overwhelming American capitalism. It represents a certain adjustment to reality, a realization of "depression" as a permanent feature of the industrial life, a realization that has been admitted by the dropping of the word "Emergency" from the titles of many state and city relief agencies. The adjustment involves new techniques and new machinery for carrying the load of unemployment on the cheapest possible way. In the battle against the threat of a mass protest against intolerable standards. Drawing a sharp line between unemployment insurance and unemployment relief in the present situation is almost impossible. The major question is not "How will this affect the man employed now?" but "What about the unemployed?" This must be the acid test for every insurance plan. Many of the schemes proposed are no more than an elaborate method of cutting relief. Remember that the central theme of the Communist Party is the building of a new array of changes, new unions, shifting jobs, glowing announcements of things-to-be—all with the purpose of gagging the protests of the unemployed by rosy promises of the future and a dish of sauerkraut for the present. Most of the schemes are in one or another link in this chain it is worse than worthless.

Looking A Gift-Horse In The Teeth

Unemployment insurance is coming. This is no time to be polite. We must look the gift horse squarely in the teeth and, if necessary, dispatch him to the glue works without hesitation. Desperate as is the plight of the unemployed they must not be lulled by the prospect of any all sugar coated schemes of insurance that fail to insure, of relief that throws added burdens on the already overladen shoulders of the workers. In the following articles we will analyze in detail the various unemployment insurance schemes presented.

THE USSR AND MILITARY ALLIANCES

Struggle for Power Remains Task of Communists

By G. S.

Litvinov's speech before the meeting of the League of Nations, at the time of the entrance of the Soviet Union into the League, is a crushing answer to the rumors spread by the Social Democrats and Trotskyites that the Soviet Union, because of its entrance into the League, has placed itself in the service of imperialist interests. Litvinov made it very clear that the Soviet Union enters the League as "a representative of a new social and economic state system without giving up any of the characteristics of this system and preserving its independence of all other members of the League of Nations." Litvinov said further that the Soviet Union was making reservations on a number of decisions, made before its entrance into the League. He named especially articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant which legalize war in certain cases; article 22 which establishes the system of mandates and article 23 which fails to lay down the principle of race equality. Litvinov then stated that the S.U. entered the League in order to use even its limited possibilities for the maintenance of peace. The policy of entering the League is, therefore, a diplomatic weapon in the struggle of the international working class against the imperialist world.

Is A Military Alliance Permissible?

The Social Democrats and the Trotskyites try to discredit the foreign policy of the S.U. with the argument that it is entering into military pacts with imperialist powers. The result would be that these military alliances would result in the Communist Party in the allied imperialist country making peace with its own bourgeoisie, in case of war. First of all, the Soviet Union has not, to date, made a military alliance with France. There has been talk only in regard to the proposed Eastern pact to the effect that the S.U. would, if it signed such a pact, pledge itself to give military aid against the aggressor. In the proposed Eastern pact it is not a question of a military alliance with a certain state against a certain other state. Moreover, the Eastern pact also has not yet been signed.

For Insurance Administration Of Labor Machinery

Unemployment insurance incorporates one danger almost unavoidable—that of

THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ANSWERS THE COMMUNIST PARTY UNITY LETTER.

The CPO resolution for a Labor Party. Jay Lovestone's reply to a CP member's inquiries.

The ECONOMIC WEEK

Despite all boasting, the Department of Commerce reveals that:

"While evidences of the progress made are concrete and numerous, the fiscal year closed with the capital goods industry still greatly depressed, private construction very low, unemployment large and relief demands making a steady and severe drain on the national budget." In addition, the New York Times states: "The report pointed to the fact that the volume of bank loans outstanding remained at a very low level despite what the report termed a 'plethora' of available bank credits."

The Roosevelt administration has started a new policy of eliminating price fixing from the NRA codes. This is supposed to constitute the method for curbing the monopolies. In reality, it provides a flexible medium whereby monopolies can solidify their position. Williams' report of the National Recovery Board on this question reveals the fact that it is unnecessary to stipulate prices in order to avoid cutthroat competition and to secure uniform costs. The solution lies in the common costs derived from minimum wages agreed to in the codes. Thus, labor costs become the means for ensuring fair competition (at labor's expense). However, in the case of the big monopolies, labor costs usually are a minor aspect compared to the smaller companies, whereas machinery with the major role. In this way, the monopolies are afforded more alternatives to drive out the independent competitors, whose flexibility of costs are less amenable to price reductions, given constant labor costs. —ECONOMIST

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Congress Plans to Kill Frazier-Lemke Bill

Despite Deficiencies Act Has Widespread Support Of Farm Organizations — Bankers Howl At Low Interest Rate

By R. Hinsdale

The great mass of the American farmers are eyeing the present Congress anxiously, demanding legislation to reduce the billion debt burden that is swamping agriculture. The widespread interest in the Frazier-Lemke Bill makes necessary its analysis. Originally this bill, popularly known as "The Farmer's Farm Relief Act," was introduced in the Legislature in March, 1933. It was torn to pieces in its passage through Congress and emerged as a pale shadow of itself. Now the National Farm Holiday Association and the Farmers' Union have demanded the original bill. On December 4, 1934, the North Dakota Farm Holiday Association in its state convention reaffirmed its determination to get the bill passed at the coming session. The Communist Party through its paper, The Farmers' National Weekly and through the farm organizations in which it has influence, opposes the bill on the grounds that it would only benefit the bankers and mortgage holders. In place of it they advocate the Farmers' Emergency Board. This Board is composed predominantly of poor and militant, but not Communist, farmers have pledged their support to the Frazier-Lemke Bill. On the other hand such a conservative organization as the Farm Bureau through its speeches of its National President, opposes it on the ground that the proposed

Section X shows its startling difference from most farm legislation. It actually provides for a Board of Agriculture, one member from each state, elected by delegates selected by mass convention. Such mass convention to be held in each county or parish in the United States and to be composed of farmers, including tenants, who intend to take advantage of the Act. If the manner of election and the composition of this Board is compared with the previous Farm Board headed by the ex-President of the International Harvester Company it will at once be evident what a significant change this is. Furthermore, the proposed Board would get paid while on duty and would have no power.

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PROGRESSIVE SILK WORKERS CALL FOR DEFEAT OF UNION SPLITTERS

Workers Urged To Support Its Candidates In Elections

We print below, a stirring call to the membership of the American Federation of Silk Workers, issued by the Progressive Group in Paterson. Elections for officers are to be held within about two weeks.

SAVE THE UNION! VOTE FOR THE PROGRESSIVES IN THE ELECTIONS!

Our union is in great danger! At a time when the employers are making a severe attack on the Union and on the conditions of the silk workers, we are faced with a vicious union-smashing attack from disruptive elements within the organization—that is, from the so-called "Left" or "Rank-and-File" Group, made up of the former members of the National Textile Workers Union and their various allies. Having failed to split and destroy our Union from the outside, they are now trying to split it from the inside. Inside or outside, their objective remains the same. They still regard our Union, which we have built through so many years of struggle and sacrifice, as a company union to be destroyed and split at the first opportunity. Proof of this is the fact that, although they have come into the U.T.W. locally

COMMUNIST OPPOSITION PLENUM PLANS FOR 1935

(Continued from Page 1)

national, in various countries, succeeded in establishing joint action. He further considered the change of tactics by the Communist International, the growing leftward drift inside the Socialist and Labor International, the collapse of the efforts of the Independent Socialist Parties to set up a centrist International influenced by Trotsky, and the ultimate merger of the Trotsky group in a number of countries into the Socialist Party. In the course of Lovestone's report, he also took up the gist of the letter of the Communist Party "To the National Committee and all members of the Communist Opposition" in which is considered the possibility of finding a basis for united front action and ultimately complete unity. The final demands which the Communist Party puts forward in the letter are as follows:

"1. An immediate end to all attacks against the Party and the Comintern" By which is meant our sharp criticism of the ultra-left line.

"2. Full and active support of the policies of the Party and its activities in all fields, especially in the trade unions."

At a time, said Lovestone, in commenting on these and other excerpts from this document (Daily Worker, Saturday December 29, 1934), when the Communist Party is itself liquidating the ultra-left course in some countries, we must not yield one inch of ground in our struggle for correct Leninist tactics and for a healthy regime inside the Communist Party based on democratic centralism. There can be no talk of capitulation.

Zimmerman Lays Down Trade Union Program

On Saturday evening Charles S. Zimmerman reported on the situation in the trade union movement. Dealing briefly with the economic background, he went over to a discussion of the NRA and its effects on the trade union movement; the tremendous increase in membership of the A.F. of L.; the Last Convention and the significance of the decisions for the organization of the basic industries along industrial lines; the menace of company unionism and government control of unions.

In discussing the tactical approach of revolutionists to the trade union movement Zimmerman characterized the attitude of the Socialist Party as chaotic—ranging from outright merger with the bureaucracy to dual unionism; the position of the Workers Party as dual unionist; and the most recent approach of the Communist Party as a shift in strategy from building wholesale dual unions to concentration inside the reformist unions. He insisted however that unless the C.P. definitely repudiates its past destructive policies of smashing the reformist unions and comes out for transforming and winning the reformist unions thru constructive militant action, their present activities, despite the shift in form, can only be considered as a continuation, in new form, of dual unionism. Life itself, Zimmerman concluded, has justified the struggle and the constructive trade union policy of the Communist Opposition. He urged the intensification of the work in the unions and the extension of the progressive movement in the unions to the point where a national progressive trade union center may be built.

Eighteen speakers from practically all industries participated in the discussion and dealt with the problems of their own industries.

An extremely interesting report on the present status and outlook for a labor party movement was given by B. Herman. The last business session of the Plenum was closed with a lively discussion on the editorial policy of Workers Age after a report by comrade George F. Miles, editor of the Age.

and in other sections, they have not given up their national dual organization, the National Textile Workers Union. They still retain this union, as well as many of the other dual "Red" trade unions of the Trade Union Unity League, with the purpose of building these organizations at the expense of our own, even if it means the complete destruction of unionism and the lowering of the standards of all the workers.

The leader of the Red International of Trade Unions, Lozovsky, from whom the disruptive "Left" group takes its instructions, has laid down, in the plainest of terms, the following policy for all supporters of the T.U.U.L. unions within the American Federation of Labor:

"That we want to break up the reformist trade unions, that we want to explode their discipline, that we want to wrest from them the workers, that we want to explode the trade union apparatus and to destroy it—OF THAT THERE CANNOT BE THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT!"

The disruptive activities of these experienced union-wreckers since they were taken into our organization leave no doubt that they have done everything in their power to carry out these instructions. During the strike they spread demoralization and broke up strike meetings; they broke into the union premises by force; they have terrorized membership meetings by their hooligan tactics—in short, they have done their very best to "explode the discipline" and to "break up" the union.

All that these disrupters now need in order to finish their job of smashing the union is to become the administration by securing a majority in the coming elections to the Plain Goods Executive Board. The loyal and progressive silk workers of Paterson must prevent this, and act to save their Union by voting, and mobilizing their shop-mates, to vote for the Progressive candidates who have helped build the organization, and who have militantly led the struggles of the silk workers in numerous strikes.

The Progressives in the union have a long record of struggle against dual-unionism and union-splitting on the one hand, and against reactionary and conservative policies and forces in the union, on the other. The Progressives have fought for industrial unionism for many years, and have been largely responsible for the big step forward in amalgamating the many craft locals that have existed for decades in the silk industry in Paterson. The Progressives have been instrumental in establishing for the first time a newspaper by our union, and in furthering labor education for the members.

The Progressives have never put any faith in arbitration, NRA Boards, Winant Boards or investigation commissions as a means of improving the workers' conditions. On the contrary, the Progressives have always pointed out that only the workers' own organized strength and vigorous and well-prepared strike action at the proper time can win anything for the silk workers and succeed in defeating the bosses' attacks. Only the policies of the Progressives will build the strength of the organization, and enable the silk workers to go forward to future strike victories!

SILK WORKERS!

Save the Union! Defeat the Union-Smashers in the Elections!

Put a Stop to the Anti-Union Activities of the So-Called "Left" or "Rank-and-File" Group and Their Allies!

Vote for the Progressive Candidates! Rally Behind the Progressive Group In Its Effort to Build the Union! Stand Solid in Support of the Union's Fight Against the Bosses' Wage-Cutting Drive!

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ZIMMERMAN ATTACKS NIRB SLASH IN PORTO RICAN DRESS CODE

A vigorous protest against the action of the NIRB in approving the reductions in piece rates for needle workers, recommended by the Porto Rican Piece-Rates Commission, was voiced today by Charles S. Zimmerman, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, who returned from a tour of the island some time ago.

"To slash the miserable scales in effect today is nothing short of an inhuman outrage committed against the Porto Rican workers," declared Zimmerman. "The present rates, based on a \$2 a week minimum for homeworkers, are disgraceful enough already. The great bulk of the workers do not even make this minimum, as I had occasion to find out in the course of a personal investigation I made while I was in Porto Rico. In many homes they could not earn more than 60c or 90c a week at the present piece rates. And now the NIRB does not hesitate to approve a measure that will inevitably drive down even these starvation wages."

"The fact of the matter is that the employers have taken advantage of the seasonal slack to put over their little scheme and the NIRB has acted promptly to sustain it, even tho it means that thousands of Porto Rican women and children will be robbed of their last crust of bread. Such scandalous action must and will be resisted by the organized labor movement in Porto Rico and in this country."

"As vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., I am addressing a sharp protest to the NIRB, demanding that not only should the approval of the cut in piece rates be reversed but that some action should be taken to increase the disgraceful minimums in the Porto Rican needle codes."

"This piece of unscrupulous wage slashing on the part of the Porto Rican Piece-Rates Commission, dominated by the employers, will surely serve as a good lesson to the workers of the island. It will teach them in a way that nothing else could the vital necessity of strengthening their union and of relying only on their own organized might for any improvement of conditions. In their fight for human conditions, the I.L.G.W.U. will give them the fullest support."

JAY LOVESTONE
AND
CHARLES ZIMMERMAN
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SALES TAX EXEMPTS SUBURBANITES WHILE EXTORTING LEVY FROM POOR

(Continued from Page 1)

the newly elected Tammany comptroller, Frank J. Taylor. The banks had refused to advance any more funds for the mealy relief provided by the city, and the administration was in serious financial difficulties. The bankers insisted on some concrete assurance that their loans will be fully returned to them together with the interest thereon, for even though the money goes for relief, the bankers must have their interest.

The question of new taxes became a burning question. For whatever proposal was brought forth it immediately met with the organized resistance of the bourgeoisie and its representatives—the assemblymen. When, for instance, a motion was introduced to levy a 1 percent business tax, it immediately met with the most strenuous opposition of the aldermen and was overwhelmingly defeated.

The city administration then realized that the best and easiest way is to levy taxes on the shoulders of those who are not organized to resist. The sales tax was the result of this realization. While the business and manufacturing sections of the population could, at every attempt to levy any taxes that might involve their interests, put up a fight through their chamber of commerce and other organizations, the bulk of the poor sections of the population are not organized to put up any fight against the city administration and the organized sections of the working class, the trade unions are not yet able and equipped to raise and lead a struggle against the levy of taxes, nor is there as yet any political organization of the working class of sufficient strength to make any effective struggle against it. That is one of the reasons why the sales tax was decided upon and why it was so easily agreed upon by all factions in the city government, and passed without resistance.

Department Stores Protest Against Sales Tax

But, although the sales tax threw the burden of collecting relief on the shoulders of the consumer, to wit, mainly on the workers, the poorest section of the population and to a great extent on relief dependents themselves, yet in its original form, it affected to some extent also the interests of the big retail stores and merchants, and that is where a protest movement against the sales tax began. The merchants associations under the leadership of ex-police commissioner Grover A. Whalen, protested against the sales tax and finally succeeded in securing an amendment to lift the sales tax from sales to out of town buyers. This raised another important ques-

tion: how to replace to the city the loss sustained by abolishing the sales tax on sales to out of town buyers?

The best and easiest way were again the mealy pennies of the workers and poor residents of the city of New York. The result was a levy of 1 cent tax on purchases ranging from 13 cents up to 1 dollar. This means that on purchases made below a dollar, most of which, if not all, are made by workers and their families, the tax is not 2 per cent but is ranging from 2 to 8 percent, depending on the amount of the purchase, and the smaller the amount of the purchase the higher the tax, which in other words means the poorer the purchaser the heavier the tax he has to pay.

To illustrate: A worker spends 1 dollar for seven articles costing about 13 cents each, at different stores or at different counters in the same department store, he pays 7 cents tax instead of 2 cents which he should pay on the dollar.

The two most important amendments of the sales tax, the one affecting out of town purchasers and the one below dollar sales, still more shift the burden of the tax onto the shoulders of the working masses.

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