PAGES CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

ORKERS AGE

PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

At First **GLANCE**

By JAY LOVESTONE

N that pitiful low-brow journal Liber ty we ran into an article by William Green, entitled "Where Labor Stands After the Wreck of the NRA" and mark. ed reading time "9 minutes 20 seconds" The chief misleader of American Labor tells us frankly that: "This brief inventory of our position today would seem to indicate that management is far better off under the NRA, while wageearners, except where they have ac quired the economic strength with which to protect their gains, are to lose rather than gain by the experiment." Amen! The end of another typical Magna Charthe end of labor! But, Dear Sir and Brother Green, what are you going to do about it? We would like to have your answer to this question. We are unable to pay you for answering it. For one thing we have been paying aplenty, as a result of your policies and leadership. At any rate, we are prepared to give you space in the Workers Age for answering this simple question in an article covering a reading time of 18 minutes 40.9 seconds. This should be plenty of time and We are awaiting your answer to our invitation.

CCASIONALLY, we are treated to a government report on social and economic conditions worth many a reading and re-reading. A report of this kind was Mayor LaGuardia's Survey on the shortcomings of relief in New York City. Of equal significance and enlight-enment is the latest P.W.A. report on housing conditions in the United States. This survey points out that housing conditions, not only in the slums in the big cities, but in huge rural areas from Montana to Mississippi are "of a character to injure the health, endanger the safety and morals and interfere with the normal life of their inhabitants". The families thus degraded constitute onethird of the total population of the country and involve 11 million homes.

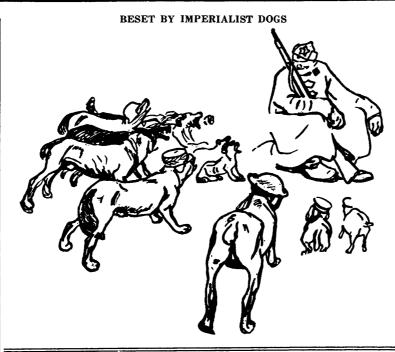
This is the blighted fruit of American prosperity. This is the proof that the United States is a land of equal oppor-tunity—with the rich and the poor having the same right to live in the slum areas. Woe unto the teacher in our public school system who tells the kids that there are classes and class struggles in the United States.

These findings of the P.W.A. are but additional evidence of an American social trend of immeasurable import: The setting in and the acceleration of the process of social deterioration, of pauperization of an ever increasing proportion of the American people. Rugged individualism has bred this disease and cannot cure it. Capitalist government control and supervision has defended and maintained the economic system in which this disease has flourished. Only the working class taking full political power into its hands and destroying root and branch the capitalist social and economic relationships, can take the necessary measures to wipe out these vast de pressed areas and to begin to remake their victims.

NATIONAL elections will soon be ordered in England. The Conservatives have a hunch that the outlook for them is somewhat improved. They have arrived at this conclusion on the basis of what appears to them a shift in trend in the recent by-elections.

Judging by the mood and methods of the leadership of the Labor Party, one would say that the reactionary Baldwin crew is far from wrong in its present calculations. The anxiety on the part of the Labor Party topnotchers is clearly reflected in some of their latest efforts to catch votes at all costs. In this light only must one view Lansbury's latest book, "Labour's Way With the Com-monwealth," when it proclaims: "The Labour Party is as desirous as any other section of our people of retaining and strengthening the ties which at present bind the Dominions, Colonies, India and Great Britain together." Could one ask more from MacDonald or from Churchill?

The total bankruptcy of the Labor Party leadership is still more painfully revealed in Lansbury's estimate of Japanese imperialist aggression as a revolt of the yellow races against the white race's claim "to dominate China and Asia or to shut out from Australia and America the people of Asia." Lansbury would have us believe that the Nipponese brigands are soldiers of freedom rebelling against British and American imperial-



EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer

Anglo-German Pact Anti-Soviet In Aim

Now that the text of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement has been made public, French worries have increased. Especially so because the text of the agreement does not coincide with the verbal report as given to France. France had been led to believe the agreement was quite temporary, but the text of the agreement maintains that it is permanent

French diplomacy is now attempting to overcome this agreement by a promise from England that in the future all negotiations in which England is a party shall be conducted collectively. To what extent England will carry out this proposal remains to be seen. In an immediate sense France has secured from England the right to build up its own navy without any changes in the naval strength of England.

The strongest protest against the agreement was made by the Soviet Union because Germany is enabled to place a strong navy in the Baltic Sea. The Anglo-German agreement is based upon the theory of Germany's expansion to the East, i.e. it is directed against the Soviet Union. After Eden's visit to Moscow it appeared as if England had discarded this perspective. But this is

proven to have been wrong. The Anglo-German agreement again proves how uncertain are the various peace agreements concluded recently. The international working class must draw its own conclusions. Peace can

ism; he would have us look upon Man chukuo as a bird of freedom as well as of "peace."

Is this merely abysmal ignorance on the part of the parliamentary leader of the "biggest and best party" of international Social Democracy today? Or is here the fruit of a combination of the

ONE does not have to apply the rule of "by guess or by god" to see that Jim Farley, Roosevelt's chief wirepuller and fixer, is going to pose as a friend of the farmers in the 1936 elections. A trump card of the Roosevelt-Farley outfit will be the rural electrification now contemplated by the White

This program which Waldman, Hoan (Continued on Page 5)

Shadow Of August 1914 Hovers Over Comintern

A discussion on the Franco-Soviet Pact; the Stalin-Laval Statement and the tasks of the Communists in case of war, by

Jay Lovestone

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 8 P.M. At IRVING PLAZA HALL 15th Street and Irving Pl., N. Y.

> Questions and Discussion Admission 15c.

Auspices: Communist Party U.S.A (Opposition) New York District

only then be assured when the working class undertakes revolutionary action and defeats its own capitalist governments. The working class must of course support the steps taken by Soviet diplomacy to assure peace, but must not limit its activity to these diplomatic treaties. On the contrary, it must undertake its own independent activity.

For Germany this agreement is a great victory which strengthens its international prestige. In this sense it is being used by the German government also inside of Germany.

Jugoslav Regime Loosens A Bit

The new Jugoslavian government repesents a sharp break with the course followed heretofore. A number of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Deputies, previously associated with the opposition, are now part of the government. Entry into the government is also being discussed with the leader of the strongest Croatian opposition party.

The Croatian opposition and other op-

position parties counter with the demand that the scandalous election laws be modified in the direction of proportional representation and that government pressure during elections be lifted.

One must not of course conclude that in Jugoslavia a Fascist regime has returned to democratic methods. In the strict sense of the term, the regime in the demand that the government take Jugoslavia was never Fascist—there was stricter measures against the Fascists. totally lacking the element of fascist This Laval has promised. There is, howmass organization. It was one of the

Chicago Conference Issues Call For Third Party

Platform Calls For New Social Order and Production For Use But Insists On Ballot As Means Of Achievement; Marcantonio and Knickerbocker Democrats Stage Bolt.

Cloakmakers Retain **Present Conditions**

While these lines are being written, negotiations are going on for a new collective agreement in the cloak and suit industry between the three employers' organizations and the Joint Board of the

Cloakmakers Union.

Now that the jobbers too have been compelled to accept Governor Lehman's recommendations, it seems very likely that a strike in the ladies garment industry will be averted.

The most important of the Governor's recommendations are: "1) That new col-lective agreements shall be negotiated by those organizations that were under collective agreements prior to June 1. 2) That (a) designation of contractors, (b) the hours, and (c) the wages as contained in the last collective agreement shall continue unchanged and be renewed. 3) That as to wages (that is, the Union's demand for a 20% increase) I suggest that the impartial chairman appointed for the industry shall collect data and information on the question and make a report of his findings to the several parties in the industry on May 15,

All of these recommendations, now accepted by all parties concerned, are a marked achievement of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, especially when it is taken into consideration that this was the Union's first encounter with the garment manufacturers after the collapse of the NRA.

This considerable victory is directly due to the organized power of the cloak-makers union of I.L.G.W.U.

well-known Balkan military dictatorships.

This dictatorship, confronted by the various national contradictions and the effects of a severe economic crisis, had to take a step back. Real Fascist dictatorships do not permit themselves to be reformed.

In France
The advance of the Fascists in France takes the form of "punitive expedi-tions" and parades. During the last few days delegations of the Radical Socialist Party have appeared before Laval with

(Continued on Page 6)

The much heralded conference, called by a number of Congressmen, was held during the July 4th holiday and ended in the launching of a Third Party. The Conference was called by the Farmer Labor Political Federation, League for Independent Political Action, and the Peoples Political Alliance of Chicago.

The new organization, to be known as the American Commonwealth Political Federation, adopted a 14 point platform in which great emphasis is placed on a new social order based upon production for use. The conference however expressed itself as of the opinion that this can be achieved by the ballot.

The Executive Committee consists of Congressman T. R. Amlie, John Bosch, Alfred M. Bingham, Paul H. Douglas, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Judge John Wirds, Judge Edward Jeffries, H. Y. Williams, Frank Rosenbloom and Lillian Herstein. The latter two, connected with the A. C. W. and teachers' union respectively, apparently constitute the labor

An effort to adopt a statement bar-ring communists from membership of the organization was tabled but the outright anti-Red drive at the Convention caused much protest and ultimately led to the withdrawal of Congressman Mar-cantonio and the Knickerbocker Democratic Club, both from New York

MANY STRIKES IN FORT WAYNE

FORT WAYNE, Ind .- 500 workers of the Wayne Knitting Mills walked out after a demand for union recognition was not granted. The Inca Manufacturing Co. is also tied up after a strike for union recognition and a 15% increase.

Organized labor is supporting these strikes well. The federal local of the General Electric sent 500 men to help picket the Wayne Mill. Later the Wayne strikers sent a delegation of 200 to help picket the Inca.

A general strike in Fort Wayne is not excluded. Street car operators, women's garment workers and General Electric workers are beginning negotiations with

Progressives Win In Doll Union

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Progressive Group, which is the administration of the Doll and Toy Workers Union, came out victorious in its first skirmish with the Rank and File Group. The full progressive slate for Election and Objections Committee was elected. Elections are to be held sometime in August.

The committee elected consists of S. S. Speranza. Horowitz. Mesina, E. Steinberg and Ph. Lombardo.

I. Haasenberg 1.00
L. Baum 1.00
Robert Strong 5.00
Horowitz 1.00
P. Kutt 5.00
H. Linn 5.00
J. Titiefsky
Eve Dorf10.00
D. Benjamin25.00
Lily Gordon 1.00
Ruth Henry20.00
H. & F. Fox 5.00
Lena Greenberg 2.00
Charles S. Zimmerman45.00
A. Skolnick
Sabi Nehama
Louis Rosenthal45.00
William Himmelfarb40.00
J. Friedman40.00
Bert Wolfe 5.00
Ellen Ward 5.00
Sophie Mesnil 5.00
Paul Berg 1.00
Eva Schlachter on list 114 4.10
Eva Schlachter 5.00
E. Castle 5.00
Minnie Lurye 2.00
Ida Alpert 2.00
Sarah Gross 5.00
Arthur Orville 1.00
Bob Lewis 2.00
Abe Calderon
Jack Broder 5.00
GRAND TOTAL\$695.10
GRAND IUIAL

STILL TO GO\$804.90

WORKER'S AGE DRIVE AT HALF WAY MARK

it of evil design, of anti-proletarian content and interest? Obviously, we have New York Supporters of Age Raise Almost \$700 in Nine Days Herskowitz, and Pledge To Go Over The Top; Friends Outside Of New York Urged To Speed Up Collections And Rush Funds

> With most encouraging energy the C.P.O. members and sympathisers of Workers Age in New York City have driven forward in the drive to assure the uninterrupted appearance of the Age thru the summer months. In the course of less than two weeks the New York comrades have raised almost \$700. According to the Campaign Committee the resources are by no means exhautted. In fact New York is now talking of going over the top of its quota.

> Comrades and readers outside of New | York, get busy now! Three weeks Ray Michaels 5.00 still remain in which to complete the drive but don't wait. Make your collection now, circulate your collection lists and rush funds just as quickly as it is collected.

The editorial staff and the campaign committee in New York express their gratitude to the comrades and friends who have responded early and gen-erously. We appeal to all our friends to do likewise.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED (As of July 2, 1935)

Previously Listed\$222	
Peter Ross	5.00
Bill Turner20	0.00
Rose Raymond	5.00
Bernard Herman	
Clarence Jenkins	1.00
Cora Jones	1.00
Florence Reed	5.00
Alice Brent	2.50
Evelyn Lawrence20	0.00
Jesse Lane	5.00

PICNIC

At Tibbets Brook Park (Field No. 10)

SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1935

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Benefit Workers Age

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LABOR AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM Will By Will Herberg

preme Court thru the exercise of its power of judicial review has turned universal attention to the question of constitutional reform. So sacrosanct ha the Federal Constitution become in offisome important respects, represents a constitutional reform. significant advance in popular political thought. It would be a great mistake Wiping Out States Rights for Marxists to treat the subject of con-

to be superseded only thru hard-won experience accompanied by theoretical clarification. That is why the question of constitutional reform, now that it is the independent political lead.

Meaning Of Supreme Court

must be left to the forty-eight separate, "states' rights" as far as governmental and provinces," quite in the spirit of the tionary as today. "sovereign" states to deal with!

This action of the Supreme Court has naturally precipitated a whole avalanche of proposals for constitutional reform. Demands have been raised for the complete abolition of the reviewing power of the Supreme Court or at least for the requirement of a two-thirds vote to give validity to its decisions. Others have suggested that the Supreme Court re-view of Congressional legislation should discussions, student meetings and "full" be limited to six months after enactment, sessions, the student is apt to develop Players Score Company after which such legislation is to be re- an unwholesome attitude toward the Union garded as no longer subject to court trade union movement in general. With action (Norris amendment). And then, of course, we have the so-called "Workshop specifically giving Congress the power body. Putting the labor movement in

on the question of reforming the bour-

As opposed to abstract, state-darge formed actinating anarchism, Marxism has always supported and championed every proposal to better the existing government system more democratic and, where possible, to obstruct the exercise of its major industrial centers from the tentrality between monarchy and bourgeois republic. It surely favors universal suffrage against upper "houses of has to that between monarchy and so on. This is obvious. But, on the other hand, in opposition to vulgar and so on. This is obvious. But, on the other hand, in opposition to vulgar and mounty and so on. This is obvious. But, on the other hand, in opposition to vulgar and work of the formism, Marxism has always repudiated as mere utopian nonsense the concepts and Mr. Hearts were formism, Marxism has always repudiated as mere utopian nonsense the concepts and mounty of the tother hand, in opposition to vulgar and mounty of the other hand, in opposition to vulgar and mounty of the other hand, in opposition to vulgar and mounty of the other hand, in opposition to vulgar and mounty of the other hand, in opposition to vulgar and mounty of the other hand, in opposition to vulgar and mounty of the other hand, in opposition to vulgar and the worker. The worker outwits all the Fascists mome, the concept of the deap with the prosent of the present social system was something the pulper. The tour of the Brookwood Labor and the worker. The worker outwits all the provided square. In Buffalo, the players oppositely, the players of the first opposition, to the obstruct the exercise of its and the worker. The worker outwits all the Fascists and make striends with the veryes of the first opposition to vulgar and and the worker. The worker outwits all the provided square. In Buffalo, the players opposite the translated and the worker. The worker outwits all the Fascists and make striends with the players of the first opposition to vulgar and and the worker. The worker outwits all the Fascists and make striends with the possible, to obstruct the exercise of Marxism regards democratic constitutional forms as progressive and worth fighting for only because of the advantage they bring to the proletariat in the content of the proletariat in the content of the content of the content of the content of the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the content of the Chicago Federate the company's part had confused the content of the Chicago Federate the company's part had confused the converted the Speakers Buro into the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the converted the Speakers Buro into the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the converted the Speakers Buro into a Labor College. The Labor College will have the support of the Chicago Federate the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant the plant the plant the following day—which action on the company's part had confused the plant t tage they bring to the proletariat in the everyday class struggle and in the revolutionary struggle for emancipation. The existing governmental system cannot be "reformed" into a working class Circle League and Rebel Arts.

The brookwood Players attended a packed meeting in the Auditorium of the Metal Trades Council Hall. On the Metal Trades Co state; it must be destroyed and replaced Albany and Troy on the Hudson are stage sat various officials of the Cleve- talism' started her 1000 mile trek back

Supreme Court Act Raises Problem of Reforming Constitution

concerned in the destruction of "states'

effective channels of political mobiliza-|control of economic life is concerned. | "states' rights" liberalism of Senator

It is hardly necessary to point out Congress imposed in the recent decision other German socialists, once in connecstitutional reform lightly just because that the workers are not in the least in- of the Supreme Court would make alto- tion with the Austrian war in 1866 and they themselves understand that what is terested in sustaining the decree-making gether impossible the passage of any again in connection with the Francoreally needed is not the reform of the power of the President, that is, in sup- Federal social and labor legislation on Prussian war in 1870. The Marxian traexisting governmental system but its de- porting the encroachment of the execu- the ground that in such matters the dition on this question is, in fact, excepstruction and replacement by an entirely tive power at the expense of the legis- states are supreme, "sovereign"! And tionally well established, not only for new political setup resting on new class lative. Precisely such expansion of the what such legislation means on a state Germany but for modern bourgeois states foundations. The political development executive power has usually served as scale we know from bitter experience. in general. of the working class does not proceed in a vacuum; the prevailing conceptions, traditions, yes, even the political prejuntary.

One of the forerunners of Fascism, for the degree that the "states' rights" dogma is really operative, it would tend to dissolve the labor movement political
Of Reaction

Of Reaction dice and superstitions of the masses, must be taken as the point of departure, to be superseded only thru hard, were as movable citadel of reaction, notoriously tralization in governmental organization role that the "states' rights" dogma has immune to popular pressure. But such is essentially a very adverse factor in played in the political history of this "radical" constitutional change is hard-ly to be regarded as practical today; class, as Marx so frequently points out, subject of general interest, deserves the furthermore, the issue of the Supreme since it retards the clear alignment of against advancing movement to abolish careful consideration of those whose Court's power of judicial review is too hostile classes on a national scale. To or even restrict slavery. Gradually task it is to give the working class its technically legalistic, too remote from empower Congress to pass social and la- "states' rights" became the watchword the everyday life of the masses, for it to offer any advantages as a starting point of effective political agitation under the present conditions. Of course, organization of labor on a national scale. talism, while the latter, of course, ap-The decision of the Supreme Court is this is a thousand times more true of fairly clear in its meaning and implica- the so-called Norris amendment for the Marx On "Kleinstaaterei" tions. The NRA is voided on two dissix-month period of judicial review, a truct grounds: (1) the Constitution does proposal characterized by all of the nar-which centralizes the bourgeoisie is, of Such was the situation until almost yes-

thinct grounds: (1) the Constitution does not permit Congress to delegate the estrow-minded legalism, futility and shallowness of liberalism! which centralizes the bourgeoisie is, or b sentially legislative power inherent in code-making to the executive branch, the This brings us to the "Workers increasing experience. As early as 1850, increasing experience. As early as 1850, in the product of the Federal child later than the substitute of the experience of the codernal authority in the reddens of the Federal child later than the substitute of the experience. President ("improper delegation of power"); and (2) the Constitution does not cated by the Socialist Party and vaguely of the Communist League, he contrasted bor law, that "states' rights" had become permit the Federal Government (i.e., Consumported, in some of its aspects, by the gress) to regulate or interfere with in- A. F. of L. Its main intent is to amend possible in the hands of the central government grey ever-growing demand for social and latra-state commerce ("states' rights")— the Constitution as to permit Congress ernment" as the aim of the proletariat bor legislation. Thruout its entire hisand practically all varieties of "busi- to fix minimum wages and maximum with the striving of the petty bourgeoisie tory the "states' rights" dogma has ness" (agriculture, mining and manufac- working hours and to abolish child labor for a "federal republic" and its desire played an essentially reactionary part, turing, specifically) are regarded as intra-state by the Supreme Court. All
such matters, the court edict declares,

cial tradition that the mere suggestion tion. It is from this angle that Marxism I think that it is hardly necessary to Borah. Repeatedly after that, he exof its imperfection or inadequacy in analyzes and judges every scheme of insist that the working class is directly pressed his opposition to the whole petty bourgeois ideology of "Kleinstaaterei rights," especially in the economic field. ("small-stateism," i.e., states' rights), The Constitutional restrictions upon manifested by Wilhelm Liebknecht and

pealed to the Federal power for protection, especially to the "due process"

A Student Sees The Labor Movement

After spending six months at Brook-The fundamental attitude of Marxism of view will bring the student out of the realm of theory and make him rea- Puppets Win Crowd.

the Trojans had been noted for their against "communistic nit-wits." * In this article I am concerned only "contented" labor. Today unions have That night we played at the Metal

tauqua were more desirous of approach-| Coughlin Sentiment Strong ing, as all the playlets, taught the most

ers Rights" or "Hillquit" amendment, fought daily by the two score student eral Electric Plant competing with the Ohio. Coughlinites cropped up everycompany union of the plant. During the where. "establish uniform laws thruout the the test tube, the student, without ef-United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage lish minimum compensation of wage earners ...; to establish and take over learners ... natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, comprises in manufacturing, mining, comprese in manufacturing, mining, compress in m merce, transportation . . . "*

Chatauqua was added as a regular part of the course. To help place the studiff the union was planning to affiliate with near the end of the discussion and with their own conceptions on this subject are How should labor look on these proposals and on the subject of constitutional reform in general?

"Cleansing" Bourgeois

"Cleansing" Bourgeois

"Cleansing" Bourgeois

"Cleansing" Bourgeois

"Cleansing" Bourgeois

"In help place the statation of the union was planning to amiliate with possible tare the end of the Massible tare the end of the Massibl and seeing the movement from his point trial unionism on a plant-wide basis.

been taken, the management had closed which converted the Speakers Buro into

state; it must be destroyed and replaced by such a government. But, in the long and difficult effort to smash the bourgeois class state, every progressive political reform is of great value in allowing the proletariat more freedom of action, in giving it new vantage points and more giving it new vantage points and more that the content of the shirt bosses and prior to organization efforts, and dogs." Then he went into a tirade the communistic nit-wits."

with those aspects of the "Hillquit" sprung up like mushrooms in the shirt amendment which concern social and labor legislation. The Marxian attitude on the nationalization of industry under capitalism must be discussed separately.

That night we played at the Metal Trades Council Hall and were scheduled to put on a program before the Fisher Body strikers the next day but it was cancelled by McKinnon, Sec'y of the aution of industry under capitalism must be discussed separately.

That night we played at the Metal Trades Council Hall and were scheduled to put on a program before the Fisher Body strikers the next day but it was cancelled by McKinnon, Sec'y of the union groups that the Brookwood Chamber I was these new cancelled by McKinnon, Sec'y of the union groups that the Brookwood Chamber I was the second and labor in the shirt to put on a program before the Fisher Body strikers the next day but it was cancelled by McKinnon, Sec'y of the union groups that the Brookwood Chamber I was the second and labor in the shirt to put on a program before the Fisher Body strikers the next day but it was cancelled by McKinnon, Sec'y of the union groups that the Brookwood Chamber I was the second and labor in the shirt trades Council.

That night we played at the Metal Trades Council Hall and were scheduled to put on a program before the Fisher Body strikers the next day but it was cancelled by McKinnon, Sec'y of the its office.

The last night in Cleveland the Play-

all her volumes on finger-bowl tactics, hat-tipping and "how ya beens" never gave any pointers on what to say and do on the question of reforming the bourgeois class state is not difficult to define, especially in the light of the rich experiences of the founders of Marxism in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The realm of theory and make him real state in the latter work he has to do in order to help mold the trade unon movement in America into what it should be.

May Day found the players in Syration in the properties of the founders of the founders of the founders of Marxism in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Getting Under Way

The realm of theory and make him real say and pointers on what to say and under to the capitalist offensive being when progressive students meet an outstanding red-baiter. Anyway, the Brookstanding red-baiter. Anyway, the Brookstanding red-baiter. Anyway, the Brookstanding red-baiter. Anyway, the Brookstanding red-baiter. Anyway any pointers on what to say and under to the capitalist offensive being when progressive students meet an outstanding red-baiter. Anyway, the Brookstanding red-baiter. Anyway any pointers on what to say and under the capitalist offensive being days any pointers on what to say and under the capitalist offensive being when progressive students meet an outstanding red-baiter. Anyway, the Brookstanding red-baiter. Anyway any pointers on what to say and under the capitalist offensive being when progressive students meet an outstanding red-baiter. Anyway, the Brookstanding red-baiter. Anyway any pointers on what to say and under the capitalist offensive being when progressive students meet an outstanding red-baiter. Anyway any pointers on what to say and under the capitalist offensive being when progressive students meet an outstanding red-baiter. Anyway any pointers on what to say and under the capitalist offensive being when progressive students meet an outstanding red-baiter. Anyway any pointers on what to say any any pointers on what to say any any pointers of the capitalist offensive being when progressive students meet an outstanding red-baiter. Anyway

to Brookwood.

JENNIE VIZENTHAL KANTOR CAMP ARTEMIS BREWSTER, NEW YORK Brewster 555-F-5 52 miles from Grand Central

that an amendment to empower Congress o limit hours and fix minimum wage and abolish child labor generally fulfills the requirements of progressive consti tutional reform as outlined above and therefore deserves the support of the labor movement and all forward-looking people. But precisely because of the utter inexperience of American Marxism dealing with practical political questions, it is necessary to keep in mind a number of vital considerations, underlying any working class campaign for con stitutional reform.

1. Such a campaign must be conducted

I believe it is obvious on the face of it

not for the sake of abstract legal reform nor for the sake of patching up or improving the existing governmental structure but simply and solely for the purpose of raising the political class struggle to a higher level and making possible the improvement of the conditions of the masses thru legislative action. Constitutional reform is utterly remote from the realities of the worker's life unless it can be shown to have some meaning in terms of wages, hours, living conditions and the ultimate struggle for emancipa-

2. The appeal for constitutional reform must be made as an organic part of the fundamental revolutionary agitation exposing the inherent incapacity of the capitalist state, no matter how reformed, to serve the purposes of the working class and hammering home the necessity of destroying the existing state that a campaign for constitutional reform will rapidly degenerate into demoralizing reformism, self-defeating alike in immediate object and ultimate

3. In this country today, every call to labor to unite for political objectives must be accompanied by a vigorous appeal to the workers to break away from the capitalist parties and declare their political independence as a class by formng a broad Labor party. Without this, we have hardly more than "pressure politics," or lobbying, in which the A.F.ofL chieftains place such exclusive confi-

4. No matter how really important it may appear, the demand for constitutional reform must not be turned into a fetish, into a panacea or cure-all. It rs appeared before the Amalgamated must be strictly subordinated to the Clothing Workers Union. When the puppet skit went on, attacking Coughlin, take its proper place. Otherwise, the about one third of the audience walked issue becomes not so much an expression take its proper place. Otherwise, the After Cleveland the Players pushed in-stitute for it!

These considerations all hit more or less directly the campaign now being conducted by the Socialist Party in behalf damental Marxist criticism of the existanswer to the capitalist offensive being

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PRESENT SITUATION AND TASKS OF COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

Draft Theses Proposed by the National Buro to the Fifth National Convention of the Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition)

With the publication of this document the preconvention discussion of the Communist Opposition is declared opened and will continue until the close of the Fifth Convention during the Labor Day weekend.

All units of the C.P.O. are asked to organize

further delay. All comrades are advised that the discussion applies also to the columns of the Workers Age. The only limitations placed upon the discussion in Workers Age are those of space. See your unit organizer for further information on the convention and the discussion.—Editor.

discussions among the membership without any

I. The International Situation

II. Trends In International Labor Movement

1. The continuing world-wide economic crisis is today characterized by the following features: a limited, superficial rather than fundamental recovery; stagnation in the international trade and capital markets; an acutely disturbed exchange system constantly shaken by the increasing maldistribution of the gold supply (flight from the franc, etc.); pump-priming thru huge war expenditures; mounting government budget deficits; marked deterioration of economic situation in countries not seriously hit at first (France); worsening of basic conditions in principal Fascist countries (Germany, Italy); extension of state capitalism to stimulate revival; increasingly disruptive effect of the sundry artificial measures (higher tariffs, currency dumping, etc.) applied to relieve the crisis; persistence of mass unemployment even in countries registering greatest overy; sharpened conflicts in world market especially because of the new role of Japan, whose recent economic rise rests on an extremely shaky

2. As against this picture of continuing general decay of world capitalism even in the process of recovery, there is Soviet socialist economy constantly registering organic growth. The unbroken upward curve of economic progress in the U.S.S.R. is reflected in the Soviet Union's beginning to equal or excel the production levels of the basic industries in the biggest capitalist

3. The international political situation rooted in this deep-going general crisis of capitalism is assuming ever-greater tenseness, developing headlong towards another and even more devastating world war. The principal manifestations of this trend are the following: the new position of German imperialism breaking the shackles of Versailles and speedily preparing a war of revenge and expansion (vs. U.S.S.R., France); the rise of

Three major immediate problems confront

the world labor movement. These are: improve-

ment of the working conditions and living stan-

dards; defeat of the rising menace of Fascism;

beating back the growing danger of imperialist

war in general and securing the defense of the

Soviet Union in particular. The possibility of the

international working class meeting these problems depends primarily on the readiness and abil-

ity of the world proletarian organizations to form

united front of militant class struggle against

2. In the main the reformist section of the

international labor movement, under the banner

of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, con-

tinue to adhere to the principles of reformism-

to the policies of peaceful collaboration with the

bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, these organizations

have not been able entirely to escape the repercus-

sions of the bankruptcy of the principles of re-

formism in such countries as Germany and Aus-

tria which, but recently, were Social-Democratic

towers of strength. Here is rooted the signifi-

cant process of radicalization, in the ranks of

the Social-Democratic workers of France, Spain

and Austria, where the Socialist Parties, under

impact of a swing to the left by their members

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capitalist reaction in all its ramifications.

Japan as a creditor country seeking to consolidate its hegemony in the Far East by wanton aggression against China and war against the U.S.S.R., as well as by systematically dislodging the U.S. and Great Britain not only in the Asiatio market but also in fields dominated by these imperialist powers for decades (Latin America, Africa); a feverish armament race; increasing tension in the relations among the powers allied in the last war (Anglo-German naval agreement collapse of Stresa, conflict over Abyssinia).

4. To date, the outbreak of a world war has been delayed primarily by the imperialist powers' fear and recognition of the growing Soviet prowess and vigorous peace policy, the capitalist dread of revolutionary proletarian upheaval, and the still unfinished preparations of those imperialist ruling cliques at present most aggressive. In the face of this condition, it is entirely correct for the Soviet government to utilize, for the purpose of even temporarily lessening the danger of a concerted attack on the U.S.S.R., the divisions among the imperialist powers to resort to military alliances for the revolutionary objective of aiding the defense of the Socialist Republics, and to sup port even the most limited efforts for the protraction of peace regardless of their motive or source. These diplomatic and military moves by the U.S.S.R. are, of course, only supplemental and secondary to reliance on international workng class solidarity as the main and decisive force for the defense of the Soviet Union. These steps -taken to prevent, delay, or ward off imperialis attacks against the U.S.S.R .-- are not merely for the sake of preserving and consolidating the greatest victory the international proletariat has scored to date (working class power in Soviet Union) but also for enhancing the most fundamental interests of the proletarian masses in countries still dominated by capitalist forces.

and followers, have agreed to a united front with

the Communist Parties against the monster of

Fascism. On the other hand there must be noted

a swing to the right manifested in a stubborn

opposition to the united front (British Labor

Party) and in a revival of virulent ministerial

ism, cabinet-"socialism," in the Scandinavian

3. The forces of centrism (hidden reformism)

covering itself with left phrases and tending to

check the genuine leftward movement of the

workers, have begun to stagnate organizationally;

n some countries they have begun to recede

(I.L.P.), despite numerous opportunities for them

resulting from the false, sectarian line of the

Comintern. All attempts to gather under one banner, either in the form of a new International

or even a co-operating center, the centrist forces

within and outside the Second International have failed dismally. Nor has the reinforcement

of this tendency by Trotskyism as a virulent

source of new centrist ideology been able to alter

this trend. Under the impact of this heavy or-

ganizational blow (collapse of the efforts to form

erated into marked anti-Sovietism, has begun to

go over to Social-Democracy (France, Spain,

Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium and now the U.S.A.),

4. The revolutionary section of international

labor-the Communist movement-continues di-

vided, paralyzed and unable to utilize the numer-

ous favorable opportunities despite the earnest efforts of the International Communist Opposition

for a correction of the tactical line and for Com-

munist unity. The official Communist movement

-the Communist International-stubbornly re-

fuses to make a clean, thorogoing break with its

sectarian ultra-left line, with its lack of collec-

tive leadership, with its stifling bureaucratic in-

ner course. To the extent that any break has

been made by the C.I. with its harmful strategic

course, the turn has been made thru mechanical

bureaucratic means, rather than in a self-critical

manner on the basis of democratic centralism,

on a limited scale varying in different countries.

and in such a haphazard manner as to breed confusion and rank opportunism (non-aggression

pacts, proposals for organic unity with social reformism, etc.). The persistent clinging to the

policy of domination of the C.I. by the C.P.S.U.,

the practice of mechanically transferring tactics

from the C.P.S.U. to other parties which have

not yet led the working class to power, the denial

of democratic centralism and international col-

suicidal confusion in the ranks of the entire Com-

intern over a whole series of fundamental ques-

tions. Hence, the failure of the Communist par-

ties to understand the relationship between Soviet

foreign policy and the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles in the different capitalist

lective leadership, these are the basic sources of

a Fourth International), Trotskyism has deger

and to split up still further.

countries and Belgium.

countries, the identity of the interests of the Soviet and of the rest of the international proletariat accompanied by an inevitable difference in tactics to be employed by a proletariat already in power and the working class not yet in power.

Thoroly conscious of the basic distinction that must necessarily exist between the tactics to be followed by the C.P.S.U., on the one hand, and the Communist parties in the capitalist countries on the other, we recog nize the complete correctness of the diplo matic policy of the Soviet Union in concluding the military alliance with France and in permitting the issuance of the Stalin-Laval declaration as the necessary price of such an alliance in this concrete instance. Such a course on the part of the Soviet Union is a consistent continuation, under present conditions of world politics, of the fundamental peace policy of the U.S.S.R.

But precisely for this reason, must we also recognize as fatally dangerous to the very existence of the Communist movement, to the most vital interests of the whole revolutionary labor movement, the confusion in the ranks of the sections of the C.I. (France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc.) as to the role of the Communist parties in those countries that may be lined up on the side of the U.S.S.R. in the coming world war, a confusion due to the mechanical transference of tactics from the U.S.S.R. to the Communist parties in the capitalist countries. In this sense, under the circumstances of a lack of collective leadership in the C.I. and under the circumstances in which Stalin is simultaneously the symbol and most authoritative spokesman of the Comintern as well s of the C.P.S.U., a dangerous mistake was made in having Stalin involve himself in a joint communique with Laval fully endorsing "the national defense policy carried out by France to maintain her armed forces at the level necessary to her security." Coming from Stalin, who is not so much the spokesman of the Soviet government as the outstanding leader of the Comintern, this declaration has made it still more difficult for the Communist Parties in countries having capitalist governments momentarily in alliance with the U.S.S.R. to adopt and make clear the correct position in the coming world war.

The basic Communist slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war remains unchanged but assumes a new, concrete form for Communist parties in countries having an alliance with the Soviet Union. These Communist Parties steadfastly continue to aim at the revolutionary overthrow of their own bourgeois state by the proletariat. They must declare war on their own bourgeoisie and organize the revolutionary struggle against them not only before such a war breaks out but also incessantly from the very first day of such a war. Once the bourgeoisie is thus overthrown in a particular country, the job of the proletariat taking power is not stop the war immediately but rather to organize revolutionary warfare, to throw their full forces and resources on the side of the U.S.S.R.

Under no circumstances can a military alliance

between a capitalist country and the Soviet Union mean that the Communist Party in the bourgeois country is to conclude peace with the capitalist class when the war breaks out. Just the opposite must be the strategy pursued by the Communist Party in question. In order to defend the Soviet Union and to help it achieve its revolutionary objectives in the war, the Communist Party must lead the workers in its country towards the overthrow of its own bourgeoisie. At best, the bourgeoisie, momentarily lined up on the side of the Soviet Union in a war, are unreliable allies of the proletarian dictatorship and would seek the first opportunity for turning on it. More than that. Only by the working class snatching power from their bourgeoisie and then launching a revolutionary war against the capitalist governments attacking the Soviet Union, can there be prevented the imposition of imperialist peace terms, partition, dismemberment, and annexations on ther countries. In any war in which the Soviet Union is involved, the highest interests of the entire international proletariat are expressed in the complete victory of the U.S.S.R. waging a revolutionary war. The progress of the world revolution in other countries is organically bound up with such a victory by the Soviet proletariat. The best way to hasten and insure such a victory is the seizure of power by the workers of other countries and then allying themselves with the U.S.S.R. in a revolutionary war. This strategy holds just as much for the Communist Parties operating in imperialist countries which have nilitary agreements with the U.S.S.R. The task of such Communist Parties is also to transform the imperialist war into a revolutionary war. This task can be achieved only thru the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, thru the destruction of bourgeois rule. Talk of peace with the bourgeoisie or voting for war credits is out of the question, is utterly impermissible for Communists in such countries as well as for the Communists of other lands. Such a policy would e open social-chauvinism no matter under what

5. A further indication of the confusion and gross opportunism prevailing in important sections of the Comintern today is its swing towards "coalition-socialism," as exemplified in the declaration of the French C.P. taking the initiative in attempting to form "a left wing cabinet," expressing the readiness to support a Radical Socialist government inside and outside of parlia-

banner it would be conducted.

6. The International Communist Opposition has finally broken thru the Chinese Wall set up against it by the ECCI and has succeeded in forcing the Comintern leadership and some of the C.I. section leaderships to enter into unity negotiations with the various groups of the I.C.O. Because of the inadequacy of the turns made by the C.I., because of the very manner in which these turns have been made, and because of the factional character of the demands made upon the Communist Opposition forces, the unity negotiations have to date failed to overcome the divisions in the Communist ranks. However, thru these negotiations the I.C.O. has been able to exercise more effectively its influence upon the membership of the official Communist Parties.

III. Economic and Political Situation in U.S.A.

1. Stagnation and uncertainty pervade the present economic situation in the U.S. Furthernore, the jagged character of the business index itself reveals the instability of American capitalist economy today. Despite the country's having reached the bottom some time ago, there is no real restoration of confidence; there is no readiness or ability on the part of private industry to utilize or invest the huge supply of capital. This plethora of unusable capital affords fertile soil for ggravation of the old and generation of new contradictions. The very remedial measures taken by the government (currency manipulation, inflationary moves, A.A.A., artificial price-fixing, etc.) have begun to stimulate this process of decay.

The army of disemployed continues at over ten millions. The relief rolls are still rising. The state as producer and investor continues to absorb at least nine out of every ten dollars of newly floated securities. The extension of monopoly continues apace and small business finds it ever more difficult to continue. The disparity between agriculture and industry remains acute. The competition in the world market grows more intense constantly. The stimulus of heavy expenditures for war production and certain public

works is proving a makeshift and costly palliative. 2. The Supreme Court's invalidation of the N.R.A. and Roosevelt's \$19-94 wage scale have served as signals for the capitalists to intensify their drive, launched some months before, to lengthen hours, shorten pay, and worsen working conditions. This campaign is aggravating the deepgoing trend towards mass impoverishment, degradation and pauperization in the urban and rural areas. Note the sinking of living standards, the depressing of the conditions of the youth, the situation of the Negroes becoming even worse. the acceleration of the spread of farm tenancy, the plight of the jobless and share-croppers, the lowering of the standards of the labor aristocracy and its consequently narrowing base, the process of de-classing which has set in among the petty bourgeoisie of all walks. While the rate of profit of the biggest capitalists has been maintained and inflated thruout the depression and especially during the N.R.A., employment and the general conditions of the working class have relatively

worsened. The lowest wage-scales of the government will serve as a great impetus for industry, especially in the South where private industry is shifting and attempting to consolidate itself for a recovery of profits. This comes on the basis of government-set precedents of exploi-

3. In this socio-economic condition are rooted significant political forces and trends beginning to mature more rapidly. State capitalism has the rise of a huge government bureaucracy which is merging extensively with the apparatus of biggest business. On all important social and

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derstanding." Together with Mr. Spin-

future leaders of the Negro race. The

Amenia Conference stands out as a place

garn, he summoned this conference of

Conferring For A

New Understanding

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4. The Supreme Court's thunderbolt against the N.R.A. and the whole New Deal places before the working class more sharply than ever the entire question of the character and function of the Constitution. In itself, this result is a significant phenomenon which will objectively aid the disillusionment on the part of great masses of workers and farmers with "the infallibility, inviolability, and eternity" of this document and the very structure and aims of the government founded on it. The developing issue of state rights vs. federal powers will assume a new and vigorous life, but in reality will only serve as a screen to hide, as a cloud to blur, the essential questions of class interests and class powers at stake as a result of years of intense crisis and its deepgoing social and economic consequences.

Contrary to prevailing opinion, the Supreme Court decision against the N.R.A. is much more a blow at the rights of Congress than at the powers of the executive arm of the government. It arrogates terrific power for the judiciary, which is that section of the government furthest removed from the masses and least susceptible to their influence and pressure, at the expense of the legislative arm which is least distant from the masses and least unresponsive to their influence and pressure. The Supreme Court has decided to make itself (a non-elected, life-appointed body) paramount by taking into its own hands full power to determine how Congress is to use, delegate, or dispose of its powers in the matter of hours, wages, working conditions, farm relations and commercial standards. And this in a situation involving the relationship between a greater number of people and the government than at any time in the history of the country! Herein lies the menace of the Supreme Court decision to even the most meagre beginnings of social legislation, as clearly foreshadowed in the voidance of the Railway Retirement Act.

That zealousness in behalf of state rights and fear of excessive Federal powers was not the mainspring of the judges' decision is confirmed by at least two significant facts. First of all, on previous occasions the Court did not challenge Congress or the President nearly as much under the very same Constitution; secondly, and of even greater importance, is the fact that while the Court has always been ready to challenge social legislation on Constitutional grounds, yet, it has never raised the slightest doubt about the constitutionality of giant Federal subsidies to railroads, banks and corporations thru agencies like the R.F.C. This N.R.A. decision, therefore, is really not at all in behalf of the preservation of so-called state rights, not at all aimed at lessening the Federal powers as against those of the states and thus decentralize government authority as such. Basically it is a serious countermove against the rising demand for federal, social and labor legislation as well as a deliberate attempt to concentrate power in the hands of 9 (or 5) uncrowned monarchs as the most reliable trustees of big capitalist interests to a point hitherto unassumed or reached in the annals of the

5. Undoubtedly the Supreme Court decision and all its implications will play a very important part in the coming presidential elections. However, in itself, it will not alter the results of the elections. Thru its control of fabulous relief funds and the vast relief and A.A.A. machines, thru its utilization of the gigantic government apparatus, the Roosevelt administration will be able to crush the dissident forces within the Democratic Party and decisively defeat the Republicans. The outlook for any significant "third," ourgeois party or a national mass labor party entering the 1936 lists is extremely slim. The trend towards party realignments and the trend towards a breakdown of the two-party system has not yet matured sufficiently. As an expert demagogue, Roosevelt will be able, in many ways, to exploit the Supreme Court Decision against

Add to this the fact that the Republican Party, with all its "Grass Root" conferences and cries about preserving the Constitution, is still badly divided, weighed down by the Hoover ghost and tradition, leaderless and essentially programless. As a champion of state rights, the Republican Party has no record to show. On the contrary, it has been the classical party of government centralization. As the guardian of the sanctity of the Supreme Court, this "party of Lincoln" is in no comfortable position to pose. Even as an agency of "rugged individualism and no tampering by the government with natural economic forces," this party of Hoover with his Federal Farm Bureau, Federal Land Banks, and Reconstruction Finance Corporation is not exactly well qualified. Yelling for a return to the pure gold tandard and denouncing social legislation are not the best planks to serve as the foundation of a Republican victory in 1936.

IV. The American Labor Movement Today

1. Never before in the history of American labor has the leadership of its biggest organized and decisive section—the trade union movement been so helpless, so sterile, and so hopeless The dominant officialdom of the A. F. of L., headed by the Executive Council, has proven itself totally bankrupt in the face of critical situations and countless opportunities to register achievements in behalf of the working class. The great wave of strikes and organization has found these top leaders unprepared, often unwilling to assist, and all too often blocking and paralyzing the militant efforts of the workers.

When the workers began to feel the need of unity and to close their ranks under the banner of the A. F. of L., these reactionary officials sought to sow dissensions and perpetrate division (Green, Woll). While the workers were seeking new and better methods of struggle, extending their class solidarity, these leaders stabbed them in the back (San Francisco general strike). While the workers were flocking into the unions in masses and building up hundreds of Federal locals in the hitherto unorganized basic industries, these officials were working overtime to split up and paralyze these new locals and make their members the prey of corrupt trade union officials operating their organizations as strictly business institutions. The rising tide of industrial unionism was sabotaged and heavy on them the craft form of organization and thus subjecting them to suicidal jurisdictional disputes

Only in the struggle against company unionism did the top leaders show any signs of life and vigor. But even here they undid their best efforts by resorting to pacts with Roosevelt (auto) precisely at the most favorable moment to strike. Similarly, at the behest of Roosevelt and General Johnson, they smashed the hopes and efforts of the steel workers seeking bigger and better unions. Essentially no different policy was pursued in the heroic general textile strike when the leadership hailed the appointment of the notorious Winant Board as a victory for labor. Not even Roosevelt's ordering a coolie wage scale could stop President Green from outdoing himself as a sycophant of the White House and becoming Number One on the President's 1936 bandwagon. Finally, after bitterly resist ing for years all efforts at social legislation, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. could not see its way to doing any more than coming out for inadequate measures and, at that, placing its faith in capitalist party politicians to secure

Much time have these leaders spent in chasing imaginary rainbows and hailing as "Magna Charta of Labor" even the most dangerous leg islation preparing the ground for government supervision of the unions (Wagner Bill) and thus preparing the most serious steps in the direction of corporate unionism and Fascism. All with the hope of peaceful collaboration with the employers, avoiding strikes and struggles against the bosses and their government! These dominant leaders of the trade unions not only fail themselves to see the urgent need for independent

working class political action but go out of the way to crush all efforts at a labor party. All to preserve their suicidal policy of non-partisan political action in behalf of the parties of the employers!

In the face of the general economic and political situation and the conditions prevailing in the ranks of the trade unions the most pressing tasks of American labor today are: transformation of the craft unions int militant industrial unions; organization of the unorganized into the A. F. of L. regardless of race, color or political opinion; de-mocratization of the unions and ridding them of racketeer forces; fight for social insurance, 30-hour week, against company unionism, an for the unrestricted right to strike and organize; the formation of a national labor party based primarily on the trade unions; the building up of progressive trade union groups with a view of coordinating them nationally into a powerful constructive force thruout the labor movement.

2. The Socialist Party is at the lowest ebb since the split in the Communist Party in 1929. In many sections of the country it is in the throes of disintegration. It continues to adhere firmly to reformist principles. In its tactics it is often as sectarian as the C.P., without, of course, the latter's militancy. In no important phase or field of the class struggle does the S.P. have a sound tactical line. In the trade unions its members pursue conflicting lines, a hodge-podge course, swinging from outright support of reactionary burocrats to flirtations with and support of dual unions. In the matter of united front actions with Communist organizations it flounders between vigorous hostility and weak-kneed toleration. The S.P. is totally bankrupt in the matter of giving class direction to the workers facing the great political problems of the day. The birth of the N.R.A. it hailed as a major step towards socialism as "the growing of the new social society out of the old order." death of the N.R.A. it mourned with a prayer for labor rallying around the Constitution and basing its strategy on putting over constitutional

Chaos grips the inner life of the S.P. Its centrist leadership is impotent and futile. The extreme right wing has recently assumed complete initiative and begun an offensive along the whole front to rout the so-called Militants. At the same time, the years of economic crisis at home, the collapse of social reformism in Germany and Austria and the victories of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. have served to begin the crystallization of a genuine left wing in the S.P. This left group, the R.P.C., committed to revolutionary socialist principles, is still weak but its outlook is improving as it is beginning to break with the centrist swamp of the Militants and to throw itself. into important struggles (share-croppers, etc.). It is, however, still clinging to the notion transforming the S.P. as a party into a party

of revolutionary socialism. 3. The Workers Party is today of no significance whatsoever in the labor movement. It is bankrupt in its international position (anti-U.S.S.R., Fourth International) as well as in its

tactical line for the class struggle in the U.S. Whatever class struggles it has participated in, t has bungled badly (Minneapolis, Toledo). In fact, the W.P. is now turning to false policies as the C.P. shows the first signs of beginning to break with them on the most limited scale (produal unionism, anti-labor party, etc.). Under the pressure of the Trotskyites, an attempt is being made to head it toward the "French turn"—that is to bring it over completely to Social Democracy. Adhering to false principles and wrong tactics, the Workers Party, calling itself the "real revolutionary" party, is now steeped in bitter clique and factional struggles and speeding towards disintegration even as an inconsequential sect.

4. The Communist Party has taken it's first steps towards breaking with its anti-Leninist tactical course. At present, its ultra-left line is in a state of disintegration, with the fundamental presuppositions of the old sectarian course still remaining intact, with the leaders here and there clinging or reverting to the old pure ultra-leftist course, and with no honest, self-critical approach being made towards a genuine turn in the direction of the tactical line advocated by the C.P.O. Afflicted with an incompetent, unprincipled burocracy, the C.P.U.S.A. is one of the most backward sections of the C.I. in every respect-ideologically, organizationally, in sterility of inner party life, in extent and quality of the latest turn. Seeking to overcome overnight the dire consequences of years of ultra-leftism, it swings to the opposite extreme to "capture masses" and falls into the morass of most degrading opportunism (Admiral Stirling campaign, vulgarization of Americanizing Communism, Father Di-

Still devoted to the theory and practice of dual unionism it is now simultaneously playing with organizing "independent" unions (metal trades federation) while liquidating even its banner red union (furriers). Not having openly and completely broken with its utterly false policies of social-fascism and union-splitting and not making even the slightest turn thru a democratic discussion, the C.P. leadership finds itself making a caricature of the Labor party strategy and unable to guide its members who have recently entered the genuine (A. F. of L.) unions in doing constructive work. Hence, the C.P. still sets as its first task in its activities in the A. F. of L. unions the smashing of the already organized progressive forces. To achieve this shameful bjective, the C. P. has been stooping to united fronts with the shadiest elements in the unions.

On the most significant international questions (Soviet foreign policy, revolutionary defeatism in imperialist war, Fascist victory in Germany, etc.) confusion reigns supreme among the leaders and members of the C.P. Finally, because of the stifling inner-party life and regime, because of the years of virulent ultra-leftism, because of the confusion and chaos flowing from one unprincipled turn after another, the C.P. is suffering from a terrific turnover of membership and total incapacity to develop new forces. Here is the source of the inability of the C.P. to measure up to the extremely favorable opportunities in these years of crisis. Alongside of this, all achievements of the Party in certain fields (Scottsboro, early dramatization of unemployment) and even the splendid militarcy displayed by many of the rank and file, pale into secondary significance. Primarily the C.P. has been alive because of its clinging to the principles of Communism which nave been gaining popularity in the crisis and its apitalization of the great achievements of the Soviet Union.

5. Since the last convention, the C.P.O. has extended its influence in the labor movement. Except for the defeat suffered in the Paterson textile local we have improved our position and extended our influence in the trade unions. The Paterson defeat was brought on by the failure to build the C.P.O. organization, failure to help develop a progressive movement, seriously insufficient differentiation from the conservative forces and a number of mistakes in counteracting the destructive activities of the C.P., which made an election bloc with the reactionaries. The setback was especially costly for the C.P.O. in view of the

effective work done and substantial contribution made by our comrades in the very building of these unions and in their amalgamation; it has proved costly to the workers in general as shown by the dire straits in which the Paterson silk locals now find themselves primarily as a result of the new coalition leadership (C.P.-reactionary

In the ranks of the dressmakers we have not only helped to advance and consolidate the strength of the progressive forces consisting of a bloc of the militant and constructive workers of all shades of political opinion, but have also contributed decisively to the development of practical, responsible Communist activity in the bona fide unions. In the ranks of the knitgoods workers we have worked along the same lines and have won confidence and leadership. Among the shoe workers we have been the driving force for building the unions, in the amalgamation campaign, and in the efforts to unite all shoe workers organizations into one union affiliated with the A. F. of L. Important beginnings have been made by our comrades in the automobile industry towards developing an effective progressive force in the auto workers local unions. Among the anthracite coal miners we have fought de terminedly to defeat the efforts of the corrupt and reactionary Maloney, supported by the C.P., to nilitant constructive activities in a number of federal locals as well as other locals of the

The first steps have been taken in recent months to help develop effective progressive groups in a number of central trades councils, as well as to establish a coordinating center for progressive unionism among the needle trades workers in New York. Despite the indescribable methods employed by the C.P. against our com rades in the fur industry and the countless obstacles put in the way of unity by the former T.U.U.L. union in this field, our comrades have served as the spearhead in the long, arduous but finally successful campaign for one union in the fur industry affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Furthermore, we can register increasing effectiveness in our efforts to help raise the level of class consciousness of the progressive forces in the unions. Finally, we have dealt effective blows against the dual unionist policy of the C.P. and have thus helped and forced the C.P. to take the first steps towards a sound reorientation in this

In the ranks of the fraternal and unemployed organizations of the workers our activities have been unsatisfactory.

Our activities to force the C.P. to change its line and to win over Party members to our position have become more fruitful ideologically and organizationally. Our efforts to aid the genuine leftward developments in the S.P. have met with increasingly warm response from Socialist workers thruout the country. Substantial headway has been made by us in developing the ideological level of our own organization as well as giving the lead towards clarification and establishment of a sound Communist position on the most basic political and economic questions confronting the American Communist movement (N.R.A., Negro, Soviet foreign relations, Fascism, etc.). New Workers School, our public meetings, and especially the establishment of the Workers Age as a weekly, publication of the Road to Communism, and pamphlets have proved of real service in this field.

But on the whole our organization suffers from insufficient general political activities, from altogether too inadequate participation as a distinct force in the general struggles of the workers.

Though we have grown numerically and im proved our organization the size of our membership is lagging lamentably behind the influence of our organization in the labor movement. Too many of our members are either afraid to recruit or set too high standards for new members. Despite our establishing units in a number of additional cities (Buffalo, Lansing, Baltimore, Hamilton, etc.), we must recognize the serious weakness of the C.P.O. as a national organization.

V. Tasks of the Communist Opposition

1. To extend and improve the general politition, Negro, etc.).

2. To strengthen our organization develop our local leaderships, recruit systematically and more extensively, particularly in the mass organiza-tions where we have influence, establish C.P.O. units in additional cities. This is the road towards transforming the C.P.O. into an effective national organization.

3. To develop our trade union work on the basis of our line and specifically to intensify our work in the Central Trades Councils and our efforts to help crystallize progressive groups in important unions where we are either still weak or have no foothold at all.

4 To improve and extend our activities for the establishment of a Labor party based on the trade unions. 5. To increase the circulation of the Workers

Age to a point of guaranteeing its existence as a self-sustaining weekly. 6. To increase our literature publication and

enlarge and improve the New Workers School. 7. To provide continuous, adequate assistance to our comrades who are victims or active opponents of the Fascist terror regimes in Germany

8. To develop a higher sense of Communist discipline and responsibility in our organization. 9. To devise ways and means of improving the financial status of the C.P.O. with a view of extending our organizational and ideological ac-

10. To continue and intensify our efforts to achieve Communist unity on a sound political basis in the U. S. and internationally. * * *

The C.P.O. is in accord with the resolution

adopted by the enlarged Executive Committee of cal work of the C.P.O. as a distinct force in the the International Communist Opposition, evalu labor movement (unemployment and social legisla- ating the negotiations with the C.I. We are likewise in agreement with the latest move made by the I.C.O. to secure fraternal representation at Comintern. Until such time as the Comintern re-establishes democratic centralism thruout it sections, agrees to take steps towards the establishment of a genuine collective international leadership, and returns to the Leninist tactical course, the C.P.O., as an affiliate of the I.C.O. will continue its struggle.

This struggle for Communist unity and sound strategy and tactics can be really won only on an international scale—thru agreement between the entire I.C.O. and C.I.

A vigorous struggle conducted by the I.C.O. against the current manifestations of dual unionism and against the propagandizing of the theory of social-fascism as well as against the opportunism and confusion flowing from half-hearted burocratic turns made by the C.I., is the best means for hastening a complete break by the latter with its wrong line and for insuring Communist unity. Positive, constructive achievements in the trade unions and other mass organizations, combined with initiative and leadership in the working out of strategy to meet the new problems (Soviet foreign policy, imperialist war danger, etc.), will prove the decisive factor for winning over the membership of the Communist Parties and large numbers of unaffiliated workers to the banner of the I.C.O. and force unity, thru pressure from the ranks upon the leadership of the Comintern and thus re-establish the unity of the world party of Communism. At the same time, the energetic independent activity of the I.C.O. in the class struggle, combined with its persistent work in genuine Marxist education, is already developing cadres of effective revolutionists who will play the leading part in the reconstitution of the world Communist movement on a sound basis.

DICTATORSHIP IN THE BLACK BELT

itable article in the New Masses, April 16, 1935, suggested that the Rosenwald Fund, dominated by E. E. Embree, Les sing Rosenwald, and one of the late was now holding most of the shares in Reid. "Black Belt, Incorporated." Mr. Loren

in modern education, especially when the Will W. Alexander Rockefeller Foundation is counted a part of the G.E.B." The "G.E.B." has given It was Shiefflin who made it known to the South. Now there is nothing to Will its "leaders." influence of the Rosenwald Fund.

cles. His gifts to Negroes were in reality of Rosenwald all his life that he was a sucker for applause. The Negro school that knew its oats always gave Rosenwald a big hand. The students sang, the professors thanked God for a Jew with some reminder of this "20th-Centu- off the smash-up. This plenum lasted Cannon For Merger Into S.P.

ry Christ."

The present minority in the National Committee, which very probably has a never surrendered a single sphere of influence gained through the spending of its dollars. Where Rosenwald was contact the get a wreath of smiles and plan
The present minority in the National Committee, which very probably has a crisis. The full National Committee decrisis. The full National Committee, which very probably has a majority in the membership, is centering its fire on the drive of Cannon and Schachtman to push the W.P. into the fate of all Trotsky sects wherever they report of conditions there. Such is the bitter struggle is still premature to say. Suffice it to mention that this has been the fate of all Trotsky sects wherever they raised their heads. The break with Communist principles has not been small. tent to get a wreath of smiles and plan-months of discussion. tation song out of educational institutions in return for brick buildings and two-room school houses, hoping logically that the educated peons would buy his plowshares and rubber tires, gingham aprons and velocipedes, the hard-as-iron Gentile "Saviors" who run the Rockefeller philanthropy have always dictated educational policy, and that dictatorship is as relentless in Negro education as in oil and New York real estate.

Differences Dividing W. P.

The crisis in the Workers Party grows out of confusion as to policy, particular-flow the other hand, it is a well known fact that there is a contradictory tenden-more, its ranks are sharply divided over the question of whether the W. P. should do what the French Trotskyites did and go over boot and baggage into the ranks of Social Democracy. In recent weeks of Trotsky section of the Workers Party, headed by Cannon, established close tollaboration with the so-called Militants of the Socialist Party, with a view of the Socialist Party, with a view of the Socialist Party, with a view of the Socialist Party of the French section of the Workers in the Union of the Workers party grows out of confusion as to policy, particular-flow the other hand, it is a well known for the W.P., this minority declares in part:

(In the other hand, it is a well known fact that there is a contradictory tenden-hore, its ranks are sharply divided over the other hand, it is a well known fact that there is a contradictory tenden-hore, its ranks are sharply divided over the other hand, it is a well known that there is a contradictory tenden-hore, its ranks are sharply divided over the other hand, it is a well known that there is a contradictory tenden-hore, its ranks are sharply divided over the other hand, it is a well known that there is a contradictory tenden-hore, its ranks are sharply divided over the other hand, it is a well known that there is a contradictory tenden-hore, its ranks are sharply divided over that there is a contradictory tenden-hore, its ranks are sharply divided over that there is a contradictory tenden-hore, tions in return for brick buildings and Differences Dividing W. P.

The Rockefellers consolidate colleges of the Socialist Party, with a view of time, by the so-called French turn, that at will, as for example in Atlanta, speeding up the entrance of the W.P. is by the entry of the French section of where Morehouse, Atlanta University (once a really noble institution), Clark (for both forces in an effort thus to swing (once a really noble institution), Clark and Morris Brown, all find themselves the Trotskyites "still further to the left."

of France. Comrade Cannon and his certain: it is clear that with the befriends supported this entry. Since then ginning of a breaking-up of the American Trotskyites "still further to the friends supported this entry. (Rockefeller) College for Women. They call the melange "Atlanta University."

In the above-mentioned National Comfathis 'French turn' has been extended in this 'Atlanta University."

In the above-mentioned National Comfathis 'French turn' has been extended in the melange "Atlanta University." goosestepping with the Laura Spelman left." The dominant figure in Atlanta Univer- the Trotskyites led the opposition to gium, under the name of the new orien-Dr. W. E. B. DuBois; but Miss Florence Reid, head of Spelman; a tight-lipped with Muste is headed by Hugo Oehler transplanted runtan from the Far West. The source of Miss Reid's power lies in her uncanny influence over John D. Chicago. At the plenum Cannon man
Revolution To The source of Miss Reid's power lies in her uncanny influence over John D. Chicago. At the plenum Cannon man
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Revolution To The source of Miss Reid's power lies in her uncanny influence over John D. Chicago. At the plenum Cannon man
Revolution To The source of Miss Revolution To The s Rockefeller, Jr. The source of President aged to put thru a resolution for apply- world war." Hope's power lies in the deep interest a majority of one vote. The Muste-Miss Reid has in him. The source of Caller appointed by Protest Against Burocracy

The minority protests hail as "the beginning of the new social haustive treatment of John Strachey's Hope's power lies in the deep interest ing the "French turn" in the U. S. by Protest Against Burocracy

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Split Looms In Workers Party

as, et al. In an appeal to the National

Sears Roebuck magnate's sons-in-law, chair, or whatnot at Atlanta is Miss poverished national government. (Mr., \$7,500 a year; and (3) chief arbiter on

itably as Mr. Miller writes, he overdraws the influence of the Rosenwald Board, but acknowldraws the influence of the Rosenwald edges in every act and deed the overand straightway told Fiorello "nothing guy with the tommy gun, is Clark Howdraws the influence of the Rosenwald Fund as things go at present. It is necessary to add, however, that Mr. Miller has given the New Masses its best informed piece on Negroes, or for that matter on anything else that this worthy journal is wont to publish. We must asso make exception, of course, of the article on George Crawford, by Martha Gruening. Miss Gruening, rightly insisting that the editors of New Masses its most realistic scoop of the Msses its most realistic scoop of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article about the sell-out of waning power of the Rosenwald group in the article of the Rosenwald group and straightway told Fiorello "nothing guy with the tommy gun, is Clark Howell of the Atlanta Constitus from the negro-have to the Atlanta Constitus from the presidency of the Atlanta Constitus from the negro-have the over the break. Clark Howell of the Atlanta Constitus from the presidency of the Atlanta Constitus from the neces of the Masses its most nothing sun, is Clark Howell of the Atlanta Constitus from the presidency of the Atlanta Constitus from to nothing sun with the tommy gun, is Clark Howell of th

Who owns the Negro? In education New York. Shiefflin is the chairman of we should list not only the Rosenwald the Fund but the General Education Board. Tuskagee, and as anti-semitic as everything from the Spingarn Award—twenty. The jobs they hold are petty the soporific tinsel handed out every and their influence absolutely nil. The only powerful with Negro schools, but to break the last real bid for influence the most powerful of all the foundations on the part of the Rosenwald Board.

| Very and their influence absolutely fill. The combined salaries will not total \$150,000 and resigned. The others are still hanging on.

about 35 million dollars to Negro edu- Mayor La Guardia's Harlem Riot Com- Alexander except a soft voice and an Most of the young Negro appointees has almost unbelievable power. Under cation and medical services since 1900: mittee that they were not to appoint Ira composition of the sum is not so large, but the influence of these gifts outstrips by far the window man, coordinator of findings in coordinator of findings the Harlem riot. The presumptious Mr. fective use of these talents has made him garn, public enemies number 4 and 4-A Crow schools are here for keeps. Miss It must always be remembered that Embree had offered the City of New (1) Secretary of the Commission on In- respectively; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, pub- Carney calls it "bi-racial" education.

Reid. Loren Miller pointed out that the Rosen-While Charles S. Johnson, ubiquitous wald Board was paying salaries for sev-Bankhead bill at \$10,000 a year. All C. Miller, young Negro journalist recently added to the staff of New Masses, depicts quite convincingly the inner thropy, wordy in his scholarly objectiviworkings of this Fund which exercises ty, a hard bargainer and the logical sucson much power over Negro education, cessor to Booker Washington as Amer-League Secretary, could conduct the Counting Alexander as the Negro's and hence, Negro leadership. As credica's premier beggar, serves as member Harlem Riot research. It is said that public enemy number 1, Embree as num-

eager to crash Gentile circles-to the spent for the colored newspapers, the In the field of elementary education

Rosenwald, a Jewish philathropist, never quite succeeded in crashing the big cir- our presumably (to Mr. Embree) im- (2) President of Dillard University at Secretary of the Treasury Henry Mor-

Masses its most realistic scoop of the year in the article about the sell-out of the Crawford defense—the best remembered of the blunders of the National Association for the Advancement of "Certain" People.

Big Business And Negro Education Who owns the Negro? In education In education In the South. No better proof of the year in the South. No better proof of the waning power of the Rosenwald group than the fact that while the waning power of the Rosenwald group can be had than the fact that while the waning power of the Rosenwald group can be had than the fact that while the waning power of the Rosenwald group can be had than the fact that while the waning power of the Rosenwald group can be had than the fact that while the waning power of the Rosenwald group can be had than the fact that while the waning power of the Rosenwald group can be had than the fact that while the Rosenwalds "sponsored" this study, the Rosenwalds "sponsored" this study, the Rosenwalds group wanted to make Chas. S. Johnson president of Tuskegee. This was blocked by William J. Shiefflin, well-was blocked by William J. Shiefflin was blocked by William J. Shiefflin wa

administration of the Bankhead Act in the South. Now there is nothing to Will its "leaders." and pedagogy, Miss Mabel Carney, one of Columbia Teachers College faculty,

thur Wright, a man who is a little too decent for the rest of the gang. This fund has a project which calls for the spending of several thousand dollars writing a "Who's Who of Black America." DuBois has first call here. His "new segregation" is being rewarded or

ranks of Waldman, Mayor Hoan, Thomlowed without misgivings on the part of Ave. Ovingtons, who, having done great Committee and to all the branches of some of the rank and file in their organ-service to the Negro twenty years ago,

themselves effective forces in the class the Negro graduates are urged by their struggle in the U. S. and internationally, "leaders" to lick the boss' boots-and are now groping in the dark. One thing like it. certain: it is clear that with the be-

Editor's Notes ican Trotskyite organization, which is supposed to be the banner set-up of the international Trotskyite movement, an-

The length of the convention theses The dominant figure in Atlanta Univercannon. The group splitting away from sity is not its president, John Hope, nor Cannon. The group splitting away from support the policy of dissolving revolusupport the policy of dissolving revolusupport the made it impossible to include in this issupport the policy of dissolving revolusupport the policy of dissolvin sue, the article by Jay Lovestone in the series "Soviet Diplomacy and the World

Thomas and such recently risen lesser ING OF KARL MARX, is the title ap-A majority of one vote. The Musteweekery scholarship, fellowship, grant,
every scholarship, fellowship, grant,

The minority particularly protests against the way in which Zack was expelled from the party while people like amongst others on the inside. This opposition, while confused on many of the tactical questions confronting the W.P., the crassest violations of elementary the crassest violations of elem

is determined to oppose the American Trotskyite organization going over to the Trotskyite organization going over mittee really interested in discipline? We 000,000 from the RFC for the purpose les and President Cardenas of Mexico. say it is not. If it is, how does it ex- of financing low-cost electrical appli-

Decision Of Plenum

The resolution adopted by the plenum declares in part: "Neither theoretical matter than the resolution adopted by the plenum declares in part: "Neither theoretical declares in part: "Neither th consideration, nor historic precedents, would not submit his New York Evening ance magnates! On these rests the plan Know." warrant the contention that the entry of Post column to the supervision of the of the REA. But why the silence on the

a revolutionary Marxian group into a reformist or Centrist organization is in reformist or Centrist organization is not a Party member? itself a betrayal of principles. What is decisive in such cases where the revolutionary Marxists are unable at the most independent party of the Rudenz's views and that the most independent party of the Rudenz's views and that the responsibility of the Rudenz's views and that the rudenz's views are rudenz's views and that the rudenz's views and that the rudenz's views are rudenz's views and the rudenz's views and the rudenz's views and the rudenz's views are rudenz's views are rudenz's views are rudenz's view woof of the Roosevelt program in the At any rate here we have another peek country as well as in the city.

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"Our collaboration with the I.C.L. would the question of Calverton which has been become a mockery, an inconsistency, a on the agenda of the P.C. business since fraud and hypocricy if we were to tol-

ment to form an independent party of agree with Budenz's views, and that the pose this question is to answer it.

trict Organization Bulletin No. 2 to an-

their own, is the nature of the work car- Dixon City, Pa, branch of the Party has

ried on within the Centrist or reformist been dissolved by all the members of i

which it is carried out, and the goal to- "Why does it permit the New York Dis-

This resolution further sharply attacks nounce that Calverton has been dropped

the opposition inside the W.P. which has from the rolls while the rest of the Party

become somewhat critical of the buro- is kept in ignorance of the fact and o

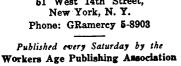
cratism paralysing the Trotskyite sect. On this point the resolution declares: werton? Why does it not bring to a head

ate in our ranks the conception that | So bitter has the faction fight becom

parties, the program on the basis of save one going over to the C.P.:

wards which it strives."

Organ of the National Committee Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-8903





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Tied To The Stake

NLY those in their salad days can fail to appreciate the vital importance of the struggle over utility holding companies just closed in Congress.

The roll call vote in the House, rejecting by 258 to 147 the Roosevelt-Ray burn-Wheeler proposal imposing stringent limitations but not really a death sentence on these holding companies, is more illustrative of the realities and complexities characterizing American politics today than the nose-counting over any single piece of legislation that has been considered in Washington for many a season. Five months were spent in committee on this bill. By the time it emerged the giant public utility interests had pretty much their own way and cut the guts out of the plan for dissolving these holding companies. Their dissolution was left to the discretion of the Securities and Exchange Commission instead of being declared mandatory. This meant that there would be no tax on inter-company dividends and that any public utility could organize as many intermediary holding companies as it wanted-thru which dividends would pass from base to apex. Thus the dividend devourers would dodge the tax toll at every step.

This House Committee Bill was quickly and wholeheartedly endorsed by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. The Committee of Public Utilities—the big owners' general staff-pretended to be opposed even to this toothless measure on the ground that it was a direct step towards public ownrship of all public To the followers of Roosevelt the new form of the bill was anathema because it emasculated the clause aiming to check holding company control. Congressman Rayburn denounced it on the ground that it didn't give the slightest protection against the milking of operating companies by the holding units which overcharge them for services, against "inflation of property values so as to keep up electric rates and political influence over regulatory bodies." In this war against the Roosevelt measusre, called by the President "the emancipation proclamation for stockholders," the biggest coupon-clippers also turned their heavy artillery against the TVA as the spearhead of government ownership.

The victory scored by the utility corporations over Roosevelt shows the powerful hold they have on legislation. It shows how American "democracy is tied to the stake and what course we must therefore take. Indeed, it is silly to think that the Rayburn-Wheeler bill, even in its original form, would have effectively checked the concentration process. Nor did the bill concern itself with the interests of the great masses of the people. It aimed only to make a bit more secure the interests of the average stockholder, to enhance the general faith in stock ownership and thus to lend greater stability to the present economic system as a whole. But apparently the top bankers dominating the utilities didn't see eye to eye with the Administration, could see no instability in the present set-up. They forthwith mobilized their huge lobby crew and pitted their fabulous sums against the piles of dollars dangled before the Congressmen by the Roosevelt machine in the form of patronage, relief jobs, etc. Who had the greater dollar pull in this tug-of-war was shown by the vote. Even such "trust busters" of yesterday as Representative George Huddleston of Alabama walked the plank and defended the utilities. Public utility money made eloquent speeches on Capitol Hill and cashed in on the votes. Gold was indeed These real dictators of the country raised the fashionable and saint-seducing. false cry of dictatorship against Roosevelt and posed as 14-karat democrats. Clearly and sharply across party lines did the cash cut. The President's mighty machine creaked and cracked. The archaic, misrepresentative, and misleading character of the whole two party system was exposed in ugly relief.

This defeat will not in the least hurt Roosevelt as a vote-catcher in 1936. Therefore, it may not even substantially affect his campaign funds. After all the kingpins of industry and finance have no better bet today than the Democratic Party. And the so-called "more enlightened" of them can and will surely see the real services Roosevelt is trying to render them in a basic sense at an insignificant price. Before the masses it will be all the easier for Roose velt demagogically to pose as their champion, to advertise himself as whiter

than snow on a raven's back. This "big battle" only shows how thoroly corrupt and putrid employing class politics is today, the utterly anti-working class nature of the whole American governmental structure and system. Every worker must conclude that neither the Republican nor Democratic Party, neither Roosevelt nor the notorious champion of the power interests, Congressman Snell, is worth the shake of a lamb's tail in confidence in so far as the working people in the city and rural areas are concerned. In this great game, in this caustic contest between groups or sections of the ruling class, both combatants consider the workers and poor farmers as their pawns. All their promises to us are scrupulously honored only in the breach and never in observance.

The workers in the industrial centers and the poor farmers in the agricultural sections dare not wait much longer in organizing a national mass political party of their own to help them defend their own immediate interests. To be too slow often means to be too late.

Books of the

by Bertram D. Wolfe

Matthews and R. E. Shallcross. Covici-Friede. 444pp., \$2.50. COUNTERFEIT, by Arthur Kallet. Van-

guard Press. 95pp., numerous illustrations. \$1.50.

These two works add two more to the distinguished line of books owing their existence in whole or in part to the activities of Consumers' Research. Like their predecessors they present concrete evidence in support of an indictment of the capitalist system in one of its grave, albeit secondary offenses against mankind, namely wholesale cheating, counterfeiting, adulterating, even poisoning, inseparable from a system whose motive force is profit and not considerations of human welfare.

Matthews and Shallcross have put into their book all their indignation against capitalism, all their evidence, great and irritations, all their vast and unequal collection of exhibits of great crimes and the best quality and workmanship in the petty, all their major charges and minor petty absurdities, and the result is an theoretical explanations they offer.

PARTNERS IN PLUNDER, by J. B. invaluable handbook for agitators but its main line of thought is obscured, over laid and ravelled by lack of system in piling up the details and lack of a sense of proportion in evaluating and coordi nating them.

Unlike its predecessors, such as 100, 000,000 Guinea Pigs, the Matthews-Shallcross book attempts to go from its em pirical material (gleaned from Consuners' Research data and the ample if rather indiscriminate clipping files of the two authors) to theoretical analysis and conclusions concerning the social system that could produce the exhibits in these successive "chambers of hor-This is to be welcomed, for the lack of such interpretation was a serious defect of the previous works. But be-Partners In Plunder attempts more than its predecessors, we expect more of it, that those who fulminate against shoddy materials should be cer-

TODAY EUROPE

ever, considerable distrust because once before Laval promised an energetic offensive against the Fascists. The left group in the Cabinet has decided to establish a sort of vigilance committee during the period of parliamentary recess. This committee was to immediately convoke parliament in case of any Fascist threat.

The danger of the present Fascist advance is that the people will become accustomed to the control of the streets by the Fascists. This tactic is even more dangerous because the Communist Party of France and also the Socialist Party of France have decided to conduct their united front with the Radical Socialists on a parliamentary basis. Only in the last few days have we heard the slogan of defense organizations against the fascist terror ("Defense of the People").

Now, Lebas has come forward with an alarm call, in the central organ of the Socialist Party, against this type of people's front. It is a sad situation indeed, when critcism against this vulgarly opportunist falsification of the united front actic comes from the ranks of Social-Democracy and from one of the leaders of the present right-wing at that. The

motive of Lebas is basically right-wing. He wants to assure himself against the criticisms of the Communists, when the Socialist Party takes its place in or supports a radical government. As yet no criticism has come from the

Communist Party of France against the vulgar opportunist line of the Party leaders. It is high time that it show tself openly since only Communist selfcriticism can overcome the offensive of right-wing Social-Democracy, and can save the French working class from heavy losses and many disappointments, which are bound to come if the united front with the Radical Socialists continues to remain the main political approach of the "people's front." The practical realization of this course will come on July 14th, in the form of a joint demonstration of Radical Socialists, Socialists and Communists. It is understood that the Radical Socialist leader and member of the government of national unity, Herriot, welcomes the conversion of a demonstration of Socialist and Communist workers into a patriotic demonstration on July 14th. We hope this shameful farce will open the eyes of many Communist and Social-Democratic workers.

The theory offered represents an unonscious attempt to mate essentially middle-class illusions as to the existence of a special class of consumers whose special interests would develop a special form of organization and activity, with the Marxist method of analysis of and struggle against capitalism. The result s a peculiar hybrid, more consumer than producer, more middle-class than Marx-

"Those who stand today," write the authors, "in a consumer's relationship to the supply of goods and services lack the essentials of political power: information, communication, and organization." (p. 76)

But who does not stand in a "consumer's relationship to the supply of goods and services"? Do not the producers (workers and farmers)? Do not the owners of industry? Do not the bank-ers? The middle class? Would Matthews and Shallcross advocate an "or ganization" to include them all? If they mean workers, is it not a mistake to put undue emphasis on the "consumer's relaionship" which obscures class lines?

The authors promptly add to the confusion by talk of a "consumer's society" which has "the aim to reverse the exist ing equilibrium and weight all advantages heavily on the side of the users of goods and services." (p. 77) Behind this obscure verbiage is the elementary Marxist conception that in a socialist society production will be directly for the sake of use or consumption and not for profit. But what a way of saying it!

To cap the climax the authors concede the term "producers" to the non-productive exploiters and warn that: "Further accentuation of the existing equilibrium of business society already heavily loaded for producers and sellers means political reaction and eventually fascism; readjustment (i.e., in favor of consumers and buyers—BDW) means revolu-tion . . . Only when all men stand primarily in the position of consumers with reference to the available goods and services of a society will it be possible to eliminate class differentiation and thereestablish a classless community. 77) Such an analysis ignores the creative, productive nature of man's essential activities. Man produces not merely to sustain life, but also as a way of life. But more serious is the fact that our authors have stood things on their heads: it is not the organization of the consumer as consumer and the inclusion of all men in the consumer relationship as the primary one which will establish a classless society; but it is the rule of the producers (workers and ers) and the establishment thru that rule of a classless society which will make possible production for use (making consumption "primary") in place of production for profit.

The same shoddy adulteration of theoy runs thruout the book. Thus on pages 188 to 191 we find the theories that: (1) the quality of the goods that the workers get is more important than the quantity (to those who don't get enough to survive this is hardly true); (2) that "scarcity" may be relieved under capitalism as an "artifice of 'recovery' quality cannot be tackled (thus Marx's theory of the increasing poverty of the working class becomes the Matthews and Shallcross theory of the increasing poisoning of the consumer class); (3) that capitalist economy is most endangered at the point of attack on the quality of its goods ("if the existing economy sustains a loss at this point, its entire morale and its hope of large-scale continuation of exploitation of the masses will have been shattered.") Which makes Consumers' Besearch into something far more important than the unions and the

Communist Party!
On page 304 "labor" is urged to find 'alliances" among the "unskilled" (alliances?!), the lower middle class, the special racial groups and "among that still larger element commonly 'consumers' who may be aroused to fighting indignation against the exploiters and adulterators of goods." What are "exploiters of goods" and who are "consumers" if they are not "labor," not "unnot special racial skilled workers," groups and not "lower middle class"?

Nor do our authors do any better in their other central thesis in this book, a thesis concerning itself with racketeering and fascism. They use these words more as expressions of abuse than as accurate terms of social analysis with a definite social content. Racketeering and "legitimate" capitalist methods have many elements in common, but to make them identical is to obscure essential differences. The book speaks of the "para-sitic racketeers of government," the techniques which the business racketeers of society use against their victims, he consumer-workers." etc.

The treatment of fascism is more se rious—and more dangerous. "Fascism," they write, "is simply the projection into conditions of crisis of the normal methods and purposes of a business society." (p. 22) What they mean, no doubt, is that fascism is a form of capitalist regime, but its methods are quite different from those of "normal capitalism." The Bituminous Coal Code, they write, is "out and out fascism" (p. 298) Our authors are making the same fatal mistake which caused the German Communist Party to call Bruening, Von Papen Von Schleicher and the Socialist Gov ernment of Prussia all fascist (the last 'social fascist"), so that Hitler seemed to the workers who followed the party just one more fascist. This indiscriminate use of "fascist" as a term of abuse like the cry of "wolf, wolf!" makes the masses insensible to the fascist menace The authors even evolve a formula which reads: "The number of customer-suckers in business society is exactly equal to potential numerical support upon which business may call when it needs to put over fascism." From which we may conclude that every one who falls for "B.O." propaganda will necessarily fall for Pelley or Smedley Butler and that those who take Consumers' Research Service are immune to the blandishments of an American Hitler!

Finally to make things complete, the authors develop a theory of the hopeless-ness of the organized labor movement ("There is no evidence that the American trade union movement will recognize, in time, its real class interests." p. 295) and a theory of social fascism ("When better counter-revolutionaries are made, the Rand School and the Socialist Party of New York will make -p. 394). It is no defense of Algernon Lee and James Oneal to say that they are incapable of turning out even "good" counter-revolutionists and that in America the Socialist Party is in no position, and gives no immediate prospect of being in a position to become a significant prop of capitalism or a significant counter-revolutionary force. strange that it should be necessary to remind these two so recently resigned members to differentiate between such munist Party said the same much more men and the "Socialist Party of New York" which contains many good if incompletely developed revolutionists.

It is a pity the very little space renains for a consideration of Arthur Kallet's book, Counterfeit. It represents a brilliant use of the camera and devices for graphic presentation, the very technique of capitalist advertising, to expose a number of frauds, adulterations and poisons. Altho most of them are already familiar, they are presented in so imposing and dramatic a fashion that every page has a startling freshness and

It is far more unassuming theoretically than the Matthews-Shallcross book, but by virtue of that very fact it is sounder, for it does not overplay the importance of this "consumer" problem. Its closing sentences are a model of what such theorizing should be:

"It is hopeless to look for legislative remedies. The whole trouble is that goods counterfeiting is not an isolated phenomenon. The robbing and the poisoning of the consumer, the paying of starvation wages to workers, the closing of schools to avoid heavy taxes on business, the destruction of huge quantites of food while children go hungry—these are all re-lated symptoms of progressing and incurable disease in an economic or- Pigs.

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

The governmental and presidential inerference causing the postponement of the soft coal strike sharply brings to mind that it may not be long before the mere calling of a strike will be considered as an act of hostility to the government or, at the very least, a slap in he face of our chief executive.

Old Guard Dual Unionism

The New York press reports that the United Hebrew Trades, an old guardsocialist bailliwick, is supporting the racketeer Nemser who was ousted by the A. F. of L. The Clothing Salesmen's Union, of which Nemser was boss, has called upon William Green to take steps against the U.H.T.

The old guard in the S.P. froths at the mouth about the "dual unionism" of the Communists but itself quietly undertakes a little of it when a hard pressed racketeering supporter of the old guard calls for help.

Comeback or Comedown?

If we are to believe the "Libertarian Communist Journal"-Vanguard, the I.W.W. is staging a phenomenal come-We quote from its May-June back. issue:

"Its revolutionary principles, its rank and file control and democratic methods of organization has roused hope and admiration to such an extent that a strike of charwomen there (Cleveland) under its leadership has continued now since Dec.

For the I.W.W. to have even called a strike is of tremendous news value but even more so would it have been had it succeeded in settling a strike somewhere.

NOTE: Don't let the name of the paper fool you. It is an anarchist journal in which there is to be found just about as much communism as there is socialism in the Radical Socialist Party of France.

Seeking a Trade Union Line

Incidentally the same issue of the Journal carries considerable discussion material on the trade union question. A certain S. Weiner starts off by complainng that:

"When the battle between the 'socialists' and the 'communists' for control of the needle trades took place several years ago, the anarchists had an opportunity to show the workers the validity of their principles and tactics, to give a revolutionary orientation to the movement and point the way out for the confused workers. Because they did not take an indepen-dent position and swung their influence to the corrupt officialdom, they unwittingly became a support for the machine politicians."

He then proceeds to analyze the condition in the trade union movement and finds that "the unions of the A. F. of L. are assisting in, and becoming part of the growing policy of fascization of our economic life carried on by the government" and therefore, considering the A. F. of L. as labor's Public Enemy No. 1, he insists that the need of the moment is that "The bureaucratic machine of the A. F. of L. must be smashed and the unions must be reorganized on the principles of rank and file control, direct action and workers democracy.'

R. W. writing in the same issue of the paper underscores Weiner's sentiments by remarking that "if history has proven anything, it has at least shown that the A. F. of L. is incapable of being reformed and that only too often this noble organization (a little dash of irony we presume) represents capitalist interests instead of workers."

We print these remarks not because there is anything particularly new or refreshing about them-the official Comloudly, consistently and harmfully-but because we know of a number of anarchists working today in the trade unions in a constructive and militant manner and we are certain that this attempt at a "reorientation" of the anarchists in the trade unions does not represent their viewpoint.

ganism built up to safeguard profits for the few who have wealth and power without regard for the welfare of the millions. The remedy must be sought not in legislation, but in a fundamental change in our economic system.. But again we bump up against the counterfeiters . . . who offer us such counterfeit remedies as the 'New Deal' and the N.R.A. . . . who may finally offer the supreme counterfeit-fascism.

"In the opinion of the author, goods counterfeiting cannot be ended so long as it pays; that is, so long as industry is privately owned and profits are the motivating force behind production; and to suggest any easy remedy would be to offer only one more counterfeit to consumers."

To which we can only say, "Bravo Kallet"! In this work he has made great strides forward in technique of presentation as well as in theoretical clarity, in comparison with his previous joint work with Schlink, 100,000,000 Guinea