PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 39.

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Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

N this country we are woefully short of alert and critical progressive journals. We have hopes that The American Spectator in its new form will help meet this need. From the contents of its first issue, one assumes that we will have an issue, one assumes that we will have an interesting and effective political monthly. We are especially indebted to it for the article "Wage Slavery in New England" by John Lowell. Its findings are a challenge to the leadership of the big needle trades unions to intensify their terrals against intolerable working construggle against intolerable working con

The article on "All the News Printed to "Fit," is a real piece of research and a contribution to the study of the proudest specimen of American journlism. Turning the searchlight on the New York Times' evaluation of Lenin over a period of years, the author George Simpson, reveals to us some startling facts. We cite here but one of the many gems dug up by the author. It is from none other than M. J. Olgin, now editor of the Freiheit. At the close of 1917, Olgin as an expert on Lenin for the New York Times wrote the following:

"Lenin's program . . . is in keeping with his general political conceptions. It follows the line of least resistance. It formulates things that can easily be grasped by an untrained mind. It throws out a bait to attract the mob. At the same time it avoids touching permits employers to produce mupon the most vital problems. It would seem that Lenin's 'radicalism' and by adding to the disorganization of a country shaken to its founda-tions. Here, as ever, Lenin's tactics, seemingly extreme, are in reality weakening the strength of democratic Russia. Lenin is a man who sees life only from the angle of his own ideas."

Apparently, time has been of great help to Comrade Olgin. In the light of this it is very easy to understand why today Olgin is feverishly trying to be holier than the Pope himself.

T this moment it is very difficult for Any one to set the exact day and hour when the first shot will be fired on the African front. Likewise, it is impossible to-day to indicate definitely how soon the Italian imperialists' attack on Ethiopia will be transformed into a world war. However, two items buried in the financial columns of our daily press are of sinister significance as indices of the rapidity with which the events are moving these days towards a new world war.

Scrap steel exports from the U.S. to Japan have risen 800 per cent. in the last thirty months. No doubt some of this material will be returned to the Americans in the not distant future in the wounds inflicted through shrapnel. Scrap steel exports to Italy from the U. S., according to figures compiled by the American Iron and Steel Institute, have increased by 450 per cent. In general, the sale of scrap steel by the U. S. within the last two and a half years is double the total of the preceding eight

The other index we have in mind is to be found in the huge increase of foreign funds seeking haven in the American investment market. These funds are coming to the U. S., to Wall Street, mostly via London and are thoroughly international in character. That is, the bourgeoisie of practically every European capitalist country is well repre sented among the exporters. The vast increase in gold imports by the U. S. is to be attributed primarily to fear of war on the part of European capitalists.

Let no one make the mistake of think ing that the rapid piling up of mountains of gold in the U. S. is a sign of any real strength of American capitalism or that this will prove a factor for even momentary stabilization in the U. S. The very opposite is the case. The U. S. is already economically choking because of the plethora of unused and unusable capital. The augmentation of this fund can only insure further and more serious complications. Besides, at a moment's notice European investors for sundry reasons may suddenly begin to withdraw their funds from the U. S. and thus generate another force for precipitating a crash on the stock market of such grave dimensions as to bring serious disruption in industry and exchange. It would be well not to forget the influence of just this factor in the 1929 stock market crash. History does repeat itself ever more painfully, espe-cially in the realm of capitalist crises.

WAR FINDS AN ALLY



Etimov in Moscow Pravda

Relief Chiefs **Make Discovery**

There is no keeping a secret from Harry Hopkins and his bright lads in Washington. Perplexed by the problem of increased production without a simultaneous increase in the number of employed-a direct contradiction to their more business less unemployment formula—Mr. Aubrey Williams, right hand man of Harry L. Hopkins has at last discovered what is common knowledge to every thinking person, namely, that it is due to "increased efficiency which permits employers to produce more

The solution proposed by Mr. Williams illustrates what a blind alley our presonly blocks the road of the Russian illustrates what a blind alley our present system is in. He thinks that an appeal to the employers' instinct of charity might result in increased employment of "Unless," he says, "industry is willing to adopt deliberately a policy of sharing increased business with workers there is not much hope of the workers getting anything out of a business pick-

> Since American industry is not run exactly along charitable lines the pros-pects for over ten million unemployed, entering upon the seventh winter of

> crisis, is black indeed.
>
> With the whole Roosevelt burocracy shouting "things are getting better" no one was more surprised than the relief burocracy itself to discover that unemployment has not decreased but on the contrary it has increased.
>
> Says Mr. Williams, Assistant Relief

Administrator, "Business absorbs new business without increasing employment. They get a dividend out of it but no new jobs are created. . . . Even the National Industrial Conference Board says there is more unemployment now than a year ago.

Nevertheless the relief rolls are shrink-ing because "we have become pretty darned hard-boiled on relief. We've reduced expenditures almost 100 per cent since June." So says Aubrey Williams who wants the employers to be less hardboiled by hiring more workers than they

Mooney Fights

Once again, after nineteen years of imprisonment Tom Mooney and Warren K Billings are in court hurling the charge of frame-up against the judicial system of capitalism.

Little, if anything can be expected from the hearings now going on before referee Shaw but the significance is the exhaustion of state avenues and the opening of the door for a final appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

We are sure that every class-conscious worker sees the importance of this move and will do everything in his or her power to help financially and otherwise to make this final effort to liberate America's most famous political prisoners Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

EXPECT WAR IN TEN DAYS

Memel Election Campaign Shows Nazi Drive Eastward

The elections to the Memel Diet, which have assumed the significance of a national plebiscite, have been extended for another day because of the complicated balloting which made possible the participation of only 60% of the electorate during the first day of voting.

Disorders are widespread and charges of falsification are flying thick and fast, Clashes between Nazis and Lithuanians have occurred and several have been killed. The Nazis who received over 80% of the vote in 1932 are claiming an even more sweeping victory in this election while the Lithuanians insist that Nazi sentiment has declined and claim at least 25% of the vote.

The election is being watched with great interest in all the capitals of Europe. In Berlin the vote is expected to add strength to Nazi demands for the return of Memel to Germany. In Great Britain, France and Italy, who had warned the Nazis against any interference in the election, the result may indicate new international complications. In Moscow the results are being awaited with great uneasiness for Memel is practically at the front door of the Soviet Union and Nazi designs upon Russia are well known.

Russia are well known.

Slowly but surely Hitler is developing his immediate program calling for the return of all of Germany's colonies.

C.I. Resolution on Fascism **Shows Dangerous Omissions**

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

The full text of the resolution on Dinitroff's report has now been published. In comparison with the report, the resolution is an improvement on several points tho it still contains a number of serious shortcomings which may have dangerous consequences unless they are

It recognizes the "temporary defeat of the proletariat in Central Europe." The belated official acknowledgment of this fact is a step of progress inasmuch as it presupposes the necessity of learning from the defeat.

WHAT IS FASCISM,

Fascism is defined in two different ways: once correctly as a peculiar form of the dictatorship of finance capital as a whole. Secondly, incorrectly, as the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital." The second definition leads to the conclusion that there are less chauvinist, imperialist elements of finance capital who are opposed to the fascist dictatorship. In fact, there have been various remarks in the press of the Communist Party of Germany to the effect that sections of the bourgeoisie may want to be rid of the fascist dictatorship. The German Social-Democracy is noted for its reliance upon the anti-fascist ac tion of the Reichswehr, of the top burocracy and a section of the capitalist class. It is therefore necessary to meet such deviations and confusion with au unequivocal and clear definition of the fascist dictatorship.

The fact that the resolution warns 'against dangerous illusions that fascism will collapse automatically" is not acci These illusions were very wide spread in the Communist Parties, and they are closely related to the theory of "third period."

The resolution correctly states that the united front movement is still "in the very first stages of development." It goes on to say that in France "the first advances to say the first adva For Freedom in France "the first advances to say that in France "the first advances of fascism have been defeated." This 1935, Comrade Anna Schumann, function of fascism have been defeated." substantiates the widespread notion among the French working class and the French C.P. that fascism in France has been decisively defeated and repelled. On the other hand, one can interpret this to mean that the present stage of the united front struggle in France is not as yet completed but merely a beginning.

THE UNITED FRONT

The resolution lacks a concrete anal ysis of the weaknesses and errors of the united front tactics in France. Such an analysis becomes all the more necessary in view of the fact that the united front in France has become the international model of united fronts. The warning against mechanical transference of tactics from one country to another as con-

tained in the resolution on the report of the ECCI, was not applied as the discussions of the 7th World Congress have clearly shown. The guarantee against such mechanical transference is a thore criticism of the experiences and practic of the united front in France by the International. Only such a thoro examination of the question will make for a nonmechanical generalization of the experiences of France to all countries. There has as yet been no adequate discussion of the French united front.

The resolution states that the establishment of the united front will be "the most important immediate task of the international working class in the present historical epoch.

UNITED FRONT

AND SEIZURE OF POWER After seven years of the ultra-left course, after the heavy defeats of the working class in Germany and Austria which were closely tied up with the failure to apply the united front it was undoubtedly necessary to emphatically point out the fundamental significance of the united front as a turn to the re-formist organizations. If, however, the tactical turn on the united front question is not to lead to serious opportunist errors, the CI must at the same time determine the limits and the aim of the united front. A Congress of the CI does (Continued on Page 4)

Nazis Murder C.P.O. Leader

Inside of a year the Leipzig organization of the CPG (Opposition) has to mourn a second victim through death in its ranks. Within this year comrade

tionary of the German Communist Oppo-sition died in the Waldheim prison. Comrade Schumann was a veteran of the Leipzig labor movement. She was active in the days of August Bebel and Liebknecht and then she first took her place amongst the front-rank fighters for socialism. Soon she became most active in the building of a left-wing in the German labor movement. During and after the war, she took the road leading to Communism and became a Communist representative in the Leipzig Municipal Council. In 1929 she lined up with the opposition to fight against the sectarian course of the Comintern. The numerous arrests in her active career did not break her physically or spiritually. Because of her age, the Nazis offered her freedom if she were to retire from the class strug gle. She turned down this offer with contempt. On August 23rd, the Nazis followed up this offer with an announcement by the Gestapo that Anna Schumann has just died.

Immediately after her death, the Gestapo began to persecute her family. A few days after her burial her niece, a mother of four children, was immediately arrested and put into the same cell in which Comrade Schumann was murdered This was done to torture her family still more brutally. The CPG (Opposition) appeals to the international working class to rally to the support of the fighters against Hitler's barbarianism and to render immediate real assistance to the victims of the Nazi terror.

Ethiopia Mobilizing Nation For War—War Expected Within Ten Days

The Italo-Ethiopian conflict took a new turn when pressed by native chiefs Emperor Haile Selassie, notified the League of Nations that he cannot mark time any longer while Italy continues to strengthen its armed forces in Eritrea and Somailand, and intends to immediately moblize the nation for war.

This statement from Ethiopia was made public after the Italian represenatives at the League had once again declared that war in Ethiopia could not possibly be avoided, that it was too late for Italy to turn back. In view of this statement and Ethiopia's mobilization observers expect hostilities to be opened within ten days.

What is still worrying Italy is the attitude of Great Britain. Il Duce has gone out of his way to make clear thru public declarations as well as thru private conferences that Italy has no intentions of harming British interests. The representatives of Il Duce have been working overtime in an effort to isolate France, apparently without success, for England continues to parallel Italy's war preparations with its own in the Mediterranean and in Africa.

England has even gone further and has declared that any aggression against France on the continent would be considered as a step towards war and would lead to Britain's support of France. This announcement was a severe blow to Italy

Miners Secure Wage Increases

George S. Ward, secretary of the Harlan County Coal Operators Ass'n, announced that all members of the association have decided to pay the scale agreed upon in Washington between the U.M.W. and the oper-

At the same time it became known that a reign of terror against the miners still continues in Harlan County. Representatives of the U.M.W appeared before Governor Laffoon and he dispatched General H. H. Denhardt at the head of National Guard troops to make a thoro investigation.

The strike of the 400,000 bituminous miners has been settled after 6 days of negotiations and practically all miners will have returned to the pits by Tuesday, October 1. The exceptions are the miners of Virginia and Tennessee and of Perry and Harlan Counties, Ky., where the operators have refused to sign the contract. In these mines the strike continues until the agreement is signed.

The new contract is to run for 18 months instead of 12 as proposed by the union. The six hour day and five day week was not secured, the agreement continuing the seven hour, five day week. The increases secured in wages will total about 90 million dollars a year.

The following are the terms of the

agreement: (1) increase of 50 cents a day for day workers; (2) increase of 9 cents a ton for tonnage men; (3) crease of 10 per cent for "yardage" or "dead work," compensating the miners for clearing up rock or slate; (4) increase of 9 cents on the ton for pick

NOTE NEW DATE

Bert Wolfe

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTER-NATIOAL"

IRVING PLAZA 15th Street & Irving Place

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 9th **Questions and Discussion ADMISSION** 15 CENTS

Auspices: COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION)

We Are Still at 51 W. 14th St.

Last week we announced that the Workers Age and the New Workers School were moving to new headquarters. We thought we were. Terms had been agreed upon, and the lease drawn.

Then at the moment of signing, the Men-Higher-Up discovered that the Rivera mural series "Portrait of America" was moving to their Building. THE MEN-HIGHER-UP WERE, IT TURNED OUT, THE ALL-PERVADING ROCKEFELLER INTERESTS. And when a Rockefeller hears of a Rivera mural he gets the Red jitters and begins to look under his bed for bombs.

That's why we must delay our moving. In a way we're glad. We don't like the Rockefellers as landlords any more than they like Rivera as a tenant. Watch for our next announcement.

SELF-PORTRAIT OF THE LEADER BY BERN BRANDON

of the Communist movement in America is that it is necessary to review Earl Browder's Communism in the United States in the columns of the Workers

that in a semi-ossified state, his red blood a little thin in his veins, he not only repudiates his former "leftist nonsense" and "sectarian mistakes"—always welcome and never too late—but mumbles vaguely about "non-aggression pacts", "democratizing the Senate", a Labor Party that "can fight off hunger and economic chaos", and "united labor tickets supported by Democratic, Republican and Civic Clubs." But the essen
"It is enough to make even a horse laugh."

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"THE DEFECTS OF BROWDER'S "COMMUNISM"

The defects of Communism in the United States are the defects of the official Party in this country in program, despite all shortcomings in substance, manner of formulation and execution, more in harmony with Communist good sense. And for small favors, we of the C.P.O., above all, are grateful.

The DEFECTS OF BROWDER'S "COMMUNISM"

The defects of Communism in the United States are the defects of the official Party in this country in program, tactics and inner life sonce the purge of 1929, when Stalin's exhortation of 1926 to keep "Hands off the love of the revolution and execution, more in harmony with Communist good sense. And for small favors, we of the C.P.O., above all, are grateful.

EXPOSING A CAREFULLY

"It is enough to the needs of America, it has finally been hammered into line with a program, despite all shortcomings in substance, manner of formulation and execution, more in harmony with Communist 200 sense. And the adoption of a line in accordance with this portion of a line in accordance with this portion of a line in accordance with this and imperialist wars, and its nature as the period of the maturing of revolutionary upheavalism, and its nature as the period of the maturing of revolutionary uphea tickets supported by Democratic, Republican and Civic Clubs." But the essention of 1929, when Stalin's exhortation of 1926 to keep "Hands off the CHAPDED SECRET tial thing is that the patient is still American Party! It is developing in GUARDED SECRET alive, the seven lean years are almost the right direction. It is doing good over, and just as sure as day follows work", was repudiated by the peerless gins nowhere and ends nowhere, and night, the patient will recover and our leader himself and the party was turned as a result the unsophisticated reader, theory of Marxism-Leninism" when Fostalist state"; Lozovsky at the 8th Sestate an organized, principled, but principally months, to denounce the leadership and 349 pages of, in the main, official re- finitely in decline as a labor organiza- International of Labor Unions shouted: abused and maligned faction of the Com- policies that had won the overwhelming

BITTLEMAN DELIVERS THE INVOCATION

ance was prepared by our old comrade-in-arms, Alex Bittelman. "Earl Brow-spectives for the creation of a strong der's book offers the key to an under- world movement for communism that, in standing of Communism in the United the words of Marx,* must be "internarectitude, Bittleman christens a motley collection of papers, reports, addresses, and discussions written or delivered tic ignorance to Stalin.

A Review of Earl Browder's "Communism in the U.S.A."

Age. In this book all the revolutionary virtues of the communist heart have been poisoned by the revolutionary vices of the non-communist head, resulting in a tragic mental disorder which has all of a Party Convention or Central Committee but a regretation and the poisoned by the revolutionary vices of the master, some the official imprimatur ing en masse tried and trusted revolutions in every national section of the trade unions, for sharp-ened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions, for sharp-ened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions, for sharp-ened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions as well as the first part of the book, the reader is introduced to what Browder is introduced to what Browder is introduced to what Browder is now with the first part of the book, the reader is introduced to what Browder is introduced to what Browder is now with the first part of the book, the reader is introduced to what Browder is now with the first part of the book, the reader is introduced to what Browder is now with the first part of the book, the reader is introduced to what Browder is now with the first part of the book, the reader is introduced to what Browder is now with the first part of the trade unions, for sharp-ened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions, for sharp-ened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions, for sharp-ened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions, for sharp-ened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions as well as millions of sorely pressed unorganized.

—ves. were vou "guided by the scientification of the least three very national energy in the least three very na tragic mental disorder which has allowed a ready caused incalculable harm to the Communist movement here, there and leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis, confusion and puppet lead-symptoms of it are on every page until leaving crisis. communist movement nere, there and to which the Communist Party (Opposition) in this counnist Party (Opp try owes its independent existence as an create serious doubts as to its supposed toy's at the 10th Plenum of the ECCI its causes, the false analysis upon which organized faction of Communism in the source, and yet all about as honest, in- that we are "with both feet in the revo- it was predicated, the battles that were romance is strewn with the stinking Restoration to sound health has been as the Papal Bull to the understanding that the fundamental law of Marxist- has resulted in—all this really funda- who live in a world of illusion have no slow and as yet far from complete. In of Christ. "It was produced by one who Leninist theory and of Bolshevik strat- mental and relevant information which business on the highway of political life. fact, new complications have set in, But is guided by the scientific theory of egy and tactic can differ in the various alone could give the unsophisticated readfact, new complications have set in. But is guarded by the set in that old disorder, so brilliantly diagnosed Marxism-Leninism and by its great master countries." Finally, it is the great description of the great description of the great master countries. Finally, it is the great description of registered way above normal for a per- foresight and revolutionary romanticism from the purge to the present, have not fully guarded secret. registered way above normal for a perlocal part of the strength and the gold in this collection your report to local many stated sector.

Why, Comrade Browder, isn't there in communists and where politicians balk, and where politicians balk, communists and. And why not you, ing which he was in a delirium most of the time, mumbling such fantasies of his fever-racked brain as "new revolutionary wave", "workers are seething to define the could Dr. Bittelman pass this column for the control of the first of the form of the control of the first of the first of the form of the control of the first of the form of the first of the form of the tionary wave", "workers are seething with revolt", "revolutionary upsurge of the masses", "great offensive struggles", "wide-spread and deep-going radicalization", "party is lagging behind the revolutionary mood of the masses", is just about a thing of the past.

However, a serious reaction has set in all other compatient is now a little below normal sou in and the revolutionary temper of the Stain put it very well—in another tonpatient is now a little below normal so
nection, of course— when he exclaimed,
that in a semi-ossified state, his red

"It is enough to make even a horse
out" a line suitable to the needs of

inist movement, will come to an end. endorsement of the Sixth National Conbelieve, 95 delegates to 7.

They are the defects of a strategically placed clique of the C.I., ruthless and The introduction to the piece de resist- all-powerful, who, differing with the In these words, swollen with tional in content, national in form," vio-

Fact vs. Fiction on N. Y. A. F. L. State Convention

The accuracy of the Daily Worker in writing about anything in which the "Lovestoneites" are concerned, can be compared only with that of the Hearst papers in dealing with the "Reds." But surely a little more than Hearstian Now as to the facts: brazenness was required in putting over 1. On page 3 of the official report: the "job' in regard to the recent annual

character of the gathering and won the study the matter, is a few support of a large number of delegates. Reports in the press (New York Times, for example) showed that the signifiparty question, on which the press comparty question, on which the press compart of Local 22 were Charles S. Zimmerman, independent political action of labor. It "Loveston ite," and Murray Gross, a was then that the heckling and distur militant Socialist, the Daily Worker bance occured against which A. Lefko-found it necessary grossly to falsify its witz of the teachers union protested, reits lies with emphasis in an editorial were any C.P. members or sympathizers reply to a reader later on. Fortunately at the convention, they certainly did not the convention is at hand and against this the "accuracy" of the Daily Worker 3. On page 3 of the official report:

Writes the Daily Worker (September 2. 1935): "The Lovestonite Zimmerman did

may be tested.

not introduce the resolution (on the Labor Party) that was discussed on the floor of the convention. . . . Another Lovestoneite, Gross, declared

Classes Begin October 14.

that he had introduced an entirely different resolution. . . . Gross vaguely said that the Executive Council of the

missed. But simply because the delegates Murray Gross's speech advocating the account of the convention and to repeat sulting in threats of violence. If there the official report of the proceedings of make themselves conspicuous on this or

". . . No. 85, by C. S. Zimmerman and Murray Gross.—Declaring in

often for the Workers Age on the prole-tarian dictatorship and workers democracy, and other questions of direct relafavor of industrial unionism so as to tion to the state. The course is entitled permit of omnibus organization of workers in one industry or in one plant without regard to trade skill or individual occupation." Zimmerman spoke on this highly im-

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

FALL TERM, 1935

				independent study of the nature of the
P. M.	MONDAYS	TUESDAYS	FRIDAYS	Soviet state on the one hand, and the
7:00 to 8:30	Marxism and Political Thought WILL HERBERG	Problems of American Trade Unionism GEORGE F. MILES	Theoretical System of Marxism B. HERMAN	Fascist state on the other, and a consideration of the tactical-strategical problems involved in the attitude of the
8:40 to 10:10	Fundamentals of Com- munism EVE DORF	Revolutionary Tradi- tions in American History MAC STUART	Marxism and War BERT WOLFE	proletariat toward the various state forms. The course is being offered on Monday nights at 7 p. m., for a period of ten weeks

Communism in the United States be

4. On page 3 of the official report:

of L. to vote for such proposal."

On page 2 of the official report:

Fascism and Nazism. . . .

ment to the Federal Constitution to

"... No. 81, by C. S. Zimmerman

and Murray Gross. - Denouncing

against Fascism in Europe.
"... No. 84, by C. S. Zimmerman

and Murray Gross .- Urging the im-

n its Fall Term, which opens October

14th, a new course, which will be a study

of the state, its nature and forms, its

history and functions, from the point of

view of Marxism. This course is being given by Will Herberg, who has written

Included will be a historical investiga-

rope and America, an analysis and criticism of the better known theories of the

of the points of view of Communism

tendencies within the labor movement, a

independent study of the nature of the

Social-Democracy, Anarchism, and other

Marxism and Political Thought.

. No. 82, by C. S. Zimmerman

ich-too-long independent existence as topsy-turvy in the short space of a few who might happen to labor through its ter's dictum that "the A. F. of L. is de- sion of the Central Council of the Red tion" became official party dogma? Was | "We want to break up the reformist portant resolution and the old-guard it "scientific theory" when the Program unions, we want to weaken them"-and vention of the C.P.U.S.A. to the tune of, craft unionist politicians were forced to of the TUUL, adopted at the Cleveland back came the echo, "The new TUUL" sit up and take notice. But not the Daily Conference in 1929, declared "The day will succeed because it is the workers Worker-it pays no attention to such of craft unionism has gone forever in federation of labor-not the bosses" American industry: the day of militant (Daily Worker, Sept. 3, 1929): "The reindustrial unionism is here."? And when actionary unions are completely useless Lovestone declared, "It is silly to look in the class struggle for the workers" and Murray Gross.—Proposing amend- at the existing American trade union (Foster, Oct. 1930); the task of the movement with its 3,000,000 members as Communists is to get the workers to be called Workers Rights Amendment, stationary, unchangeable . . . There "vote to get out of the A. F. of L." out-

imagination, your "immediate revolu-

tionary perspectives"?

**The Communist, Nov. 1929.

ican labor movement in general and to the revolutionary movement in parti-cular than the illusion that the A.F. of L. can no longer grow and has no future . . . The outlook is clearly for an ingress into the trade unions, for sharp-

The road that separates science from

No politician pricks his own balloon But where politicians dread, commuopment—the recognition of the Third of sincerity, to the Party members as a Period of the post-war crisis of capi-

ceased to be centers of class organizations and have been transformed into Were you "guided by the scientific agencies and appendages of the capicould be nothing more fatal to the Amer- maneuvering the A. F. of L. leaders "making it impossible even to collect

This latter resolution also included an endorsement of the A. F. of L. Labor Chest to aid the victims of and fighters When 'Freiheit' Forgets Itself Social-Fascism Thrives Again

mediate release of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings from prison in California and urging all labor organizations within the state to take

Somebody ought to send the Freinet and apparently a posses organization. The same language as in the dismal days of 1930, when the C.P. was busy with its splitting campaign in the Workmen's clients. A. F. of L. should 'study' the question of a Labor Party."

Somehow the Daily Worker overlooked these questions as well!

Somehow the Daily Worker overlooked these questions as well!

Nor is Murray Gross a "Lovestoneite"! He is a member of the Socialist Party. It is very generous of the actablishment of a Labor Party."

In a first page editorial invective against the Forward, the Freiheit does not seem to last Party. It is very generous of the actablishment of a Labor Party.

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Nor is Murray Gross a "Lovestoneite"! He is a member of the Socialist Party. It is very generous of the actablishment of a Labor Party.

Daily Worker to present every military. the "job' in regard to the recent annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor!

It is well known that this convention was the first at which a new and refreshing breath of progressivism was introduced into the stale atmosphere old-line union politics. The militant fight put winon politics. The militant fight put wip by the representatives of Dressmakunion and James J. Bambrick of the ers Union Local 22, LL.G.W.U., in behalf of a number of important progressive measures, transformed the entire half of a number of the gathering and won the sive measures, transformed the entire in pattern of the New York State Federation of Labor?

It is well known that this convention was the first at which a new and refreshing breath of progressivism was introduced into the stale atmosphere old-line union politics. The militant fight put winon and James J. Bambrick of the ers Union Local 22, LL.G.W.U., in behalf of a number of important progressive measures, transformed the entire half of a Labor Political Party in the State of New York and approgressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the interests of journal progressive unionist to the "Lovestoneites"—but, in the independent of the social-Fascism" are building service men and they are so listic accuracy at least, it ought to be able to make some discrimation of the same bre Role of State om. Let us take some examples:

1. In a polemical article again

om. Let us take some examples:

1. In a polemical article against N. Chanin of the Workmen's Circle, prominently displayed on the editorial page,

B. Salzman writes:

the petty, nasty, jaundiced manner which made Hyman such a natural instrument of the union-smashing course for so many years. Every effort is deliberately made to play down the demonstration R. Salzman writes: Salzman writes:

"We will also be able to show very easily, not thru words but thru established foots the volce of the laternal dressmakers will not be heard at the

(emphasis in original).

and their development in Western Eu- plicitly ruled out of the proletarian fold; party line?

lished facts, the role of the International Workers Order from the first day of its foundation up to today, as THE ONLY PROLETARIAN CLASS | It is only necessary to add that the ORGANIZATION IN AMERICA" Freiheit is the only C.P. paper with any noticeable influence among workers in In other words, the Communist Party- the trade unions. When the Freiheit ntrolled International Workers Order writes this way, what must be the condis the only proletarian fraternal society. Ition of the ordinary party members who, ion into the rise of political institutions The Workmen's Circle is therefore ex-

state from Aristotle to Laski, a study In the Next Issue:

JAY LOVESTONE completes his article on "The Comintern and

WILL HERBERG, whose article could not get into this issue for technical reasons, submits his second article in two parts. The first part will be run under the title "The Heritage of Dual Unionism."

JIM CORK, whose article on Scandinavian Socialism appeared in the last issue, now treats the question of "Socialism In Great Britain." Comrade Cork spent almost a year in Europe, acquainting himself with the problems of the revolutionary movement.

THE COMINTERN AND THE COMING WAR LOVESTONE

After the deluge of articles by Thorez, Cachin, Sverma, and Hathaway drowning out the traditional Leninist position on imperialist war, the speeches of Dimitroff and Ercoli at the Seventh World proved quite a relief despite their signifi- own exploiters in the very white heat ation. cant limitations, particularly in what of the war. they left unsaid. However, the resolution of "The Struggle Against Imperialist war is the continued relentless waging of the class struggle. On this basis, it of commission that an examination of the minimum and the communist attemption of the class struggle of the class struggle for the conclusion of military pacts between the U.S.S.R. and certain bour good of the Red Arion of the Red Arion of the Communist attemption of the class struggle. On this basis, it is axiomatic that the struggle for the class struggle for the class struggle and the Red Arion of the Communist attemption of the class struggle. On this basis, it is axiomatic that the struggle for the class struggle attemption of the Communist attemption of the Co the entire question of the Communist attitude and policy towards imperialist war

mean co-operation with the foreign bourSoviet Union such a temporary alliance
new type of war today. It is a war in

OF MISCONCEPTIONS

will not be out of order.

First of all, we must dismiss with German government. contempt the accusation against Communists that they favor war because it NEW FEATURES gives them an opportunity to make a rev- OF SITUATION olution. This is a pure fabrication of So much for the situation up to No- AND NEW STRATEGY conditions and is undoubtedly decisively The defense of the Soviet Union is not tariat in each case. These are: tied up with effective leadership. Nor the concern merely of the Russian work- 1.) War between one imperialist do Communists face war as an abstract ers but the greatest concern and highest power and another or between groups of do Communists face war as an abstract question—or as a conflict involving individual conscience, as a problem of struggle within or between individuals.

2) The victory of Fascism in Geriard to work for the defeat Communists militantly strive to prevent many. The very existence and aggres- of their own government. imperialist war because they consider it siveness of the Nazi regime undoubtedly a monstrous crime against the workers gives the capitalist democratic govern- 2.) A war may be fought by an im in the city and on the land. Then, should ments in such countries as France and perialist power against a colonial coun-Communists fail to prevent imperialist England new and demagogically effectivy struggling for its national freedom war, they do not resort to prayers for tive appeals for mobilizing mass workpeace but energetically and persistently ing class support for their imperialist oppression. Here our task is simple: peace but energetically and persistency seek to transform the imperialist war into a civil war—into a war for power of countries there in a number of countries there perialists.

| Ing class support to a support t within the country, by the workers against the bosses, instead of a war of working class against working class under the country of the working class under the country of ist war has broken out, our slogan is not "peace without victory," as Trotsky once proposed. Our slogan then is: Victory for the proletariat through the defeat of

our own bourgeoisie. Here we must stress the following fact: Precisely to the extent that we Communists are able to register or make give their all in a war for the defense of the Soviet Union or for resistance to and the defeat of imperialist oppression in a colonial country.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

In 1914 the international Socialist ment of monetary systems. movement—with the significant exception of the Russian Bolsheviks—went either social patriotic or social pacifist. BANKING BILL Some Social-Democrats became fervent chauvinists. These Socialists devoted the Banking Bill is impossible within themselves wholly to the task—in every country—of helping their own national features of the bill can be summarized country—of helping their own national features of the bill can be summarized the summarized features of the bill can be summarized features of the bill can be summarized features of the bill can be summarized features of widening and extendcapitalist ruling class vanquish its foreign foe. Hence, such Socialists banned the class struggle and ordained class
peace. Other Socialists were for peace
in principle—pure pacifists—on grounds
of conscience. These Social-Democrats,
though expressing themselves against
war, did nothing to fight their own capitalists and likewise were for lease of the bill can be summarized
as follows:

1. The continuation of the federal
here again the objective fact of the lasts for industry.
Here again the objective fact of the lasts of the capitalists in the
hope for profit-making prevents them
from utilizing any easing of credit. Just
as prosperity breeds further prosperity
in the constant expansion of industry,
the forther prosperity of the Soviet Union, (a party albear again the objective fact of the lasts of the saking can insure against crisis has
been well blasted by the experience of
the Soviet Union, (a party already in power) to Communist Parties
in principle—pure pacifists—on grounds
of conscience. These Social-Democrats,
though expression for the purpose of widening and extending the credit basis for industry.
Federal Insurance Corporation with capital stock of \$150,000,000 supplied by the
Treasury is to be set up. Deposits of
Federal Reserve Banks shall be insured
up to \$5000.

The further extending reserve requirements
for the purpose of widening and extending the credit basis for industry.
Federal Insurance Corporation with capital stock of \$150,000,000 supplied by the
from utilizing any easing of credit. Just
as prosperity breeds further prosperity
in the constant expansion of industry.
The insurance features of when the purpose of widening and extending the credit basis for industry.
Federal Insurance Corporation with capital stock of \$150,000,000 supplied by the
form utilizing any easing of credit. Just
as prosperity breeds further prosperity
in the constant expansion of industry.
The insurance features of whence against crisis has
been well blasted by the experience of
fengland where talists and likewise were for class peace, while the imperialist war was being trol over the Federal Reserve System in the blocking of expansion because of solutely nothing preventive in the inwaged by their own bourgeoisie. That is why Lenin fought mercilessly against the sciulted. The president shall have the social pacifists as well as the social positive of the first part of the social pacifists as well as the social chauvingsts. Lenin sought to have the chauvingsts. Lenin sought to have the mors (7) who act as the executors of the working close in cook source. As for the future, no local pacifists as well as the social pacifists as well as the social pacifists as well as the social power to appoint the Board of Governors. As a bour-length social pacifists as well as the social power to appoint the Board of Governors. As a bour-length social pacifists as well as the social power to appoint the Board of Governors. As a bour-length social pacifists as well as the social power to appoint the Board of Governors. As a bour-length social pacifists as well as the social power to appoint the Board of Governors. As a bour-length social pacifists as well as the social power to appoint the Board of Governors. As a bour-length social pacifists as well as the social power to appoint the Board of Governors. As a bour-length social pacifists as well as the social power to appoint the Board of Governors. As a bour-length social pacific the social power to appoint the Board of Governors. As a bour-length social pacific the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to appoint the Board of Governors and the social power to

SPAGHETTI INN

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REASONABLE

THE ECONOMICS

OF THE BILL

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New Types of Wars and Strategy to Be Pursued

attack from a competitor.

NEW TYPES OF WARS

commercial paper as a basis for credit extension becomes very ineffectual. Pros-

and banking policy has developed con-comitantly with the increased centraliza-profit-making which cannot be restricted

in American economy are a part, altho for extension of credit and thus know no

the situation demands. The bill states that the board, "in order to prevent in-

movement can take a position on it. The control in the hands of the two commit- dation.

order to prevent crises in industry ig- is revealed in the fact that the Presi- Reserve System.

These general characterizations of the CONCENTRATION

Banking Bill require certain critical com- OF POWER

ments and estimation before the labor

may by regulation change the require-ments as to reserves to be maintained policies raises another problem of far constances cannot support such a bil which makes for the following develop ments in American economic life:

against demand or time deposits . . . " greater significance for the national 1. The extreme centralization of eco

5. The general nature and intent of the bill is to attempt control of business banking policy that the bill introduces.

cycles through a centralized control of This must be considered in relation to 2. The further strengthening of state

the commercial paper basis of credit in form of state capitalism. Politically it the Board of Governors of the Federal

nores the real nature of capitalist crisis.

dent appoints the seven members of the Board of Governors who in turn com- and deflation are greatly enhanced thru

tempt to stop inflation by increasing discount rates or by increasing reserve reCommittee. Which means that complete operations, changes in the reserve re

ents in order to narrow the basis control goes back to the President. This quirements, and discount operations.

powers, as well as the political implica- banking.

Congress were most welcome. These revolutionary class struggle against its cisive revolutionary role in a war situ-, ist countries may launch an attack against the U.S.S.R. Every worker is

the bourgeoisie is thus overthrown in a particular country, the job of the prole-

4) The conclusion of military pacts butybound to help the Soviet Union beat

is today not only timely but imperative geoisie directing the fire in the opposite means further aid in the defense of the which we find one or more imperialist brenches. That is why the Bolsheviks victory of the international proletariat powers lined up against one or more unhesitatingly and completely rejected in Russia. This is a revolutionary ob- capitalist countries in a bloc with the OF MISCONCEPTIONS

aid from the Japanese government in 1905 while Pilsudski accepted it then as ally of the U.S.S.R., the pact is simply we have bourgeois governments momenhe did subsequently in 1914 from the a necesary but unwelcome instrument tarily alongside of a proletarian governfor preserving imperialist loot against ment, revolutionary objectives and imperialist aims. This is really what we might call a mixed war. It is clear to all that in those countries fighting national revolutionary labor movement against the U.S.S.R. the proletariat could have only negative aims. Today right wing Socialists, pure pacifists, and vember 1917. Much has happened since Consequently, today, the revolutionary spares no pains to insure a defeat of its it can and must, as indicated in the las outright defenders of capitalism. No then to focus the Communist attitude and proletarian movement is confronted with own bourgeois "home" governments and mentioned type of war, have a positive Communist contends that imperialist war policy towards the war question in a the task of working out strategy towards a victory for the Red Army. But what aim. In the countries for the moment inevitably leads to proletarian revolution. Social revolutions are not made to
and decisive features in the present inones faced in Lenin's days. Let us look
capitalist countries which are momengeoisie seek to continue the war until

LABOR MUST

the Board of Governors and its sweeping capitalism through the centralization of

The almost complete concentration of on a vacillating commercial paper foun-

The labor movement under such cir-

3. In the attempt to stabilize th

banking system and the economic system,

the contradictions of capitalism are in

tensified by basing the monetary system

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 oppo-site 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 . . . "... Talk of peace with the bour-geoisie or voting for war credits is out of the question, is utterly impermissible for Communists in such countries as well as for Communists in other lands. Such a policy would be open social-chauvinism no matter under what banner it would be Before November 7, 1917, the inter-

war immediately but rather to organize revolutionary warfare, to throw their full

forces and resources on the side of the

Under no circumstances can a military

illiance between a capitalist country and

U.S.S.R. in a revolutionary war

order, do not spring out of wishes and plans in themselves. The transference of political and economic power from one o class to another is rooted in concrete er in Russia—the existence of the USSR. be assumed by the revolutionary prole- ly and correctly answered as follows in ing their rule at home, through fortifythe Theses adopted by our last conven- ing their capitalist dictatorship. these countries, the proletariat als wants to continue the war-but for en-"The basic Communist slogan of trans- tirely different reasons and objectives, forming the imperialist war into a civil for the victory of the Soviet Union and war remains unchanged but assumes a its Red Army. Here we fight not for a new, concrete form for Communist par-tics in countries having an alliance with energetic waging of the war as a revolu the Soviet Union. These Communist parties steadfastly continue to aim at the tionary war. This goal the proletariat revolutionary overthrow of their own in question can attain only through the must declare war on their own bourgeoisie and organize 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 bourgeoise is thus overthrown in a

TACTICS IN "MIXED" WAR

The Administration's Banking Bill is today no disagreement as to what the proletariat should do in the first three types of wars. But between the CI and results in giving to the capitalist gov- to what the revolutionary proletariat The passage of the Banking Bill does not mark a new departure in the credit banking principles of the U.S.A. It rather indicates the intensified continuafelt our opposition to imperialist war, and banking principles of the U.S.A. It rather indicates the intensified continuation of a process that has been going on since the post-war years. The growing our own ruling class, in achieving working class power—in establishing the proletarian dictatorship. Of course, proletarian revolutionists are not opposed to all wars in principle. Communists will give their all in a war for the defense

drift away from gold as the basis of credit to commercial paper intensifies

on rank social chauvinism.

The CI Congress did not condemn thes the contradictions of capitalism. The grave errors in principle. It avoided dealtion inherent in the Federal Reserve Sys- by high rates of interest. The capitaltom innerent in the rederal reserve bys- by high rates of interest.

The development of these trends ists are willing to pay all sorts of rates Conference Board's book "The New Mon- Clear and definite lead was given by the in American economy are a part, altho to a lesser degree, of the world development of monetary systems.

FEATURES OF

In New Mon
Collected Board's book "The New Mon
Collected Board thus achieving the opposite objective—
crisis rather than stabilization of prosnority levels. During depression periods.

nominally employing gold, but actually using credit or non-gold commodity money, was immediately imperilled because nict mistakes—giving un independent Some Social-Democrats became fervent Any detailed or complete analysis of perity levels. During depression periods, the liquidity of assets backing this credit nist mistakes—giving up independent to manifest itself in a number of Con

working class in each country stop imperialist war by working for the defeat of its own capitalist government. Obviously this revolutionary defeatism could in each instance be achieved by the proletariat only through waging the proletariat only t tute the committee. This committee shall other attempt to make changes in the refunction for the purpose of restricting or expanding monetary policies.

4. The Board shall have the power to change federal recommendation and centralization of the same fallacies as outlined above in the

These questions will be answered next week in the concluding article of Comjurious credit expansion or contraction, Market Committee with sole powers of cumstances cannot support such a bill rule Lovestone.

PHILADELPHIA JIM CORK

Where Is The Communist

International Going?

attempts to manipulate reserve require- tees is an indication of the general trend 4. The political power of the party in Labor Educational Center ments and discount operations for the throughout the capitalist world towards power becomes enormously strengthener 19th and Lombard Streets purpose of either widening or contracting centralization. This takes the definite by the control over the appointments to

Saturday, Oct. 5 - 8 p. m.

Communist Party (Opposition)

Dead Men Are So Damned Funny....

By JEAN LE GAULOIS Once when I was young and liked the thin wail of a bugle, I happened to wit- tight coffins. Hosanna in excelsis. ness a queer quirk of destiny-a Druse head sheared clean of skin and hair; a

the living. You know — women and children. God, God, God, God. God, what a joke on them.

And so I grin in harmony with the monument adorning a real estate development or a Soldiers Memorial Bridge corpses; God, why shouldn't dead men

The crown of thorns, I suppose, for all the echelons that remain unbutchered. blinds the innocent so that they will not see the carrion-mongers battening on profits of steel and powder and poison.

The funeral of the ten million dead was an elegant and bathetic rite. When the English chose their unique rotting from in one spot alone-Ypres beyond the Menin Gate. Junkers beyond the Rhine reserved one Stiff from the incinerators. America added superfine theatre to its debauch; in the town hall the Dead ah, the grinning Dead.

of Chalons-sur-Marne a blindfolded Yank dropped a red rose on one of the air-

I think that the genius of a people is beyond the Citadel of Damascus, his in its liars. The wise man derides the stupid lie but the wise man is a fool. gft to him from the spit of a French In Athens, down in Georgia, I heard a eld gun. I am certain that he was a white man speak; "Nigger, Ah cain't git Druse; the French buried their dead. I het up fo' thet Unknown Soldier—like as remember the Druse grin; it fascinates not he mout' be uh black bastard." Then I heard the black man tell his brethern There are a million times ten grins that the White folks positively know that the Unknown is a po' black man. War. I reckon I know why these dead men grin; the joke is on them, in a sort of way, but think of the grisly joke on them, in a sort of way, but think of the grisly joke on them. circumcised; the Catholic demurs—he swears that the Holy Eucharist hallows the Unknown dust. The winds of Hell blow awry upon the earth.

The jest is best understood by the solgrinning dead when I see an Our Heroes dier who lived. His gaunt face wreathes in a macabre smile when he sees a clergyman, editor, teacher, army plug, or tunnel or avenue—any of the politic-ians unspeakable gifts to his village fully abaft the holy pillar—with a wreath fully abaft the holy pillar—with a wreath green. Squeezing useful juice from in his hand—getting his picture taken. God how the dead man, underneath, must

Of all living grins I think that the the humble people who sorrow, is the veteran's is brother under the skin to tomb of the Unknown Soldier. This the leering skull beneath the sward. monstrous thing is supposed to implement with tragic pride the woe of the veteran's ears; "Millions for useful were smashed and spitted and poisoned Bonus." Too, the veteran has seen his and gutted. It is the guider of Colda and gutted. It is the guidon of God for crippled and maimed and gassed comrades wept over unctiously in order to It puts Heaven into chlorine gas and transmogrify the other veterans from knives and muskets-of the Beast. It Our Heroes to Our Itching Bums. What disinfects War of its moral syphilis and a whale of a difference a few cents make with no apologies to Fatima.

Time is lengthening the veteran. He is growing taller than his gaudy legions and crooked leaders and ku klux vestments. Maybe the dead men are talking to him? There is, forsooth, a new light corpse, they had two or three hundred in his eye; an ugly question on his ton-thousand festering Things to choose gue. Whether it be today or tomorrow -sooner or later-the veteran is going

Self-Portrait of the Leader

(Continued from Page 2) dues or assessments for the fakers' union." (Labor Unity, Jan. 1932). Was not this, Comrade Browder, Communism in the United States, too?

Yet, not a word in Communism in the United States of an analysis that was wrong, of a trade union line that was a mistake, of self-inflicted isolation that was a tragedy, of a fiasco that must not be repeated, of a lesson that was learned. On the contrary, starting from the truculent "Third Period" premises that the A. F. of L. is an "enemy organization", that "the day of militant industrial unionism is here", that "the Communists need only to exert even the slightest efforts and the leadership will fall into their hands", that the trade unions have been transformed into "agencies and appendages of the capitalist state", that the organized workers are "more or less reactionary" whereas the unorganized workers are supposedly the custodian of revolutionary virtue being the "most advanced section of the working class," that there is danger of the Party "lagging behind the revolutionary mood of the masses" Browder offers this monumental piece of political imbecility and "leftist" asininity to the 13th Plenum of the ECCI

"Under this program (New Deal) the A. F. of L. is given governmental support and even financial assistance, and a lous, as determined effort is made to control and eventually choke off the strike movement, by driving the workers into the A. F. of L. where it is hoped the official leadership will be able to bring the masses under control . . . It must be said, how-ever, that the bourgeoisie has been disappointed by the performance of the A F. of L., which could not control the masses nor prevent the strike movement nor recruit such masses as was expected

"The comparative failure of the A. F of L. to recruit the great masses or con trol the strike movement arises from ists accepted the government policy preferred to establish 'company unions instead of the A. F. of L. . . . Second, the

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crude and open strike-breaking policy of the A. F. of L. repelled large numbers of workers ready to join. . . Third, the A. F. of L. burocracy . . has become so parasitically corrupted and degenerated by their past life, that it is incapable of the energetic activity demanded by a mass recruitment campaign, to the great disgust of the more virile leaders in the Roosevelt administration." (Pp. 179-180).

To think that the highest body in World Communism is the forum, to use polite language, for such peanut butter! In another place the fever-crazed Browder lets us know the why and wherefore of this Roosevelt-A. F. of L.

. the A. F. of L. leaders are al lowed to organize only where and when this is required to block the formation of revolutionary or independent trade

But "They make glowing promises to the masses of benefits under the Industrial Recovery Act if only they would join the American Federation of Labor. Great recruiting campaigns are being carried on; the workers are led to think that they are joining a 'trade union' which will conduct 'collective bargaining' for higher wages." (Pl 130).

FASCIST SET-UPS SEEN EVERYWHERE

Very often this nightmarish tale of "leftist" asininity is relieved by some pa-

"After the establishment of the NRA, the reformist U.M.W. Union (A. F. of L.) swept thru the field with a broad recruitment campaign, and our Red union nembers (without even consulting us) went along with the masses . . . " (P. 181)

And how Browder sweats revolutionary blood to make every non-revolutionary union-he makes no difference between an A. F. of L. union or a company union-part of a fascist set-up! Writing of the auto-settlement he says:

"What is new in this course, is the pub lic adoption of the company union as an integral part of the 'corporate state' scheme, where previously, in the official plans, the A. F. of L. had been granted (on paper) a monopoly . . . Conclusion: Neither one nor the other, neither A. F. of L. nor company union alone, but both together, in a constantly closer associa-tion, and in preparation for merging the two under Government auspices. This is the essence of the 'new course.' Of course,

differences continue—we must not be confused by them." (P. 36).

And now, Comrade Browder, after nearly six years of this "left" madness in the midst of American working class reawakening, six long years that have brought death to your revolutionary Needle Trades Workers Union, National Textile Union, National Miners Union, Independent Shoe Workers Union, Auto Workers Union, Metal Workers Union, and death to your TUUL and Independent Federation of Labor, while the organized labor move-ment in the United States has grown to be the greatest in the whole capitalist Sat., Oct. 5, 1935 world, do you now concede that your estimate of the A. F. of L. as a "dying

Books of the Age

By Bertram D. Wolfe

EUROPA, by Robert Briffault. Scribners, 501 pp., \$2.75.

This is a novel that attempts an impossible task and comes breathlessly more than favorably with those of novels close to accomplishing it—closer than of lesser intention and more concentraany of its predecessors in contemporary tion on their erotic theme. literature. It aims at portraying an age, the one preceding the world war; a continent, Europe; a culture, the occidental; a society, that of capitalism in decay; and a movement, the forces of proletarian revolution, slowly, painfully, ineptly germinating a new world. Only in the last respect is it inadequate, and that is understandable, for the method pursued of exploring the decaying upperclass world and the world of bourgeois thought thru the experiences of Julian Bern, the well-born, well-connected, intellectually gifted central character of the book, places inevitable limitations upon the exploration of the working class movement, limitations, moreover, which spring out of the field of experience of Briffault himself.

Even this shortcoming has been skillfully overcome, at least in part, and personages like Mussolini, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and Russian revolutionaries, figure plausibly if briefly, in the pages of the novel. But mostly we are in the company of Russian princesses, European financiers and speculators and adventurers, military men of the high commands, procuresses, aristocratic prostitutes, mad makers of destiny like Rasrootless artists and intellectuals, rushing torrentlike to its doom.

Briffault's Europa has done what to its doom.

convincing in its incident and conversation. Its incidents are no less credible than the incredible society that it portrays. Future generations may not be lieve its nightmares but our generation EAST RIVER, By Borden Chase. is forced to believe them, for we have experienced their rationally "implausible" existence.

anthropologist, author of "The Mothers" and "Breakdown", we would unhesitat-ingly declare that we were dealing with has been maturing in the mind and emo tions of its author for several decades and issues forth as a work of the first magnitude in style, in structure and in thought. But it is a first novel in the sense that it apparently intends to begin a series. It closes with the overwhelming news that the German Social Democratic Reichstag fraction of 110 deputies has unanimously voted for war credits. With that the last rational support of the old world, the bourgeois minded social democratic structure inseparable from that world, comes crash ing down around the ears of Julian Bern. At least two more novels are due if Briffault is to complete his grandly-begun task-one dealing with the world war and another with the epoch of the Russian Revolution and the present period of perilously unstable equilibrium of two antagonistic social orders.

Europa is a work of a first rate intellect, rational, socially critical, even The united front cannot lead up to the cerebral. It is a novel of ideas, a novel by a thinker for thinkers, an anguished seizure of power. The true seizure of of L. on questions of interference with by a thinker for thinkers, an anguished appeal to reason against the organized sible thru the united front. It presupirrationality of an outlived social order. Many of its most exciting episodes are dramatic clashes of thought, incidents in young Julian Bern's efforts to un-learn the lessons of systematized ignorance and develop a self-consistent, courageous, rational conception of life.
Thoughts are frequently the principal dramatic personae and their struggles are full of passion, heroism, tragedy. Yet the novel is not purely cerebral, far from it. Its pictures of viciousness, per-

organization" was false; that your ori entation to the masses was false; that your strategical objective to "smash the conservative unions was false; that your method of fighting, first from the outside and then from the inside and outside, was false; that your attitude towards the different tendencies in the labor movement, branding them all as "agents of Wall Street," was false? Do you give any evidence, any pledge, any guarantee that it was all a terrible les son that you have finally learned? Only hypocritical cant, the miserable fabri cation that "the present situation of great advance within the A. F. of L.' is due to the activity of the "revolution" ary independent unions" (P. 209), a hol low and shabby fraud echoed in the Daily Worker of Sept. 15, 1934:

"The overwhelming majority of the strikers in recent months were workers or ganized in the A. F. of L. unions, clearly howing that the A. F. of L. workers are more and more accepting the policies of the party and the revolutionary trade union movement."

(To be continued)

version and corruption are troubling and intense and its central love story has elements of lyric beauty that compare

But above all it is a novel of back ground, a background so vast that it amply justifies its ambitious title. Future generations will be grateful to this book for giving an incredible insight into our incredible time. Our own generation will better, more critically, apprehend our age with the aid of its pages.

To minds dimmed and unseeing thru use and custom, it gives the penetrating vision of fresh eyes. In that sense it is the most important revolutionary novel gressive trade unions designated the secthat has so far issued from the pen of ond of the two as the "Black Circular." any English or American writer.

BOOK OF AMERICAN VERSE. Anthology compiled by A. C. Ward. Oxford Press, World's Classics Series. 365 pp. 80 cents.

This handy little well-printed and bound volume of American poetry shows how cheaply non-copyright literature point of providing "an index to the American mind from the days of the first colonizers up to the present time.' the titled, monied, decadent scum spin-ing lightly on the surface of a society The compiler believes that a nation is not "characterized more accurately by Shaw's Heartbreak House tried in vain to do. It has pictured clearly, as clearly as chaos can be portrayed, the vast, unreckoning, mad dance of death of the pre-war capitalist world rushing blindly its second-rate and tenth-rate works," and has chosen accordingly. Still he complains that the handicaps of the copyright laws have compelled him to omit many poems which he would other to its doom. the masterpieces of its literature than by wise have selected whether for reasons The pages of the novel are incredibly of excellence or typicalness. The seleccrowded with people high and low, yet tion, given the standpoint, is a good one, almost blindingly vivid in its detail and conversaconvincing in its incident and conversaconvincing in its incident and conversavations on the American mind as reflected in its attitude towards poetry

Crowell. 289pp. \$2.00.

A romantic "he-man's" story of sand-Europa is obviously a first novel-not hogs drilling a tunnel under compressed in the technical sense of the term, for if we did not know that the author has Edmund Lowe as "Under Pressure" and hitherto been known as a distinguished written to order for such actors and Hollywood.

> Those who read the book won't see the but this isn't it.

CI Resolution On Fascism

(Continued from Page 1)

not lay down directives for merely a few months but for a much longer period. "The present historical epoch" of which the resolution speaks is not very closely defined. It is to include (and it does include) the prevention of the victory of ascism in countries such as France and the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in countries such as Germany, etc.

The application of united front tactics is the most immediate and most comprehensive task but it must reach its Communist Party has already won the leadership over the majority of the working class; leadership for the purpose of establishing the proletarian dictatorship thru armed uprising (and not thru struggles for partial demands). The winning of the majority as this has been accomplished, the united front has become superfluous. The CI must come out with such an explanation of the value of the united front now, and not wait until all sorts of illusions have front offers unlimited perpectives to the working class, or until all these illusions have led to serious errors and heavy defeats. Pointing out the limits of the united front will not weaken its power of attraction because within these limits the united front has to fulfill tremendous positive tasks in the interest of the entire working class.

In the next article Comrade Thalheis mer will continue his discussion on the resolution on the report of George Dimi-

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TRADE UNION **NOTES**

ENGLAND SHOWS THE WAY

Since the convention of the American Federation of Labor is nearing and it appears to be a certainty that the "red menace" will be dragged out of the closet to bolster a trade union burocracy that has received some hard knocks lately, it is not too far afield to discuss certain developments at the British trade union congress, held a few weeks ago.

Also in England the trade union burocracy had been engaged in a "red hunt" for a number of months before the congress met. This came in the form of two circular letters sent to the locals and the central labor bodies calling for restrictive measures against Communists and ostensibly also Fascists The pro-

BLACK CIRCULAR"

The first of these circulars of the General Council called upon the Executive Committees of the unions to consider drawing up or amending regulations "so as to empower them to reject the nominations of members of disruptive bodies for any official position.'

The second circular (Black Circular) could be gotten out for the masses if the contained a ruling of the General Counbig publishers so desired. Unfortunate- cil that any trades councils which adly the selection is not made from the mitted delegates associated with Comstandpoint of the inclusion of the best munist or Fascist organizations should American poetry, but from the stand- be removed from the list of Councils recognized by the trade union congress.

Note that neither of these proposals questions the right of membership of such workers but only their right to hold office and the right of the trades councils to tolerate them as delegates. Nevertheless the trade unions met these circulars with widespread suspicion and resentment. It was the Miners' Federation that moved to refer these circulars back to the General Council and 1,427,000 votes were cast for its proposal as against 1,869,000 votes for the General Council. And it took such heavy guns as Citrine, Bevin and Hicks to secure this slim victory. The only outstanding leader to oppose the General Council was J. Bromley of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

HOW COME?

How does it come that the General Council received such widespread oppo-sition? The Communist Party of Great Britain, has a ready, if not a correct, answer. It shows, they say, the general sentiment for and influence of the Communist Party Such a claim is ridiculous in the light of the Congress action on film and those who see the film won't other related questions—such as the apwant to read the book. This review is peal for trade union unity, by the Sova work by a veteran of the novel-writer's art. If it is in fact a first novel in that sense, it is obviously one that ed by a wide margin.

Much more accurate is the London Economist, when it says (September 7, 1935): "Paradoxically enough, it was the strength of the delegates' desire to preserve the full democratic character of the trade unions that led them to oppose the Council . . . Indeed, there was never a more vivid demonstration than this week's Congress how deep and instinctive is the attachment to democratic methods of the average British trade unionist."

The virtue attributed to the "average British trade unionist" is, of course, a lot of tommyrot. But that the masses of trade unionists are jealously guarding their trade union rights is unchal-lengeable. We can see that in recent developments in our own trade unions. Witness the American Federation of Teachers, the auto workers union and the rubber workers union-all of whom clashed with the burocracy of the A. F their rights.

It is clear that the Black Circulars will be a source of inspiration for the A. F. of L. in its drive against the "reds." The efficacy of any such proposals, however, is very much in doubt. Such organizations as the Brotherhood of Painters of the working class for the principles have constitutional provisions for the auand aims of Communism is one of the tomatic expulsion of persons found to be basic aims of the united front. As soon members of the Communist Party. Nevestheless dissatisfaction and opposition to the burocracy continues unabated. What may be accomplished by the burocrats at the Atlantic City convention is to make it more difficult for militants and been created to the effect that the united progressives to assume leading positions

The decisions of the Margate Congress have been greeted with great glee by the "Old Guard" of the Socialist Party. It warms the very cockles of their redbaiting hearts. John Powers is beside himself with joy that now, at last, the British trade unions are following "precisely the attitude taken by the American Federation of Labor."

The same Powers also shows that he can distort facts with equal ease in the New Leader as in the New York Times. With a straight face he tells his readers that 539,000 votes were cast against the black circular. He knows that that's an outright lie. That is the vote for a censure of the General Council. The vote against the black circular was 1,427,000 and the "well informed" Powers knows that well. But what's a little lying in such holy a crusade as the ousting of the "reds" from the unions to make them safe for the burocrats?

George F. Miles