Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

SIGNIFICANT signs of a real change of mood in the ranks of organized labor in England are at hand. These are especially welcome in view of the fact that for some time the British Labor movement has been going rightward.

Specifically we have in mind the ver cold reception which has been accorded to the "Black Circular" of the General Council of the British Trade Unions, providing for the wiping out of militant forces in the ranks of organized labor. Particular emphasis must, therefore, be attached to the decision of the annual convention of the National Union of Railway Men rejecting this infamous "Black Circular" and demanding the continuation of democratic rights within the trade union movement. Alongside of this powerful union there also must be placed in the ranks of the labor organizations which have rejected this "Black Circular" the following powerful bodies: Amalgamated Engineers Union, the Transport and General Workers Union, which has a membership of over 350,000, and the Amalgamated Society of Wood Workers.

We record these facts at this moment in a sort of anticipation of a fight which the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. is preparing to make against progressive and militant trade union forces at the forthcoming A. F. of L. Convention to be held in Atlantic City in the early part of October.

NEW YORK CITY boasts a very progressive mayor. LaGuardia is supposed to be up to scratch in adopting all the ideas for lightening the burdens of Mr. Average New Yorker and making the world's wealthiest city better off. That New York's mayor is living up to the property owners' expectations of him was indicated the other day in the proud announcement of the local police department that it will soon use an electric glove to subdue "rioters." The glove will issue a 1,500 volt shock to persons resisting arrest or dispersement, the voltage of the current used in the instru-

ment can be stepped up to any figure!
What a progressive city! And what a progressive mayor! A real reformer, indeed! This modern device is to aid that old standby of law and order in New York, the notorious nightstick-the firmest day-in and day-out representative of American democracy. Let no one think for a moment that the cop's club is a soft proposition. Those of us who have experience with it can tell quite a different story. Anent the primitive a different story. Aftent the primitive efficacy and physical consequences of clubbing at the hands of a policeman in the service of our "radical" reform mayor, we advise our readers to turn to the June Survey Graphic. Here we find an interesting and instructive article by Dr. S. A. Sandler saying in part:

"It is a common legend that a blow on the head is of no importance unless the skull is fractured. This is entirely erroneous. . . Studies of brain injuries made in recent years should revolutionize the attitude of both the medical profession and the . The physical injury and social handicap resulting from head Perhaps the after effects of the policeman's club are worse because such victims are not likely to receive proper medical attention. I believe the time has come for a new deal in clubbing. . . . A society that permits the policeman's nightstick to be the arbiter of social and economic problems surely cannot deem itself civilized."

Paste this in your hat for use when the next big strike occurs-and when La Guardia appears for your vote as a friend and servant of labor.

most significant index of the trend of the British foreign policy is to be found in the plan of the Admiralty to enlarge the fleet particularly in Baltic waters. This course is fully in line with the steadily developing anti-Soviet course of Lombard Street. Symbolic of this direction in foreign relations was the very appointment of Sir Samuel Hoare as

Foreign Minister. This gentleman has for years been bitter foe of the proletarian state in the U.S.S.R. Minister Hoare boasts of having organized and led the British secret service in Russia during the war. The League of Nations once appointed him Commissioner for Russian refugeesbecause of his warm interest in the White Russian emigres. Sir Hoare's work in behalf of the latter brought him that Sir Samuel Hoare was chosen Forinto constant friendly contact with the eign Minister. The coming months will blackest forces in Germany who today be decisive in European affairs. Britain's run and ruin the Third Reich. His pio-newest turn in foreign relations may neer role as a booster of British air prove the weight that will tip the scales power landed him in India where he for the worst.

Shoe Workers Against Cuts

Lynn Joint Council of United Shoe Takes Strong Stand **Against Concessions**

The Lynn shoe workers will not become a party to any schemes to induce manufacturers to move to Lynn by granting wage or other concessions that would effect the living standards of the workers. This is the gist of a statement just issued by William Thornton, President of the Lynn Joint Council. The occasion for this statement was the publication of news stories in several news papers stating that the various locals of the United Shoe & Leather Workers' Union in Lynn participated in conferences for that purpose. These news stories gave the impression that the Lynn locals were in accord with such plans.

"While we are more than anxious to increase the number of shoe factories in Lynn so as to put the unemployed shoe workers to work, we do not feel that granting concessions has ever been of any benefit either to the employed or the unemployed. Manufacturers mov-ing into Lynn will receive every con-sideration of continuous production but not at the expense of other shoe workers or at the expense of our own wages. Legitimate manufacturers willing to pay a decent wage are welcome in Lynn,

The statement in full is as follows:

"A meeting was called at the Mayor's office Monday afternoon, August 5 at 3 o'clock. The following people were represented at that meeting:

Bankers, Real Estate Owners, Retail Merchants of the City of Lynn, Attorney Walsh, Perkins, Agent of the Cutters' Local, Dauphine and McNamara, Stitchers' Local, Henry, Lasters' Local, Tobin, Edgemakers' Local, Duggan, Walsh, Packers' and Finishers' Local, Thornton, Joint Council.

"At that meeting, every agent and Chairman of the Joint Council absolutely refused to serve on any committee for negotiating with the manufacturers to bring them into the City of Lynn.

"We have determined and served notice on this move that we will in no way participate in any efforts to means of granting concessions. Should any manufacturer, either as a result of these ac-tivities or otherwise, move into the City of Lynn, he will be presented with an agreement and a price bill now prevail-ing in the City of Lynn according to the grade of shoes he manufactures and we will stand solidly for the introduction of this price bill and agreement into any shop that may decide to locate in Lynn.

"Should we find that any manufacturer decides to move from another organized center where prices may be higher than now prevailing in Lynn, the prices prevailing in that locality will be en-forced in the City of Lynn, and the orig-inal crew that was employed by the firm in their original location will be guaranteed first choice to the jobs in that facBENJAMIN BARAZ



Elected business agent by the furriers despite slanderous attacks by Gold and he Communist Party.

FUR ELECTION SHOWS PROGRESSIVE POWER

Baraz Elected Business Agent Despite Bitter Opposition Of Communist Party; Full Count Of Vote For Joint Council Shows Five Progressives Are Elected

As we go to press the vote for Joint Council members is announced and once again it is made clear that the Progressives in the union enjoy a considerable measure of confidence of the workers. Five Progressives were declared elected. These include J. Cooperman and Simon Kass for the cutters, Joseph Farber for the operators, and Lena Greenberg and Sarah Gross for the Finishers.

All these names appear on the leaflet issued by Gold's "Left Group" calling on the fur workers not to vote for them.

The election of these five workers to the Joint Council and of Baraz as business agent constitutes a severe blow to the prestige of the "Left

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Partial returns of the general elections of fur workers or all union officials indicates that 'the C.P. ticket headed by Ben Gold as candidate for manager of the Joint Council was elected in full. However, the C.P. had placed in the field a ticket consisting of only half of the offices to be filled. In the remaining contests even the C.P. was due for some big surprises.

Despite the fact that Gold and the C.P. conducted a vicious campaign against the Progressives or Lovestoneites, even going to the extent of publishing a leaflet the last day before the election calling upon the furriers not to vote for the candidates of the Progressive group, Benjamin Baraz defeated a C.P. endorsed candidate and was elected business agent with a vote of 2,083.

As we go to press only about 2,000 out of over 9,000 ballots have been tabulated in the vote for Joint Council. But these partial returns also indicate that the furriers, altho voting for Gold, did not take seriously his slanderous charges against the Lovestoneites. At least eight Progressive candidates are running quite strong and of these a number may secure elections to the Joint Council.

The campaign conducted by the C.P. was most peculiar. Usually the C.P. shouts itself hoarse about economic issues. In this campaign not a single economic issue was raised or defended by Gold. The chief strategy seemed to have peen to endorse certain hand picked right wing candidates and concentrate full fire against the Progressive Group and the Unity Group (Zechtser) of the former Industrial Union. It was because of this strategy that the campaign closed without a single attack upon the Jewish Daily Forward, while the most vicious attacks were unleashed against the Jewish Day, because it had the temerity to state that it believes it would be more healthy for the union not to exclude the Lovestoneites. This strategy of Ben Gold and the C.P. failed miserably since Baratz smashed thru their opposition and a number of candidates are in a good position to be elected to the Council. Again the furriers have shown that what they desire is not a repetition of the old, bitterly fought faction struggle, again the furriers have shown that they want an end of the splitting committees and strong arm squads that ruled the market. They showed that by also electing those whom Gold fought against most bitterly—the Lovestoneites.

Incidentally this election has proven as a lie the claims that the Lovestoneites or Progressives are a mere handful. The furriers have proven that next to the C.P. the Progressives are the second strongest force and must be reckoned with in the industry.

(Next week Comrade Benjamin Baratz, will discuss the significance of the

PWA Strike Direct Challenge To F. D.'s Starvation Program

'Security" Wage Arouses Nationwide Opposition; Green Says I Told You So In Recalling Fight On Prevailing Wage; Progressives Should Fight To Extend Strike

Two events of great significance broke conservative position. Their conserva-simultaneously in the capitalist press. tism shows itself in other ways. For in-The widespread movement of protest against wage cuts in France, resulting in armed clashes between workers and troops and the widespread resentment among American workers against Roose-velt's "security" (hunger) wage, resulting in strikes of building trades workers in many cities.

IMPORTANCE OF STRIKE

The W.P.A. strike is of tremendous importance for a number of reasons. It constitutes a direct challenge to Roosevelt's relief program, a more effective form of protest than any demonstration in the streets could possibly be. It in volves building trades workers who in the past had been considered as among the aristocracy of labor. It indicates the severe toll which the crisis took in the form of cutting the standards of the workers even in such well organized industries as the building trades. The leadership of the strike being in the hands of men of the type of George Meany of the New York State Federation of Labor, themselves loyal Demo-crats, one can readily surmise what pressure must have come from the ranks of the workers to have forced them into a position of fighting against the relief program of "their" President.

One must not, however, conclude that Meany and others leading the strike have completely reversed their hitherto ultra-

ism shows itself in other ways. For instance, even during the course of the strike, the appeal of the A. F. of L. is being made only to those workers now members of the various building trades unions. No appeal has been directed ither to those who have dropped out of the unions during the crisis because of financial inability to continue dues payments, or to those who have remained unorganized. To what extent can the strike be successful if these groups remain at work? Why should these workers participate in the strike if they are not to be admitted to the unions, if they may very well be left out in the cold in case of a settlement? Again, the A. F. of L. leadership has proven its conservaive stand when it rejected any cooperation of white collar groups which, dis-atisfied with the "security" wage, were ready to walk out and swell the ranks of the strikers.

BUROCRACY DIVIDED

Nor is the burocracy of the A. F. of L agreed on the attitude towards this anti-"security" wage strike movement, despite the fact that the A. F. of L. as a whole went down to defeat fighting for the prevailing wage. Major Berry of the Pressmen, was pushed forward by the Administration high-pressure salesman to state that he was opposed to the strike against the security wage. To which President Green, who has suffered many headaches from the building trades unions, promptly replied that it was none of Major Berry's business. With a Vice-President of the A. F. of L. scabbing on the PWA strikers their case is certainly not strengthened. However, there are already increasing signs of the readiness to compromise this strike. William Green has already announced his willingness to reopen negotiations with Frances Perkins just as soon as the organizations involved in the strike auer (Next week Compande Benjamin 22 ratz, will discuss the significance of the furriers election in an article in Work-ers Age.)

LA GUARDIA ON THE SPOT

At the same time Mayor La Guardia is in a difficult spot. All his liberal and pro-labor trappings are in danger if he carries out the wishes of the Federal Administration to starve the strikers into submission. It remains to be seen 1.00 how this gentleman, who cashed in plenty of votes on the strength of his close relations with certain trade unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers will finally solve this problem.

SPREAD THE STRIKE

the trade unions have the task of raising the very issues which are cramping the development of the strike and making success doubtful. They must raise in their unions and central labor bodies, the questions of readmitting the dropped members, organizing the unorganized, and extending the strike into a general strike of all workers on WPA projects against the hunger wage. If the A. F. firming labor's boycott of German goods of L. unions were to take the initiative The suppression of the trade unions by in such a movement it would lead to the

The decision of President Roosevelt refusing to recognize it as a strike and Lee Hall 1.00 instructing that no relief funds were to go to strikers has aroused the building trades workers even more. The cry of "work or starve" is being heard as characterising the attitude of President Roosevelt.

The militants and progressives thruout recovery of much ground lost during the and Catholics called forth sharp pro-

Workers Age Sustaining Drive Slows Up During the Final Week

injury are just as great and disabling whether one is injured by a policeman's club or in some other representations of the offers of the offers the offers of the offers Friends and Sympathizers Urged To Speed Work Completing Campaign For \$1500

> The income during the last week of | B. Baraz 5.00 to be able to announce the closing drive with this issue of Workers Age but this is impossible because of the poor response. The sum of \$1500 set for the E. Frances 2.00 drive is the absolute minimum, needed to carry us over the summer and we intend to continue the drive for another week or so until that sum is reached. Again we must call on our comrades

and friends not to drag out too long the conclusion of an otherwise successful drive. Send all funds without any delay.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED (As of August 10, 1935)

PREVIOUSLY LISTED\$1,230.45 Hannah Wucher 5.00 Ray Michaels 5.00

learned to become an expert opponent of Indian national freedom. On this score Hoare became still more bitter in his en mity to the U.S.S.R. which he branded as the source of all revolutionary nationalism in India.

It is because of these qualifications

B. Lifshitz Cora Jones 1.00 M. Mishkin 2.50 Robert Strong on list No. 11 Brown on list No. 35 1.00 Gerson Mollie Stone on list No. 77 H. Schlachter Eva Schlachter on list No. 116 ... 3.00 1.00 J. Rosenfeld Jesse Lane Lawrence Davis 5.00 M. S. Mautner 5.00 Sympathiser, Boston 1.00 M. Hittner Detroit Unit 5.00 GRAND TOTAL\$1,315.95

M. C. Stewart 10.00

R. and L. Michaels 10.00

Build the Weekly "Workers Age"

STILL TO GO\$ 184.05

Bay State Labor For Vertical Unions

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.-The Convention of the State Federation of Labor shows indications of considerable progressive strength. A resolution for industrial unionism bearing the signatures of 100 delegates has been introduced. This in itself shows considerable sentiment among the Bay State workers for industrial unionism. The resolution itself, however, is one of those things which satisfies everybody but solves nothing. In order to appease those who feared for the loss of their jobs when industrial unionism comes, the resolution itself provides that industrial unionism shall be tried where craft unions are inadequate to achieve success in organiza-

Among those who came forward for industrial unionism was E. A. Johnson of the Boston Building Trades Council. He declared: "My opinion supports the idea of an industrial union. I perceive such advantages accruing to organized labor from such a form of union that whatever disadvantages may be stressed fall far short of defeating the theory of this new plan."

The convention went on record reafthe Nazis and their persecution of Jews

Soviet Foreign Policy And World Revolution

The Trotskyite theory that there is a fundamental cleavage between the interests of "Russian state policy" and the interests of the international proleta-

gles. For instance, the strength of the U.S.S.R. enabled it to form military alliances with the French and Czecho-Slocial Democracy to capitalist world, So-cial Democracy to build socialism? For what other purpose shall the Russian protection of the well as tactics of Social Democracy to build socialism? For what other purpose shall the Russian protection of the world over. In the capitalist world, So-cial Democracy against Bolshevik "dictator-world over the purpose shall the Russian protection of the world over, would nave risen to the defense of German Social Democracy against Bolshevik "dictator-world over the purpose shall the Russian protection of the world over. In the capitalist world, So-cial Democracy against Bolshevik "dictator-world over the purpose of the world over the world over the purpose of the world over the purpose vakian governments. The effect of this Soviet alliance upon the proletarian than the Communist movement. The limit and generally far stronger numerically lism? None of the critics of the C.P.masses of these countries was evidenced Labor and Socialist International has S.U has to date offered an alternative as the land of proletarian dictatorship, not interfere in the affairs of other in the last elections held there. The contributed more than its share to the to the Russian proletariat. primary reason for the gain in Commu- weakening of the world working class | What do we mean by the question: nist votes in these elections was the increased sympathy for and enhanced tariat in Germany, Austria, Spain, and Soviet Union? The construction of socialism in the socialism in the construction of s world peace, as the force for preventing war. Were it not for this stimulus given to the workers in France and nist parties must avoid in the present themselves, with their own forces, with-Czecho-Slovakia by Soviet foreign polsituation. This is the following: The out armed proletarian aid from the outsituation. This is the following: The out armed proletarian aid from the outsituation. This is the following: The out armed proletarian aid from the outsituation.

engage only in a war whose interests are totally different from those animating the capitalist ruling classes. Furthermore, many capitalists are scared, down by the C.P.S.U. for the Soviet Furthermore, many capitalists are scared, another class.

tirely possible that, at a particular moment, the Comintern as a whole may maintaining power. We should then stop of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the interests of the interests of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the interests of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests. The ready won power. In the use of this of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the Russian and the rest of the Russian and the rest of the interests of the Russian and the rest of the Russian and the Furthermore, many capitalists are scared, down by the C.F.S.U. for the Soviet because they fear that such alliances might have a revolutionary effect on their own armies. (For instance, during the debate in France over the pact with the pact

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union announces that elec-

ions for all paid and unpaid officers

of the Union will be held in the near

On August 15th, the three (3)

locals that comprise the Joint Council will hold membership meetings to

elect an elections and objections

committee and to nominate candi-

A meeting of Chairmen of the biggest mills in the industry issued a

statement calling on workers to sup-

port the candidates of the Progres-

by: William Rubin, Berman Bros.;

Julia Valentine; Ben Sanberi, Jerry

Sportwear; Grace Amadeo, A. Wil-

Rosner, Bethlehem; Jack Babits;

Fishman; Morris Geller, Lincoln;

Abe Amdur, Steifel | Healy; Adelaide

Shroeder, Jack & Jill; Pauline

Browne, Ess Tee; Sam Miller, Plymouth; Lena Nadel, Paramount; Ray

Kutz, Reliable; T. Kern, Rubinger; Moe Cohen, Nomis; Moe Kravitz;

B & S; Meyer Goodman, Coast;

Harry Marlow, Dorfman; Jennie

Lurie, Reo Sportswear; Fillersdorf,

Korris; Jack Parness, Assembly; Samuel Cohen, Elgin; Isadore Brus-

man, Konefsky Bros.; Constance Bubell, Epstein & Hammer; G. Wei-

ner, Benmore; Sam Sinensky: Gro-

blue; Al Lerman, Jay Bros.; Harry

Gorelick, Brosmith; Lou Schwan,

The organization department of the

organizing of the unorganized sections

son; Bob Kaufman, Grand; Albert

Group. The call was sign

KNITGOODS UNION PREPARES

FOR GENERAL ELECTIONS

Not Dying With Honor But Ultimate Victory Is Goal To Reach

riat is false from top to bottom. Lud- than those employed by the Communist in the other sections of the Comintern; tional) bourgeoisie. This job the Rus- wrongs and injuries inflicted on the Gerwig Lore, in the New York Evening Parties which have not yet won power. Vice versa, wrong tactics in the other Sections of the Comintern, do not necessitate the Red Army crudely as follows: "Protection and safe- comes first," the defense of the Soviet sarily mean wrong policies by the C.P. armed help of the Western European and had marched, as some of these people ty for the Soviet is everything; the movement is nothing.

"Union or the revolutionary struggles in side any particular country. The two or minimize the falsity of the line of Naturally no one claims that the So- of these critics would today be helping Let us see how much water and what sort of water this theory holds. In a long range sense, the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. is an essential and effective the U.S.S.R. is an essential and effective the Russian pot merely of the Russian rate that the So-lot the two international at a particular country. The two or minimize the faisity of the fine fractional at a particular moment behind the soundness are distinct but inseparable phases of the Communist International at a particular moment behind the soundness are distinct but inseparable phases of the Communist International at a particular moment behind the soundness and achievements of Soviet foreign bourgeoisie without the armed assistance bourgeoisie without the armed assistance of the Russian to force a "dictional to the foreign policy."

The question of constructing socialism of the international working class. ISurely, these critics will grant us that

of the workers in other countries to establish proletarian dictatorships are strengthened. When the Soviet government throws its weight in the international arena for peace—even for the shortest time—it helps the proletariat in the other countries to delay, check or labor movement thru the false tactics rule one sixth of the earth. What should they do with their power within the bourgeoisie.

| Consider the protestation in the various throughout the false tactics rule one sixth of the earth. What should they do with their power within the bourgeoisie.

| Consider the protestation in the various throughout the false tactics rule one sixth of the earth. What should they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the soviet Union? This is no abstract question.

| Consider throughout the false tactics rule one sixth of the earth. What should they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power within the daid of the Western European and they do with their power withi Experience itself is the decisive test present plight of the international labor ence of the U.S.S.R., inspires the work-must not forget the disastrous conseers of other countries in their daily strug- quences flowing from the principles as workers do in the Soviet Union but chains of capitalism it was not a vic- mocrats, the world over, would have risen

cialism in the Soviet Union means the pense of the world proletarian revolu-Again, we cannot stress too much one very serious mistake that all Commute the U.S.S.R., by the Soviet workers situation. This is the following: The sources regions of the communist strength in these elections would have been either stagnant or receding.

Resides this many sections of the situation. This is the following: The sources the following: The situation. This is the following: The sources and achievements of the side. Hence, we pose the question: is clearly. Were it not for the great victories scored by the Soviet proletariat of the U.S.S.R. capable of uprooting completely its own boursections with the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. capable of uprooting completely its own boursections. To conclude, the foreign policy of the socialist construction, surely the false, sectarian, adventurist—and now the socialist construction, adventurist—and now the socialist construction, adventurist—and now the socialist construction, adventurist—and now the socialist construction is primarily a weapon of the socialist construction. Besides this, many sections of the bourgeoisie, even in countries compelled A correct foreign policy pursued by the form temperature will be a constant of the bourgeoisie, even in countries compelled A correct foreign policy pursued by the confidence of the bourgeoisie, even in countries compelled A correct foreign policy pursued by the confidence of the capitalist and colonial proletariat in the world struggle against to form temporary military aliances with the U.S.S.R., dread the Red Army. can never be a substitute for correct was capable of overcoming fully all They realize that the Red Army is not tactics by the Comintern or any of its an instrument of imperialism, and would sections in capitalist countries. It is entended by the workers of overcoming fully all again the Soviet Union has been a life-tone the countries because the Russian day attained a hispan contains an awar whose interests tirely possible that, at a particular mo-

the U.S.S.R., Deputy Charles Relasteyrie condemned the Soviet alliance and complained that "encouragement is becomplained that "encouragement

Ilyn, the latter after a nine week strike. stated:

As a result of the settlement, workers in As a result of the settlement, workers in all three shops will obtain an immediate velopment is an absolute law of capitalbetterment of their working conditions, ism. From this it follows that the vic- ward swiftly in its drive for Socialist The unionization of the Fedora and Windson Knitting Mills represents a do-The unionization of the Fedora and Windsor Knitting Mills represents a decisive victory over company unionism for the Joint Council. Both of these mills have been strongholds of company unionism in the knitgoods industry. The Jedora Knitting Mill was previously an industrial union shop, located in New York, but when the mill moved to their present location at 529—40th Street, Union City, the leadership of the industrial union proved incompetent to cope

Union City, the leadership of the industrial union proved incompetent to cope with the situation. The employer of the Fedora Mill lost no time in establishing a company union, hoping in this way to stem the demands of the workers for better conditions and a closed union shop. The Joint Council refused to permit the employer's scheme of lowering conditions under cover of a company union to countries and, if necessary, take up arms' against the exploiting classes in those states." (Our emphasis).

And in 1919, in his article "Economics and Politics in the Epoch of the Proletarian Dictatorship," Lenin further emphasized: "From the point of view of fundamental economic problems, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the employer's scheme of lowering conditions under cover of a company union to go unchallenged. The Union established contacts with the workers of the Fedora, the workers soon realised the advantages of a Union shop and agreed to strike for Union recognition and conditions. After a strike, during which several workers were arrested, the employer was compelled to concede the demands of the union. The workers of the Fedora are pelled to concede the demands of the union. The workers of the Fedora are today rejoicing in their victory.

Simultaneously with the report of settlements, William Schaffer, Organizer of the Joint Council, reports strikes being conducted by the Joint Council against:

No one should speak of the revolutionary class struggle, its problems, difference will be added to the abstract facilities and perspectives in the abstract Astor Knitting Mills, 476 Knickerboker ficulties and perspectives in the abstract Ave., Brooklyn.

Sun-Glo Knitting Mill, 1823 - 8th Ave., speak of constructing socialism we have

against the Fedora Knitting Mill, Wind- and hours to the workers.

Brooklyn.

New Jersey, and the K. & L. Knitting Mill of 313 Van Sindern Avenue, Brook-both of Union City, N. J.

The following mills have been settled: structing socialism in the Soviet Union involves the ability of the Soviet prolement of 313 Van Sindern Avenue, Brook-both of Union City, N. J.

This policy has been persistently pur- would have been overthrown. sued by the Bolsheviks from the very moment of their assumption of power; it was a policy which Lenin defended vigures as a policy which Lenin defended vigures sued by the Bolsheviks from the very If failure or disaster were ever to be

Knitgoods Workers' Union is taking full advantage of the opening of the season in the knitgoods industry, and is already showing notable results in the Elton Knitting Mill, Hempstead, L. I.

Sun-Glo Knitting Mill, 1020 - Oth Ave., Speak of constructing socialism we have in mind not any one country in the abstract, let us say Monaco of Luxemburg, but concretely the U.S.S.R., abounding in abounding in abounding in Ave. Ornstein Brothers, 59 Liberty Ave., one sixth of the earth, rich in certain Louis Nelson, Manager of the Joint Council will continue to wage Council, reports the successful settlement of strikes conducted by the union with the Union and grant Union wages revolutionary traditions, naving certain historical features, having a proletariat playing a certain dynamic and decisive role in relation to other classes, etc. In this sense, we can only repeat that con-

weapon not merely of the Russian workers but of all workers against world imperialism. When the Soviet Union is strengthened, then, the efforts Union is strengthened, then, the efforts of the world workers in other countries to the best defense of the soviet Union by the world. The question of constructing socialism of the international working class. Surely, these critics will grant us that breakable victory of socialism on a world scale involves the victory of socialism on a world scale involves the victory of socialism on a world scale involves the victory of socialism on a world scale involves the victory of socialism on a world scale involves the victory of the the victory of

is, therefore, the base, the center, the countries, that are now criticizing Soviet inspiration of the international revolu- foreign policy and accusing the U.S.S.R. cesses not only do not come at the ex- tional working class because the Soviet

and powerful stimuli to this revolution of its way to prevent an imperialist war The situation in which the Comintern

rie condemned the Soviet alliance and complained that "encouragement is becomplained that "encouragement is of art, not had as powerful a stimulus, as for not had as powerful a stimulus, as powerful an impetus to its victory, as its successes and achievements in Russia. On the other hand, if the prole-tariat has, for that as powerful an impetus to its victory, as its successes and achievements in Russia. On the other hand, if the prole-tariat has, for that as powerful a stimulus, as for not had as powerful an impetus to its victory as its successes and achievements in Russia. On the other hand, if t

orously against Trotsky years before the October Revolution. In 1915, in an article in the Social Democrat, then the central organ of the Bolsheviks, Lenin the growth of socialist constructions. In the social control of the growth of socialist constructions and oppressed colonial peoples for many years. Again, should the international sympathy and support for the U.S.S.R. grow, then, the growth of socialist constructions are revolutionary movement will come to its aid." tion in the Soviet Union, the socialist

Bolsheviks as too revolutionary. It is the same people who now demand that the C.P.S.U. should have the Red Army march thru Germany to avenge the

government does not break diplomatic tion but are milestones on the path of relations with Germany and does go out which would, in every likelihood, bring

point is not to die with honor but to achieve ultimate victory. The Russian

This has been and should remain the foundation of Soviet foreign policy.

August, 1935.

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—one of the most important factors in world politics is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. What is the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.? What is its history, its background? What are the world forces for war and peace with which it deals? And what are its relations to the international revolutionary movement?

.lav Lovestone

has discussed these questions in a series of eight exhaustive articles in the Workers Age. Now they appear as a 32 page pamphlet that is equally invaluable to a stu-dent of world politics and to fighters in the world labor movement. It is called

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY and the WORLD REVOLUTION

WORKERS AGE P. O. Box 68, Station O, New York, N. Y. Single copies are 15c, bundle order of ten or more ten

In The Pre-Convention Discussion Of The C.P.O.

DEFENSE OF SOVIET UNION IS THE CENTRAL PROBLEM

ment of the world. The question of what fight for the U.S.S.R." But, how? In perialist power. shall be the tactics of the C.P. of France order to answer this question one must may be allied with the U.S.S.R., during between the situation in the last world a war is of importance and must be war and the present situation. answered in no evasive or rubber stamp- 1 The war of 1914-1918 was a purely

ed manner.

The thesis of the National Bureau is absolutely correct when it states, that, rialist aims. All participating countries

dangers (social chauvinism, etc.), that confronted the Second International in 1914, is facing the C.I. at presen ("Shadows of 1914 hover over the Comintern"—Workers Age). Despite the differentiation made time and again by differentiation made time and again by defending of the leading Comrade Lovestone and other leading comrades of the group in explaining the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. yet this differentiation is forgotten entirely in proposing the tactics for the C.I.

Undoubtedly, the present situation the C.I., the puppet leaderships in the various parties, the various mechanical various parties, the various mechanical turns and returns taking place in the of our group—Communist Party (Opposition)—is not only activities. turns and returns taking place in the subject to serious misunderstanding but no longer corresponds Communist Parties, helped to confuse the French C.P. on the important problem to the main forms of our activity and to the role of our group group, the most appropriate name would be—COMMUNIST raised by the Franco-Soviet pact, and in the labor movement. It is therefore necessary at this LABOR LEAGUE. The basic principles underlying our or created the danger of serious right wing time to adopt a more appropriate and politically more ex- ganization would be indicated by the term "Communist," deviations, which must be guarded pressive name for our organization. against. To say, however, that the discussion taking place in the French C.P. and various confused statements made (1) the fact that we constitute a Communist organization, n the communist press, (Hathaway, a part of the world Communist movement, but (2) at the etc.) contain dangers of social-chauvin- same time an independent Communist organization independent, that is, of the official Communist Party and the C.I., The term "social-chauvinists" was ap- with (3) our independent policy and activities in the class

plied by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the struggle, with (4) our activities aimed at entrenching ourpre-war period of 1914 to the social selves and winning influence in the trade unions and other democratic representatives of the Ger- labor organizations; yet (5) rejecting at this time, any preman and other parties who voted for the military budgets of their governments, and instead of fighting for the tionary" party. defeat of their own bourgeoisie supported it in the war under one pretext or an- fications. Its chief defects are: (1) On the one hand it gives other. By doing so the social democrats the impression that our group constitutes an "opposition of the impression that our group constitutes an "opposition of the impression that our group constitutes an "opposition of the impression that our group constitutes an "opposition of the impression that our group constitutes an "opposition of the impression that our group constitutes an "opposition of the impression that our group constitutes an "opposition of the impression that our group constitutes an "opposition of the impression in question became tools of their bourgeoisie. They betrayed the interests of working, pure and simple, for the vic- "convincing" it of its errors. Both of these conceptions are League, and Communist League. tory of their own imperialist nation as against the other imperialist nations. The slogan of "defeat your own bourto the parties of all countries that may tariat of each country.

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or any other imperialist country that again review the different characteristics C.I. and Communist Parties, with their dencies in the Social Democracy in the

nents against other imperialist powers Such a war although a purely impeialistic one on the part of both

and for the overthrow of the present would be a revolutionary one on the part The Franco-Soviet military pact and government. What, however, shall be of the U.S.S.R. The characteristic fea-

condition which did not exist in 1914.

In the last year or so, it has become clear that the name false and misleading and are bound to be detrimental to ou

poses of protecting and defending the U.S.S.R., and participating in a war as THE BEST DEFENSE OF U.S.S.R.

By B. HERMAN

The Communist Party leadership. the France-Soviet mintary pact and government which great and government is the statement of Stalin has raised a very our answer to this question? Surely, ture of such a war would be the military after six years of ultra-left sectarianism lessened, it will again assume the role of lessened, it will again assume the role of such a war would be the military after six years of ultra-left sectarianism lessened, it will again assume the role of least for the U.S.S.R. with some imand has swung to the right with such a existence, at present, of the vengeance that the leftward moving tenrevolutionary theory and experience de- various countries find themselves, to their spite all its present and past mistakes, amazement, far to the left of the Comrape, pillage and imperialist plunder in Would such an alliance be permanent? questions of principle as the attitude The thesis of the National Bureau is abolutely correct when it states, that, "the basic Communist slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war remains unchanged but assumes a new, concrete form for the Communist parties in countries having an alliance where in parties in countries having an alliance when it states, that, ticipating were pursuing purely imperialist nation design and the sacred rights of small nations? Can toward bourgeois democracy, imperialist toward new, concrete form for the Communist parties in countries, whether allied with the Communist Parties of all imperialist countries, whether allied with the U.S.S.R. or not. Such a proposal is too simple and dangerous.

This temporary nature of such a proposal is too simple and dangerous.

This temporary nature of such a proposal is too simple and dangerous.

This temporary nature of such a proposal is too simple and dangerous.

The U.S.S.R. in order to crush it, and had no fatherland to defend. It had a common enemy—the world bourgeoisie, and alliance, and the united such an alliance, however, in no way construct the united such an alliance, however, in no way construct the united such an alliance, however, in no way construct the united such an alliance, however, in no way construct the united such an alliance is possible for a time.

What then, shall be the duty of the communist Party of the country having an alliance with the U.S.S.R. in time of actual warfare?

What then, shall be the duty of the same tactics of communist Party of the country having an alliance with the U.S.S.R. in time of actual warfare?

The task of the Communist Parties in 1914 can cover up the social patriotic desertion of principle by the leadership of the Communist Party ("Militants" are able to place the communist Party ("Militants" a defeat or weakening of the bourgeoisie of any country was a victory for the They have to fight for the defeat of the Soviet Union declared, the U. S. government may wage or to get aid from one bandit in killing

ing of the imperialist bloc against the viet Union, and that the very moment ready engaged in a bloody expedition of munist International on such decisive Ethiopia. Is it thus that France defends the sacred rights of small nations? Car

The thesis of the National Bureau is based on the assumption that the same based on the assumption that the same ternationally. The duty of the revolutivity as a victory for the their own country, turn the war into a ternationally. The duty of the revolutivity are and seek to establish the dictivity war and seek to establish the various Communist Parties have never understood the differences between the tactics of a proletarian state, besieged by a capitalist world, utilizing inter-imperialist contradictions and the tactics of the Communist Parties in the various capitalist countries which can under no circumstances consist of re-Resolution To Change Name under no circumstances consist of reliance upon or utilization of such antagonisms, among the capitalist powers onisms among the capitalist powers. Such a policy can only lead to class leaders cringing before their bourgeoisie to cite the correct tactics of the Soviet State in its diplomatic maneuvers as justification for their own policy of support of their capitalist governments LENIN ON SOVIET

FOREIGN POLICY

while "League" would make clear our independence of the Lenin repeatedly pointed out the per-nissibility and necessity, on the part of C.I., on the one hand, and our refusal to play the part of a "New," rival party on the other. Finally the term "Labor' the Soviet Union, of utilizing the contrain the name would emphasize our orientation to the labor dictions among the imperialists-in the movement in which we are striving to become a force for interests of the toilers, and at the same time the impermissibility of the Social ists entering into agreements with the bourgeoisie to strengthen their own ex-Strike out "Labor" and substitute "Unity," i.e. COMMU ploiters. Lenin wrote in 1918 to the American workers, regarding those who roaked over this apparent contradiction "Unity" in the name would emphasise our struggle for trade in policy:

"O hypocrites! O scoundrels, who

slander the workers' government. . . .

They pretend not to understand the

difference between an agreement made

by 'Socialists' with the bourgeoisic

(native or foreign) against the work-

ers, against the toilers, and an agree-ment for the safety of the workers

who have defeated their bourgeoisie, with a bourgeoisie of one national color against the bourgeoisie of an-

other color, for the sake of the utili-

l would not hesitate a single sec

with sound tactics and a healthy inner life. The voting in the National Buro resulted in 8 votes for th geoisie. They betrayed the interests of the working class in their own country as well as internationally. They were shadow of the C.P., mainly engaged in debating with it and ty (Opposition), and one each for Workers' Communist

To correspond with the present nature and role of ou

AMENDMENT

Strike out the last sentence and substitute: Finally the ter

union unity and for unity of the revolutionary Socialist o Communist movement into a single united Communist Party

militancy and revolutionary clarity.

NIST UNITY LEAGUE.

geoisie" and "turn the imperialist war tionary vanguard was therefore clear: tatorship of the proletariat there, or at the Soviet Union such a war, for sooth, into a civil war" applied to all parties equally in the period of 1914-1918. Would this same slogan, however, apply equally defeat of the bourgeoisie by the prole-

be involved in the coming world war, with the same force and effect? Would different from that of 1914. a) There is seek to disrupt the army of their bour- of the country that is helping us." this apply equally to the party of the the existence and growth of the U.S.S.R., geoisie, which is at the same time the this apply equally to the parties of the U.S.S.R. as well as to the parties of the imperialist nations? The Trotskyists the coming war will in all probabilities have tachment of the U.S.S.R.? Suppose a determined to the imperialist nations? The Trotskyists the existence and growth of the U.S.S.R.? Suppose a determined to the imperialist nations? might answer this in the affirmative— a double purpose: to achieve the imment of its allied bourgeois army are they are for civil war in the U.S.S.R. perialist aims of the various fighting imactually engaged in a battle against the ternational is descriing the most element peralist nations and to crush the Soviet enemy-should the communists and work- tary principles of class struggle, and i Union, if possible. c) Due to the strug-ers in the bourgeois detachment seek proposing a coalition policy—a policy of gle and antagonism between the various to demoralize and weaken that detach- class truce and support of the bourgeo imperialist powers, it is possible that ment of the bourgeoisie? Such an act in those countries entering into alliances for a time certain imperialist govern- may weaken also the detachment of the with the Soviet Union. The slogan of ments will find it profitable and advis-able to forget for the time being their of both the U.S.S.R. and its allied bour-war" is converted into the slogan of hatred against the U.S.S.R., and seek its geoisie would be lost, and the only real "support the progressive war being waged military aid in the struggle against its victor would be the imperialist power by our government." Just as the Social enemies. d) Due to the contradictions attacking the U.S.S.R. Suppose the Democracy tried to cover up its social in the present economic and political same thing happened on a larger scale patriotic policy in 1914 by pointing to

The name of our organization should reflect the following:

tention at playing the role of a rival party, of a "new revolu-

It is clear that our present name does not meet these speci-

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countries allied to the U.S.S.R.? Shall clared in the Daily Worker, July 8, 1935

chists. To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans we made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists, thereby serving the interests of the Russian

Strategy holds just as much for the Communist Parties operating in im
(Continued on Page 4)

Continued on Page 4)

Continued on Page 4)

Continued on Page 4)

zation by the proletariat of the contradictions between the different groups of the bourgeoisie. When the German imperialist robbers in February, 1918, threw armies against de fenseless, demobilized Russia, which staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat be fore the international revolution had completely ripened, I did not hesitate for a moment to come to a certain 'agreement' with the French monar-

The leadership of the Communist In and International Socialist revolution. ond to come to the same kind of an 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers, should an attack upon in the present economic and political structure—the fact that the U.S.S.R. is existing side by side with imperialist powers, and due to the foreign policy of powers, and due to the foreign policy of the slogan "defeat your bourgeoisie" the perialist powers with which their governments were at war—the regime of England, and Germany, at that time?

cialism and the proletarian power but as & REACTIONARY IMPERIALISMS

"The best way to hasten and insure bandits who find it more profitable to Moreover, this quotation of Lenin tho

existing side by side with imperialist powers, and due to the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and due to the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and due to the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and possibly help defeat it? Would this be some time fight against the U.S.S.R. and possibly help defeat it? Would this be u.S.S.R. will utilize the friction and struggle between imperialist nations and enter into military alliances with one or another imperialist nation for the purments will be used in the complete victory of the U.S.S.R. are counter-revolution and struggle between imperialist nation for the purments will be used in the complete victory of the U.S.S.R. are counter-revolution and defense of the Soviet Union. Revolutionary defeations in being foresken, that is, the defeat of the bourgeoisie of one's own into the complete victory of the U.S.S.R. waging a revolutionary var. The Domainst Parties travel the road of social patriotism under the banner of fighting Hitler counter-revolution and defense of the Soviet Union. Revolutionary defeations in being foresken, that is, the defeat of the bourgeoisie of one's own imperialist, for their own imperialist solventher reports of the Soviet Union. Revolutionary defeations in being foresken, that is, the defeat of the bourgeoisie of one's own interest of the U.S.S.R. waging a revolutionary var. The Communist Parties travel the road of social fitting the parties travel the road of social fi

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

WORKERS

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Saturday, August 17, 1935.

Louis Hyman - The Man Of **Broad Vision**

If something is to get a laugh out of you these hot days, it must be pretty good, believe me! And Louis Hyman, ex-president of the late-lamented Industrial Union, is pretty good-as an unconscious humorist!

In the Freiheit of July 12, 1935, Brother Hyman devotes his column-for a change!-to the Lovestoneites and to Zimmerman in particular. This time it's about that notorious leaflet issued by the "Lefts" of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., in which they tried to stir up race hatred and suspicion by alleging that the Negro members of the dressmakers unions were being discriminated against and left in the lurch by the progressive administration. The executive board of Local 22 did not lose any time in branding this piece of irresponsible trickery on the part of the "Lefts," exposing their reckless slanders and fabrications and emphasizing once again the absolute equality of all workers and the complete absence of any racial lines in the ranks of the union.

Apparently the statement of the Local 22 executive board made quite an impression for the "Lefts" seem to be in quite a stew over it. One article after the other in the Freiheit, one leaflet after the other in the market! And now Louis Hyman's brilliant masterpiece!

Brother Hyman is a skilled logician and a trained journalist; above all he has a knack of getting right to the heart of any question he is discussing. At any rate he is sure to get within a hundred miles of it at the very least! Let us listen to his words:

"But the Lefts are not making up any stories about Negro discrimination and Zimmerman's demagogic cries will not solve the Negro ques-

"For example, a committee of the American Federation of Labor is now conducting an investigation of discrimination against Negroes in the

"Before this committee there appeared people who were not Communists or lefts but such loyal A. F. of L. supporters as Philip Randolph and Johnson of the Urban League, Davis and other reformists. They proved what horrible discrimination the Ne-gro workers are subject to. They showed, for example, that most of the railway unions do not admit Negroes at all. In many unions, where there is no ban against Negro members, all sorts of difficulties are put

"And, of course, there is no question of the South. In Atlanta, Georgia, a group of Negro painters organized themselves and asked for a charter from the Brotherhood of Painters. They were told to apply to the hod-carriers union . . .

Notice the directness and clarity of Brother Hyman's argument. To prove that there is discrimination against Nogroes in the dressmakers union and that the progressive administration is responsible for it, he parades before us examples of jim-crowism-in the railway unions and among the painters of Atlanta! At least no one can charge Brother Hyman with being a man of narrow

We are familiar with the fact that, for the Freiheit, Zimmerman is responsible for everything that happens anywhere in the I.L.G.W.U. or in the needle trades unions as a whole. But we must protest that it is a little too much glory for Comrade Zimmerman to make him responsible for the whole A. F. of L. and for the entire United States!

YOUNG SOCIALISTS SCORE C.P. WAR POLICIES

We are glad to print the following in case of a war between fascism and resolution received from a Branch of the "democratic" countries in alliance with Young Peoples Socialist League in St. Louis. Mo. * * *

STATEMENT

On Friday, July 19, 1935, a delegation of the Young Communist League came to a meeting of Circle No. 2 of the Young Peoples Socialist League, inviting us to elect delegates to arrange an antiwar demonstration for August 1, 1935.

Our organization consisting of young vorkers who are conscious of the fact that they will be the first to be called for slaughter in the next imperialist war, nanimously decided to participate the conference and elected three delegates for said purpose.

We took this action because at the last meeting of the State Executive Committee of Mo. it was decided to allow every S.P. branch to decide whether or not it wishes to participate in a united front against war. We also realize the mistakes made by Social Democratic Parties thruout the world in 1914, such as German Party supporting its government against Czarism, the S.F.I.O. (French Party) supporting its government against the German Kaiser, etc.

That is why our representatives at this conference took the stand that altho we are for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, we are also for conducting a fight against war even if our own government will ally itself to the Soviet Union. We believe that the tasks of all revolutionists in this country will be to mobilize the workers and farmers to defeat their own capitalist government, regardless of the fact that it may be a

liberal democracy or a brutal fascism. Many statements have been made lately by influential leaders of the Communist Parties that in case of a war between fascism and the Soviet Union and her allies it will be the task of the revolutionists to support their government in this war. We have considered these statements as mistakes by individual leaders, but, in today's press, there is a cable from Moscow that at the opening of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern it was officially annunced "The highest interests of the entire The thesis of the C.P that it will be the job of the Communists international proletariat are expressed amended in this respect.

the Soviet Union to participate in it defending their respective governments. We are absolutely against this policy and we state openly that we are not go-ing to defend any kind of a capitalist government during war regardless of what kind of a capitalist government it is or what country it is allied with.

Therefore we withdraw from the Con-ference Against War and Fascism unless the leadership of the conference differentiates itself from the statement made at the Seventh World Congress.

Be it resolved that this statement be ill organizations participating in the Conference Against War and Fascism and to the labor press.

(Signed) Francis X. Morrison Y.P.S.L. Circle No. 2, St. Louis, Mo. July 26, 1935.

U.S.S.R. Defense Is Main Problem

(Continued from Page 3)
perialist countries which have military 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 statement is way too simple to solve the problem. Such tactics, if followed blindly may bring the opposite re-Instead of a revolution and the establishment of more Soviet republics it may for a time only weaken the existing Soviet Republic, strengthen its enemies and aggravate the danger of a defeat for the U.S.S.R. Not every revolution brings forth a Soviet government. and not every defeated country necessarily becomes a Soviet territory. While during the war of 1914-1918 the defeat and revolution in any country was a step forward, during the coming war the defeat of the temporary ally of the U.S.S.R., may at the same time prove a defeat for the U.S.S.R. proper—it may be a step backward instead of a step

Books of the Age

MacMillan, 555pp. \$2.50.

The world crisis plunged the landlord and church-tormented country of Spain into chaos. Alfonso and his governing clique used the strongest measures of oppression without avail. The workers, especially on the docks and in the mines, resorted to illegal actions and armed revolts. But the revolutionary actions old and idle women who cackle and hiss were headless and disunited. The Com-like geese: That the old handicrafts give munists were weak and impotent, the anarcho-syndicalists political madmen. The monarchy fled the country, and the tegrated and hamper rather than help revolt of the workers bogged down in the dynamics of the story. reactionary constitutional republic.

This is the background and period of the book, but so occupied is the author with the loves and tastes of his hero that the meaning of the Spanish events are almost completely submerged. The hero-Francis Charing, is an Englishman sent into Spain as a representative of the Communist International. By the way, it is doubtful (altho it may be a matter of record somewhere) if any Comintern representative had less necessary political and economic knowledge of the country of his activities than Francis had of

such knowledge the story must appear to be a thoughtful, sensitive and in many

LEAN MEN. Novel by Ralph Bates, places beautiful narrative of personal adventure. Even in this respect it is uneven. Subjective discussions of music, Charing's love of three women (two of them in London) at the same time, dilute the interest of the revolutionist's work among the dock laborers of Barcelona.

It may be true that the "Church Eternal" in Spain has the devotion only of way before the machine. But these studies of decay and advance are not in-

But is the Barcelona dock worker's Spain more or less important than Charing's? Is his personal life of equal importance with the events that culmi nated in the Republican revolution? The author has failed to decide. Balance has been sought by making everything of equal import. The result is lack of balance: and some excellent creation of character has not saved the novel from being diffuse, varying in interest and much less a piece of solid work than the theme gives opportunity for.

A gifted pen is not enough. Prole-tarian novels, too, require the exercise Unless the reader is well fortified with of selection. As in revolutionary work, ach knowledge the story must appear so also in art, "Better less but better." Mac Stuart

Proletarian Revolution Is Soviet Union's Best Defense

(Continued from Page 3)

against Germany or German imperialit is just as permissble for the Soviet Union to attempt to use the Hitler dictatorship against the Mussolini dictatorship or vice-versa as the situation may Germany or Italy become defenders of their respective fatherlands because of peace, of utilizing the armed forces not the temporary exigencies and maneuvers

A UNIQUE POSITION IN THE C.P.O.

That the Communist Party puppet leadership should be unable to comprehend the difference between the tactics of the Soviet State and the tactics of a revolutionary party in a capitalist country is easy to understand—the lack of collective leadership in the C.I., years of mechanical transference of policy from the Soviet Union to the parties in the capitalist countries have tended to create such a condition. But that a member of the C.P.O. should be unable to comprehend the difference is much harder to understand, if it were not unique. Comrade Smith in his article in this issue is ready to give up the slogan of revolutionary defeatism and "turn the imperialist war into a civil war" in those countries allied with the Soviet Union under the banner of "defense of the Soviet Union." His position is even cruder and has less qualifications than that of the C.P. leadership. We need only refer to the article of Vaillant-Couturier in Humanite: "We have no confidence in the French bourgeoisie or in the fascist cadres of the French army adhering to the treaty, and we act accordingly. . . We will continue to fight chauvinism.

in the complete victory of the U.S.S.R. waging a revolutionary war"—the tactics of the Communist Parties must be such as to protect the "highest interests" of the proletariat. A differentiation must be made between the tactics of the Communist Parties in countries fighting against the U.S.S.R. and tactics of Common enemy? munist Parties in countries fighting as allies of the U.S.S.R., even though following imperialist aims.

give up its struggle to win the masses ingclass to its side. It must fight against the imperialist aims of its own government. It must carry on a relentless struggle against fascism and all reactionary forces. It must constantly work to prepare the ground for the successvictory of the proletarian revolution in that country. Insofar, however, as the army of its bourgeoisie is fighting side by side with the Red Army, the Communist Party of that country cannot simply call upon the workers and soldiers to leave the battlefieldsas it would be proper for the Communist Parties in countries fighting against the U.S.S.R. to do, on the contrary, it must point out that the bourgeois army although being utilized to advance the aims of the imperialist rulers of that country at the same time, however, helps to defend the U.S.S.R., and it is the duty of the worker to fight side by side with the U.S.S.R., while at the same time organizing and preparing for the overthrow of its own bourgeoisie.

It is the duty of the parties in such countries to point out clearly and unhesitatingly the contradictory conditions existing and to show the way out of it. The thesis of the C.P.O. should be

. . We will continue to fight against Lenin to use either French monarchists extension of military service, against war credits, against the treacherous polists against France and England in 1918, icy of class peace in time of war." Even Comrade Bittelman in his crude and evasive article on the "United Front Against Imperialist War" in the Communist, August 1935, raises the question: "To require. But should the proletariat in what kind of government can the French for imperialist purposes? of Soviet Diplomacy? Must they be- French Communists understood the quescome defenders of good dictatorships tion and gave the answer: these tasks against bad dictatorships? trusted to governments of the French imperialist bourgeoisie." Of course, Bittelman is wrong inasmuch as the French Cemmunists did not answer in just such terms-rather the slogan of a coalition government, a Daladier regime instead of a Laval regime was taken to signify the end of imperialist bourgeois rule! But at least Bittelman raises the ques tion of power in connection with a read defense of the Soviet Union, even though he does not answer it correctly.

HOW DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION?

Comrade Smith fails to do even this He supposes a detachment of the bour geois army lighting side by side with the Soviet army against the common foc. Would not the slogan of revolutionary defeatism demoralize the bourgeous ar-my, weaken the support of the Red Ar-my, and lead to the victory of the fascist enemy? Would not therefore the slogan of "revolutionary defeatism" be counterrevolutionary?

Comrade Smith merely fails to see that defeat of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the country allied with the Soviet Union in the war, and the transformation of the bourgeois army into a proletarian revolutionary army, does not weaken the Soviet army but strengthens it many imes over, and therefore ensures the defeat of the common enemy. He fails to see that which the C.P. leaders still have an inkling, that the bourgeois army is no reliable ally of the Soviet Union.

To raise the question of a detachment is practically and methodologically wrong. Revolutions are not made by a Certainly, the Communist Party in detachment—they are made by working such a country must not for a moment class leading the toiling masses against the bourgeoisie, supported by the revofor the overthrow of its bourgeoisie. It lutionary armed forces. Revolutions are must double its efforts to win the work-not simply made—they "grew," as Lenin said. Let us pose the opposite question: Given the revolutionary uprising in the working class and in the army of the ally of the Soviet Union, should the Red Army try to crush the uprising because it may help the enemy win a victory? When we compare the two questions, it is clear which policy is counter-revolutionary.

IMPERIALIST WAR AND REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The policy of turning imperialist war nto civil war remains the only correct revolutionary policy, and is the only real defense for the Soviet Union even in those countries allied with the Soviet Union. Comrade Smith asserts that the thesis of the National Bureau does not state the new, concrete form this slogan must assume in such countries. On the contrary, the thesis clearly points out that the problem here is not merely the defeat of one's own bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the working class. but concretely the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a revolutionary war fought along side of and together with the Soviet Union against the bourgeois enemy, the transformation of a vacillating and unreliable bourgeois not be forgotten.

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

Any physician will tell you that vioent changes in temperature are the signs of an unhealthy condition in the human body. Also any doctor of politics in the revolutionary movement will agree (whether he admits it or not is quite another matter) that the sharp swings from right to left, and from left to right (as at present) ordered from on high, are a sign of the diseased condition within the Communist International.

C. P. GIVES UP FRACTIONS IN UNIONS

One of these breathtaking wild swings to the right (without any quotation marks around the word) is now taking place on the trade union question. That the red unions had begun to weigh heavy on their hands is no news. It is also no news that in many countries these unions were just choked in the dark of night and any opponents were met with the same vilification which fell to the lot of those who were opposed to red unions in the first place.

What is new however, is that the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions have pledged not to organize groups within the trade unions. We could of course understand it if the C.P. were to say that it was a concession in order to achieve unity with the reformist unions in France but no, with the brazen cynicism which characterizes the C.P.'s turns and returns, we are assured that that is done because it is in the interests of the workers, etc., etc. ad nausea.

Despite all our criticism of the sectarian union-splitting stupidities of the official Communists we must just as strongly condemn their present policy to which they have pledged themselves. We do not believe that the reformist unions in France present no need of militant, constructive fighting groups to stimulate leftward development. Let us not forget that despite the tremendous pressure in France for the United Front, he reformist trade unions under Jouhaux have refused to this day to join the united front between the Socialists and

Its decision in France on the trade unions is a case of disarming the militant and Communist workers and making it difficult indeed for them to make themselves felt in the organizations.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Once again a case of blowing on cold. Once again a swing from the extreme position of union busting to the equally extreme position of complete and unqualified toleration of all the misdeeds of the burocracy. And in order to find some basis for this change of policy our good comrade Wilhelm Pieck has to trudge clear back to 1925 to find some plausible quotation from Stalin. And what happened in between let us say 1928 and 1935? The weirdest concoctions, the most fantastic products of feverish imaginations were palmed off on the Communist movement as profound Communist thought. To deny or to doubt the validity of these spurious theories was tantamount to political suicide. Listen to these brilliant words of wisdom from the bearded oracle of the R.I.L.U.—Lozovsky:

The election of the strike committee FROM BELOW (those were the days when everything flourished from below) by the whole mass of the workers concerned—that is the slogan!...
What about the union? Is it to be given a seat on the strike committee or not? From the example of the Lodz strike ONE SEES HOW DAN-GEROUS IT IS TO ALLOW THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RE-FORMIST TRADE UNION ON A STRIKE COMMITTEE."

Once a strike committee has been elected on a democratic footing the question of representing the union or unions is thereby closed."

"A strike committee is an instrument of struggle and for that very reason NO PLACE FOR ANY STOOL-PIGEON OF THE BOSSES" (representative of the reformist union) (R.I.L.U. Magazine, December, 1928).

From this position which actually denies not only the role of reformist unionism but of unionism generally, and deifies the unorganized mass (which elects the strike committees democratically) Lozovsky is now satisfied to be the lackey of the "Bonzen" (burocrats).

We are as much opposed to smashing the militant groups in the trade unions today as we were opposed to the C.P.'s policy of smashing the trade unions yes-

ally into a firm and powerful supportinto a revolutionary ally. Must we wait until the bourgeois ally unites with the fascist enemy against the Soviet Union and against the proletarian revolution occurring in one or all of the bourgeois countries involved in the war to see that the policy of national defense and class peace is even more ruinous than the former errors of union splitting and "united front from below"? The lesson of the Paris Commune, where the warring bourgeoisies united against the menace of proletarian revolution must