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New York, N. Y., Saturday, October 19, 1935.

Five Cents

LOVESTONE'S SPEECH AT MAD. SQ. GARDEN

In the Discussion on the Seventh Comintern Congress

In accordance with our promise we now present the speech which Comrade Lovestone was to have delivered at Madison Square Garden, on October 3, where Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Parish World presented his report of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

We are certain that our readers will find this document to be a valuable aid in un-derstanding the decisions of the Seventh Congress and the present situation in the international Communist movement.

ly disunity.

At the outset I must underscore, with the greatest emphasis, that the leadercommended for granting us of the Com-Committee of the Party not allowed us to appear on this platform, many, very many workers following the Communist banner or sympathetic to the revolutionary porletarian struggle, would have concluded that responsible Communist leaders do not know how to exercise their responsibility, how to be really worthy of the confidence placed in them the workers even in these most fateful hours—in the hours of an impending imperialist world conflagration and menacing waves of fascist savagery.

Then, I want to assure you that I will not abuse the privilege granted us by As precisely and point-Opposition, the position of its American strategic line. Long before the Seventh munists, all militants, all progressives, life of our world party of Communism-

organization, the Communist Party Opposition, in the light of developments in the world Communist movement during centralism, of establishing a genuine colbor—to work there constructively, to the last seven years.

WHY WE ARE OUTSIDE OF C.I.

We of the International Communist Opposition have been and still are outside of the Comintern not of our own Comrade chairman, comrades and feldesire or choice. Our comrades in Gerlow workers: In the history of our many, colleagues of Liebknecht and Lux-movement, this mighty gathering will have a distinct significance. By those Group, founders of the Communist Parwho are with us now and will come in ty of Germany, have not left the offithe future this gathering will rightly be cial Communist movement in Germany hailed as the first ray of hope and the of their own free will. Our comrades, first harbinger of revolutionary unity in followers of Comrade Roy, imprisoned for our ranks after more than six years of years in Britain's darkest dungeons in acute dissension, bitter strife, and cost- India, have been in a similar position. We of the Communist Party Opposition in whose ranks there are to be counted the founders and builders of the Comship of the Communist Party is to be munist Party of the United States, some of the most experienced and influential munist Party Opposition the right to address you here tonight. Had the Central organizations, have never been outside the Party through our own volition. The same holds true for our comrades in Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia, Sweden, Spain, Denmark, and else-

We found ourselves outside the Communist International, not because of any difference in principle with the Execu tive Committee of the Communist In-ternational, not because of any disagreement with the Communist Party of Sov iet Union's correct policy of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. We were forced outside the organization ranks of the Comintern because we would not endorse and were in determined opedly as I possibly can, I will state the position to the sectarian tactics, to the position of the International Communist ultra-leftist tactics, to the ultra-leftist That is why we insisted that all Com-

ective leadership in the Comintern.

MASS WORK OF

COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

Comrades, we of the International Communist Opposition, did our best never to allow ourselves the suicidal luxury of name-calling, of factional bitter ness or approach as a means of settling political issues. We have sincerely tried our utmost not to sacrifice an iota of objectivity, not to swerve even an inch from our Marxist-Leninist course, from the path of comradely, constructive criticism. Besides, we never gave ourselves over merely to the tasks of Communist analysis and enlightenment, valuable, in-dispensable as these are. In the course of our years outside the official Communist Party ranks we threw ourselves into energetic mass work, into efforts at exemplary activities in the trade unions into winning masses for the class war. We are confident that it won't be long now before rapidly increasing numbers of the comrades in the Communist Party will realize that the struggle we of the Communist Party Opposition have been waging was not one of factional malice, of clique pique, of destructive character but one which, despite terrific handicaps, severe strain and stress has objectively been of invaluable service to our world party of Communism, to our class.

In spite of tremendous odds we have sought, to the best of our ability, to restore the Party, the C.I., to a correct tactical course, to a healthy inner regime, to sound Communist unity. That is why we rejected dual unionism, unionsplitting in any shape, manner or form.

labor—the American Federation of Labor—to work there constructively, to help strengthen the unions, to set the duce further and if possible to eradicate pace in union-building, in strike mili- the bitterness which has arisen between tancy and in this practical, positive way us, to help the Party to struggle against disabuse the minds of the workers of sectarianism, against the remnants of the prejudices against Communism and ultra-leftism, thus win them over to the cause of the Comrade Dimitroff called "the isolation revolutionary class struggle. That is why of the vanguard." We are prepared to we rejected the theory of social fascism do our all to help the C.I. and our party and its logical practice of the united front from below which made impossi- genuine democratic centralism, to realize ble a genuine united front of working in life the decision of the Seventh Conclass organizations against fascism, war and all expressions of capitalist reaction. That is why we demanded a unit-ed front of the Communist Party, the ed front of the Communist Party, the tate to say that the hero cult which has Socialist Party, the trade unions and all been developed to a very dangerous other labor organizations as a genuine joint effort to defend and extend the interests of the working masses.

To us the strategy and tactics of the class struggle were not matters of dryas-dust formulae, of mechanically devising or executing policies, regardless of the concrete, specific, often exceptional conditions at hand. To us the questions of trade union tactics, of united front strategy, of approach to the great mass of non-Communist workers were problems to be solved solely on the basis of the conditions at hand and not thru wish-thinking or worshipping of etishisms and idols. At all times we have sought to preserve and develop a spirit of Leninist self-criticism.

OUR STAND ON THE SEVENTH CONGRESS

But we do not come here to settle We do not come here in any spirit of "I told you so", with any aim of proving who was right and who was rong thruout these critical years in the

the C.I. Rather do we come here to tell the comrades of the Party and the workers in general what we hail and what we cannot endorse in the Seventh to help overcome what gress for democratizing of the Comintern and against the mechanical transference of tactics. Here, we do not hesipoint thruout the sections of the Comintern is, in our opinion, an obstacle that must be overcome before a real critical spirit, initiative and self-reliance can be developed in the ranks and leadership, before real party democracy and a col-lective international leadership can be established.

DANGER OF OPPORTUNISM

To the leadership and membership of the Party we must say frankly that we are deeply concerned over what appears to us as a veritable epidemic of opportunist excesses in the American, rench and other sections of the C.I. in recent month. It is with profoundest regret that we are compelled to say that the Seventh Congress has, either by way of omission or commission, failed to check this serious right danger in the Comintern. Believe us, dear comrades, it is not as carping critics, it is not as chronic kickers that we now sound the alarm against the opportun-(Continued on Page 2)

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

POWERS DECLARE ITALY GUILTY BUT CANNOT AGREE ON SANCTIONS; STRENGTH OF OPPOSITION AT A. F. L. MEET SURPRISES GREEN; MOONEY APPEALS AGAIN.

Report that French Banks Are Paying For Transport of Italian Troops to Africa of sanctions. That is not the case. The endorsement of sanctions continues and

Undisturbed by the solemn declaration of the League of Nations that the Italian Government has acted the outlaw in the dispute with Ethiopia, Mussolini continues to pursue the war with increasing energy. Most recent despatches indicate that resistance so far has been negligible and Italian troops continue to march into the interior from both Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

It has been definitely announced that the sections of northern Ethiopia now under Italian control, with Aduwa as the center, will be annexed to Italy and most likely Ras Haile Selassie Gugsa, recently acquired thru surrender, will be made a puppet king supported by Italian bayonets.

SANCTIONS CAUSE WIDE RIFTS

Although the nations voted 51 to 3 ing many difficulties. It is certain that mies. a number of the smaller nations voted with the big powers in the League not so much because of their being directly involved as because of the fear of With characteristic the big powers. adroitness Great Britain has made it appear as if it is defending the very rights of the smaller nations. The Times of London makes this clear when in discussing Italy's desires, as the strong man, upon its neighbor's vineyard it declared: "While the greater powers have ampler means of qualifying this right as against themselves, the smaller powers must rightly see that their security is bound up with the maintenance of the convenant."

Todate the subcommittees have agreed upon certain financial sanctions but any further steps in the direction of broader economic or military sanctions are held up. It is pointed out that even the revocation of the arms embargo against Ethiopia by England might very well be the first step towards war since Italy would probably resist the landing of arms in Ethiopia. France is definitely opposed to military sanctions and is pursuing, in general, a most cautious role. Le Temps, one of the most influential papers in France insists that "Sanctions of a military and naval order having the character of measures of force should be absolutely excluded. Even in financial and economic measures, great circumspection should be shown as not to which would definitely disturb the ef- lyze Italy's conduct of the war against ful consideration of a number of pro- 3 years ago yet certain phases of the held in that state.

forts of diplomacy."

With this in mind it is hardly surprising that payments for Italian troopships passing thru the Suez Canal, amounting to millions of dollars, have been made by checks drawn upon French banks.

RUSSIA OBJECTS TO BRITISH METHODS

Not only does Britain have difficulties with France but of late also the Soviet Union has become increasingly more cautious. This has resulted from Britain's secret negotiations with Germany and Japan for support of sanctions. The Soviet Union stated that it could see no reasons why non-membership in the League should sell at a premium, why these powers upon whom the League had no control and who themselves had done a bit of aggression should be given concessions in this situation. It is clear condemning Italy the question of the type of sanctions to be applied is caus-

LANSBURY RESIGNS HIS L. P. LEADERSHIP

George Lansbury, 76 year old leader of the British Labor Party, has resigned his leadership because of his opposition to sanctions voted by the Parliamentary Labor Party. As a Christian pacifist he objected to any step which might involve Great Britain in war.

British politics is in a state of grea ferment. The Labor Party has made demands upon the government for an early convening of parliament since it wants to be kept closely informed of developments. At the same time the Tories are attempting to utilize the present situation in which the "nation is united"—from Stanley Baldwin to Harry Pollitt-by a speedly election. It is their opinion that they would sweep the country. The Labor Party, fearing precisely this danger, opposes an early

COMINTERN ANNOUNCES ANTI-ITALY STAND

The Communist International has issued a call to all transport workers to tie up shipping intended for Italy. It calls for strikes and stoppages to para-

ly interpreted as replacing the approval of sanctions. That is not the case. The the Communist Parties have merely added one more demand—this time address ing themselves to the workers.

GREECE GOES BACK TO CONSTITUTION **MONARCHY**

In the defeat of the 11-year old re public in Greece and the return of King George II to the throne, Great Britain has scored again. With the defeat of the Venizelos revolt (backed by Italy) some months ago, the figure which stood out foremost in Greek politics was George Kondylis, Minister of War. Altho both he and Premier Tsaldaris were known to favor the return of the monarchy, Kondylis had ideas as to his own role under such a monarchy.

Kondylis made sure that his plans are not interefered with by engineering for industrial unionism is much strongconcessions in this situation. It is clear at that the Soviet Union is in fear of the strengthening of its most avowed enestrengthening of its most avowed energian and declaring martial law. The new cabinet finds Kondylis as President of the Council and Minister of Finance. Mine Workers with 4,000 votes, Inter-The present regime is known to be national Ladies Garment Workers Union The present regime is known to be friendly to Great Britain.

BROAD OPPOSITION AT A.F.L. CONVENTION

It is probably the first time since William Green succeeded to the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor that he received as severe a jolt as he did on the question of seating J. W. Williams of the Building Trades Department. Altho Green made it a matter of confidence the convention defeated Green's proposal by a vote of 18,092 to

Whether this vote represents the exact relationship of forces is not important. As a matter of fact the opposition to Green claimed no more than 13,000 votes when the convention got under way

THE BIG FOUR FORM ALLIANCE

The United Mine Workers, Interna tional Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and United Textile Workers seem to have come to proposals coming before the convention and it is this development added to the

Ethiopia. This call has been erroneous- Issue of Industrial Unionism Divides **Federation Convention Almost Evenly**

posals introduced in the form of reso-

AMENDMENT TO U. S.

This has occurred over the resolution ntroduced by the delegation of the I. L.G.W.U. proposing a constitutional change giving Congress the right to legislate on social security problems without the interference of the Supreme Court. The resolutions committee, after learning that the U.M.W. has cast its weight behind it, is now trying to cook up a, "just as good" proposal. The mat-ter has not yet been reported out of committee.

LABOR PARTY AND VERTICAL UNIONS

It is also clear that the movement with 1,600 votes, Amalgamated Clothing Workers with 1,000 votes, United Textile Workers with 792 votes, as well as the Brewery Workers, Metal Miners Bakery Workers, Building Service Employes, Hatters, Oil Field Workers, Typographers and Printing Pressmen, Automobile Workers, Rubber Workers among many others.

This question will come up for decision toward the latter part of the week but interest is at high point already.

The same can be said on the ques tion of the Labor Party. Of the 300 odd resolutions that have reached the committee several dozen relate to the Labor Party question. Now the proponents of the Labor Party have all agreed upon the resolution introduced by Francis J. Gorman of the United Textile Workers. Regardless of the outcome of the final vote the results will show that a considerable section of the trade union movement is now on record for it.

THE RED ISSUE

There is considerable speculation as to whether the Executive Council will go thru with its proposal for ousting unions that tolerate radicals in the leadan agreement on a number of important ership. It is not at all excluded that the convention leaders may be forced to amend this proposal. Altho Curry of

constitutional amendment are being considered as an incursion on the autonomous rights of the unions.

Opponents of this proposal will cite last year's convention during which Green refused to consider a proposal to penalize unions for discrimination against Negroes on the ground that the A. F. of L. cannot dictate to the unions.

Murray of the Miners, speaking on the proposal to seat Williams stated that one of the reasons for his opposition was the fact that he was opposed to interference in the inner life of the international unions. It has also become known that the convention leadership is trying to keep off the floor a number of disputes that have occurred. The fight around the last convention of the American Federation of Teachers is being ironed out in committee with an equal number from each side. Whether the auto and rubber controversies will take the same route is not yet known.

AGAINST FASCISM

The convention heard a report by Matthew Woll on the trade unions under German fascism and from the sentiment of the convention there is no question but that the committees will propose not only the continuation but the extension of the campaign against fascism.

A spokesman for the American Legion, which a number of delegates considered a potential fascist outfit, addressed the convention proposing a united front with the A. F. of L. for the uprooting of communism and radicalism. Green expressed his sympathy with this but whether the convention will take any further action along these lines is not vet known.

With half the time already gone the convention has not gotten down to business yet. Most of the time has been taken up with speechmaking by fraternal delegates and guests.

MOONEY FILES APPEAL IN SUPREME COURT

Council for Tom Mooney have filed a brief asking that an early hearing before the Supreme Court be set. The plea is being made on the ground that Mooney is rapidly exhausting his resources and defeat of Green's proposal on the Building Trades which has caused respectcause he ran on the Communist ticket obstruction tactics in the recent hearings

that domestic policies are openly recog-nized as identical with the measures of

professed fascist governments." (P. 14)

"The Socialist Party supports the A. F.

of L. leaders and endorses and actively

The Cross of Fire--Face of French Fascism a minor, a regent governed in his place. French Democracy now has twelve regents." And a member of the Croix de

The lines are sharply drawn in France ron. It is significant to note that in WITH MONARCHISTS today—People's Front vs. Croix de Feu France, reserve officers, the majority of La Rocque has his thumb even in anfrom being dead. On the contrary. Si- is one of the most portentous facts in But who knows when these connections is indeed panicky. ent, grim, waiting, it is all the while the whole set up. sinking its roots deeper in strategic sections and places, forging its connections, building its organization. Only the iron front of the proletariat, leading the petcan only lead to inevitable disaster.

CROIX DE FEU

ernmental crisis and the riots of February 6, 1934, that the Croix de February 6, 1934, that the Croix ernmental crisis and the riots of Feb- France, he being one of the 12 Regents the organization with a simultaneous athas been steady. Its leader is Colonel estimated. The Bank of France domide la Rocque, scion of the nobility. Its exact strength thruout France is hard to estimate. La Possus claims to estimate. La Possus claims to estimate the entire economic life of the country. The 12 Regents themselves are

fact to think about in a country where and powerful a body as can be imagined, nation. the winning of the middle class will play even a more decisive role in the coming struggles between right and left than in Germany. It is composed almost entirely of war veterans and has a youth oranization, sons of the war veterans calling itself the "National Volunteers' The majority of French reserve officers have joined it. Regular army officers from aviation, cavalry and motorized detachments have also joined. It has ex-Staff some of whose number are actually members of the organization, and also est independent veterans organizations whose combined membership comes up to about a million. Its military composition and character is outstanding. It is no secret that the Croix de Fe has built up stores of arms and ammu-

WORKERS

Organ of the National Committee
COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION)

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nitions and has organized an air squad- COLONEL PLAYS

WORKERS AGE

might be of use?

ty-bourgeois masses in a direct assault. The Croix de Feu's connections with (he of the February days), sworn enemy against the rising fascist menace, can financial and industrial capital are exsmash fascism irrevocably. Unfortunately the tactics of the Peoples Front, as practiced in Exercise follows: as practiced in France, fall far short of most important financial and industrial Paris Town Council, a sort of 'Lord' being able to accomplish the desired ends, and if continued in the same strain the Croix de Feu is openly subsidized to the Colonel in this strategic position by some of the most powerful capitalists cannot be overestimated. Or again, the in France, who are at the same time personally members of the organization. amongst governmental officials, diplo-One can cite de Wendel, steel magnate, mats, etc. One tiny illustration: Charles

exact strength through France is hard to estimate. La Rocque claims 400,000. That is undoubtedly an over-estimation. The fascists are conceded almost 100,
The fasci one in Paris and thruout France they lies, 9 railroads, 8 navigation, armament the general staff, already subsidized by to spread the illusion, as does Browder, meet their amazed eyes. And when they one the arithmethical aspect of the movement is today not decisive. It is the most power and through the most power in the general stall, already subsidized by the spread the illusion, as does Browder, and warehouse enterprises, 7 metallurging the most powerful financial and industrial circles, with growing influence in governmental circles, with growing influence in governmental circles, the Croix de Feu, "Now with the approach of the president and through the most powerful financial and industrial circles, with growing influence in governmental circles, the Croix de Feu, "Now with the approach of the president and industrial circles, with growing influence in governmental circles, the Croix de Feu, "Now with the approach of the president and industrial circles, with growing influence in governmental circles, the Croix de Feu, "Now with the approach of the president and industrial circles, with growing influence in governmental circles, the Croix de Feu, "Now with the approach of the president and industrial circles, with growing influence in governmental circles, the Croix de Feu, "Now with the approach of the president and industrial circles, the Croix de Feu, "Now with the approach of the president and industrial circles, the Croix de Feu, "Now with the approach of the president and industrial circles, the Croix de Feu, "Now with the approach of the president and industrial circles, the croix described and the president and industrial circles, the croix described and the president and industrial circles, the croix described and the president and industrial circles, the croix described and the president and industrial circles, the croix described and the president and industrial circles, the croix described and the president and industrial circles, the croix described and the president and industrial circles, the croix described and the president and the pre character of the movement, its connective the rest miscellaneous. Its political pow-biding its time, is waiting for the strat-dential elections, all the more because tions that must give all radicals sober er is enormous. Its role in the recent and political tension engendered by the scene, Roosevelt gets the full fire from The Croix de Feu is almost complete- to its knees, is a sample of its power. present crisis, to offer itself to the the most reactionary section of monopole ly middle class in character. That is a The Regent Council of 12 is as absolute French bourgeoisie as the savior of the ly capital"(!)

French successes at the 7th Congress of the C.I., which unfortunately tend all to frequently to arouse illusions that government growment has been decisive.

Can the Party recall that in 1933, the where they "disappeared" to. No open raids were made by the fascist motor than the state! Certain-live the fascist motor than the fascist motor than the fast of the fascist motor than the fast of th the fascist movement has been decisive- collusion between elements of the "de- publican. He must. The democratic ly the atmosphere he creates is condu- of fascism only in fascist or semi-fas ly beaten back, the Croix de Feu is far mocratic" government and the fascists traditions of France are very strong. cive to the opinion that the Comintern cist groups, and to deny it in the exist-

> Other "little" but not insignificant Other "little" but not insignificant facts could be multiplied. For instance that Chiappe, former prefect-of-police (he of the February days), sworn enemy pressive structure to follow. Listen to

ganization, war born about five years ago. It led a rather desultory existence for about four years, being forced to compete with a number of other hope-fuls for the honor of being Fascist menace No. 1. It was only after the governmental criss and the riots of Feb-

So with military precision and disci- forces in order to use them for their own tween discoveries of the historical pro-

LOVESTONE'S MAD. SQ. GARDEN SPEECH

mind some of the tactics put forward requisite for complete cooperation among ers, in strengthening the trade unions by the Seventh Congress for the strug- the organizations of Socialists, Commu- and in gradually transforming them into cellent contact with the French General gle against fascism and for the struggle against imperialist war in those capi- dle class folks in the cities and the poor of the interests of our class. talist countries momentarily on the side farmers. of the Soviet Union in a general conflict. We are firmly convinced that there are ATTITUDE TO US It is solely because of our devotion conditions under which sound Commu- TEST OF C. P. POLICY to the principles of Marx and Lenin that nist unity can be realized. This unity we so vigorously warn that some of the very principles of Communism will be endangered if the C.I. persists in a false tional and the International Communist many thousands of workers thruout the endangered in the C.I. persists in a false tional and the International Communist many thousands of workers thruout the endangered in the C.I. persists in a false tional and the International Communist many thousands of workers thruout the safe insurance against intellectual hand in the equally erroneous course of sentatives of both Communist tendencies ly, you understand why this is so. Only ing the imperialist war into a civil war and sound solution. in all capitalist countries-in these imperialist countries which are temporar-OUR PROGRAM ily on the same military front as the OF ACTION

to the Second International and the zations. We declare here and now that very substantial sign that the Central to the Second International and the Amsterdam International and those workers who belong to other political organizations to discuss these resolutions with us; to bring us their practions with us; to bring us their practical discussion of the ICO position. tical proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best term of the local proposals and supplementary proposals and supplementary proposals and supplementary proposals and supplementary proposals are the local proposals and supplementary proposals and supplementary proposals are the local proposals a method of application and to join us you the fact that reciprocity in such give me for having taken up so much of

the brink of another imperialist con-flagration, at this very moment of Ital-ian imperialist onslaught on Ethiopia, the crying need is for revolutionary unity. We hold that such revolutionary unity, unity in the ranks of world flagsalor of flagration in constructive mass work, our class. Here is the task, the duty of our party. Here is the inspiration, the goal, of all of us Communists, revolu-tionary workers.

in these decisive hours of the world on 3. Representatives of both organizahe brink of another imperialist con- tions should get together to discuss col- Here is the historic world mission

| munism, is the first pre-requisite for | er-labor party based on the mass organ st deviations in the C.I. We have in working class unity, is the decisive pre- zations of the workers and poorer farm

Comrades-and here I address mysel course of attempting to defeat fascism Opposition. How this all-desirable goal country the acid test of your efforts dry rot. by fighting for bourgeois democracy as is to be achieved, what the concrete contest time to the idea and practice of Comunity is to be attained, it is not most cy, for constructive work in the unions, that few magazines exercise a wider inflununist Parties entering coalition gov- appropriate for us to examine in detail for genuine united front tactics, for a ence. They may damn it—but they read it. ernments. The same grave danger to at this moment. Suffice it to say that break with sectarianism will be your at- That is, the more intelligent of them our common Leninist principles is at we feel certain that authoritative repre-titude to us, your relations to us. Surewavering, hesitating, or veering away should get together to examine this by dropping your old attitude towards n the least from our task of transform- problem concretely and to seek its speedy us, only by collaborating with us, who have fought for years for these sound inner and outer policies, will it become clear to the masses of class-consciou Published every Saturday by the WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION Subscription Raters: \$2.00 per year, — \$1.25 for sum months, — 5c a copy. Foreign rates: \$2.50 per year — \$1.50 for six months.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

illy on the same military front as the U.S.S.R. as well as in those imperialist lands fighting against our Socialist Soviet fatherland. To us any other course is short-sighted if the USSR is to be defended effectively, if the base of the Post Office New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

illy on the same military front as the U.S.S.R. as well as in those imperialist lands fighting against our Socialist Party and brothers in the American trade union movement (tivity and collaboration. Therefore, we take this occasion to make the following suggestions:

1. The decisions of the Seventh Conworkers-to thousands of our comrades

1. The decisions of the Seventh Congress which are of the most vital con-WE ARE FOR

COMMUNIST UNITY

Comrades and fellow workers! We accept in all good faith and welcome the following encouraging declaration of Comrade Dimitiroff to the Seventh Congress:

I address myself especially to the rank and file of the party membership and the thousands of workers gathered in this inspiring assembly. To you I say that my very appearance here on this platform with the official Party leader-ship—after more than six years of a comradely and own distance. "We want the workers who belong lowed throut the press of both organi- matic relations between us—affords

method of application and to join us hand in hand to carry them out in practice."

It is in this spirit that we appear here. We entertain the highest hope and have full confidence that thru comradely discussion, thru full party democracy the old leftist sectarian errors can be overload to the fact that reciprocity in such discussion would be welcomed by us.

2. Representatives of both organizations should get together to discuss ways and means of joint struggle against ultimate that the well leave no stone unturned, to help clear the road for our Communist movement growing ever more firm in principle, ever more effective in tactory of the fact that reciprocity in such discussion would be welcomed by us.

2. Representatives of both organizations that we will leave no stone unturned, to help clear the road for our Communist movement growing ever more firm in principle, ever more effective in tactory of the fact that reciprocity in such discussion would be welcomed by us.

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2. Representatives of both organizations that we will leave no stone unturned, to help clear the road for our Communist movement growing ever more firm that we will spare no effort or pain, that we will leave no stone unturned, to help clear the road for our Community movement growing that we will spare no effort or pain, that we will spare no effort or pain, that we will leave no stone unturned, to help clear the road for our Community movement growing ever more for the part of the part of the part of the part of cussion, thru full party democracy the old leftist sectarian errors can be overcome, and the menace of new opportunist deviations beaten back.

Comrades, we are for Communist unity today as ever before. In these fatal hours of fascism menacing us ever more, in these decisive hours of the world on the sectarian errors can be overcome, and the menace of new opportunist deviations beaten back.

Who can effectively challenge our content tention that we who have years of experience in fighting ultra-leftism, sectarianism, and adventurism, can be offul enough to storm the strongest fortress of world imperialism—U. S. capitalism—and build a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States

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and constitutes in the opinion of one of the shrewdest of French political observers "In the past when the King was Browder's Contribution

By M. S. MAUTNER
"The Murder of Long Marks the Adcard can be utilized for any class's interests? vance of Fascism" Under this strange Lenin's teachings on imperialism are (Cross of Fire)! There is no doubt that whom are members of the Croix de Feu other pie. Himself a scion of a notor- headline in the Daily Worker of Sept. not generalizations to be mouthed on the united front movement has given fascism a temporary setback. But let firearms. Of still greater signifihim who imagines that it has been cance is the fact that official French

There is no doubt de red whom are members of the clother let. This is a sold, or any direct considerable to the right to keep ous deviations of the Seventh Cominterm Congress. Fresh from Moscow, he good reavoid to the high holy days, while on ordinary
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out of the high holy days stopped in any decisive fashion speedily government figures show that 336,400 his brother, is the right hand man of applies the new distortions to the Amer- ism is living and acquires validity in its undeceive himself. In spite of the rifles and 155,000 revolver cartridges arithmetical success of the July 14 de- disappeared from the Versailles Arsenal Guise, the pretender to the throne, and monetrations in spite of the hygges to the right half to be decided its and acquires valuely in its living acquires valuely in its living acquires valuely in its living acq monstrations, in spite of the huzzas to during 1934. It is not hard to guess that another brother Edward de la Roc- tude is that somewhere the dark forces Can the Party recall that in 1933, the

> indeed panicky.
>
> When, in his press release, Browder this. It certainly needed correction—but chided Roosevelt for "not being an ef- not in the direction taken.

"The Washington Administration should not be so complacent with this removal of a thorn from its side by the assassination of Huey Long. The same influences which were prime movers in creating the pre-conditions for Long's assassination, are now being directed on a national scale against Roosevelt himself" (1) The Communist Party fears for the

Bourgeois politicians, and this Brow- ganic part of the political methods of der has yet to learn, play with social the American ruling class." If in be

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY TODAY

by Benjamin Stolberg HOOSIER HITLERISM by Norman Thomas IS DREISER ANTI-SEMITIC?

Correspondence with Hapgood Correspondence with Happoole HEARST'S RUSSIAN "FAMINE" by Louis Fischer MEN WHO MAKE AMERICA'S GODS ARE NOVELS WORTH READING?

by Joseph Wood Krutch NAZI JEW-BAITING IN AMERICA
by Charles Angof LABOR AND THE LIBERALS

by Heywood Broun HOW HONEST IS LIFE INSURANCE?

by Mort and E. A., Gilbert ROOSEVELTIAN COMPROMISE
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SELF-PORTRAIT OF THE LEADER By BERN BRANDON

If trade union unity is the indis-A Review of Earl Browder's "Communism in the U.S.A." - II. pensable prerequisite for effective Comnunist work in the difficult task of im proving the lot of the individual work er and in raising his "labor conscious derstands what a hotspur you really Comrade, Read-between-the-lines Brow- World Congress are due for a rude New Deal: inflation, NRA, AAA, PWA, ness," then the united front is the in-

despensable prerequisite for effective were! If you don't agree anymore that Communist work in the far more difficulty work in the far more difficulty work in the fusion of Social-Democracy with rankest hypocrisy simple to say that the sollective to say that the sollective work in the fusion of Social-Democracy with rankest hypocrisy simple to say that the sollective to say that the sollective work in the fusion of Social-Democracy with rankest hypocrisy simple to say that the sollective to say that the say that the sollective to say the say that the soll cult task of revealing to the collective the capitalist state is not merely a fu-question of a labor party was not yet a of past blunders by Browder et al, can as 'steps toward socialism'." ty, all the while knifing the united front repudiate all former tripe? Isn't this In another sense, of course, the La-

upheavals" and adopts "a line in accord- sympathizers.

A few months ago, the CGTU (red |

dawn, and with it a chastened and more too? sober Browder, nary a word out of him that for 200 pages he was nursing a LABOR PARTY monster he should have killed and killwith your readers, with yourself, with united front of working class organizaments"? And yet are not these "Leftist nonsense" Third Period premises—
never explicit in your book—implicit in the lets-all-rally-around-the-Communist Party-united front from below?

cal." But when a Party believes that is, excluding all the top, on a national scale" (P. 288)—that is, excluding all abor organizations save the handful controlled by Communists or Communist or

nists, minus the Red Unions, should have will serve the purpose of fascizing the from a few concentration points." been in the A. F. of L.—B.B.) . . . We state. It will be the most aggressive can't build the united front under the A. F. of L. and S. P. leaders . . . That is duct of the struggle against it," then, and these "sectarian mistakes" by the 7th | establish fascism at home". (P. 14) "All goes thru the phase of fascism," and he not the kind of unity the workers need. We need a united fighting front of the workers against the capitalists and all their agents. But that means that unity must be built up, not with these leaders on their present policies, but against them." (Pp. 51-52).

Such smugness and complaisance belongs on Park Avenue, not in the Communist movement. Is it any wonder that trade union center) of France issued a Browder finds it necessary, later on, to lecture the Daily Worker for laying down "conditions" for the united front? (P. was a progressive step in the direction of the working people." The nationalization of the working people." 263). That he finds it necessary to re- of meeting the concrete needs of the tion of the Bank of France as such unor the past history: (r. 120). Head control of production—a slogan which, tion assumes meaning for the working of our lower organizations" who "still under the present conditions in France, class only if it occurs either in a proletake a certain pride in that fact that they is bound to attract workers and will inhave no contact whatever with the workers of the Socialist Party, A. F. of L. or ter for the propagation of the united gans of workers' control from below. the Musteites"? (P. 124). Why condemn front, for the formation of broad united

Party. There is the F.S.U., the I.W.O., ment accepted the government program for nationalization are of considerable out being a step towards socialism. Party. There is the F.S.C., the I.W.C., drawn up by the SP which called for the American League Against War and drawn up by the SP which called for public works financed thru state loans threaten the position of finance capital without any decisive interference with

these organizations"? (P. 139).

"Communist innocent" is a legitimate of September 17th, is to be submitted to fascists, social-fascists, left social-fas- Man plan. cists, and Communists?

SOCIALIST PARTY

Now take the attitude of the Party very effective. It is quite permissible to "national economic council" to be comtowards the Socialists. There is much be generous in details as long as the in Communism in the United States basic line followed is correct. Thus we ty bourgeoisie, capitalists and the govabout the Socialist Party. On P. 124 would have no objections to the proposal Browder criticises the Party membership of the CGTU taking over partial defor having nothing to do with the Somands contained in the "Plan of the cialists and for calling them "social- CGT". fasicts", yet a few pages later (Pp. 130-1) we learn that the Socialists are "social-fascists", the "shock troops of REVOLUTIONARY OUTLOOK finance capital in pushing the New Deal into the camp of the workers." Why, Comrade Browder, didn't you see fit to maintain that the CGTU has dropped the include your pamphlet on the meaning revolutionary outlook of its original proof Social-Fascism? Can it be that you gram as represented by the revolution are afraid to contaminate your readers ary transition slogan for control of prowith the theory behind the "Leftist non-duction, in favor of the reformist outsense"? If so, why spill its symptoms look of the CGT plan. over 200 pages of the book and trust to Thus we find here the demand for the the gods of revolution that no one un- nationalization of the Bank of France

Or take the question of a Labor Par- limitations of such a Party, and reads Meanwhile, of course, the unsophisticated reduced is in a daze way up on the limb of a transmission of the Party when altered reduced is in a daze way up on the limb of a transmission of the Party when altered as the limb of a transmission of the Party when altered as the limb of a tree waiting patiently for tics of the Party when altered conditions baby, leaving the reader with a feeling someone to bring him to earth. Why, Comrade Browder, can't you be honest rubber and principles as inflexible as 7th World Congress, but it is the only steel. Furthermore, the CPO has alview expressed in the book. In accordtell that the Third Period, "the period of the maturing of revolutionary upheavals and imperialist wars, and the adoption of a new line in accordance adoption of a new line in accordance and instance of the maturing of a new line in accordance and instance of the maturing of a new line in accordance and instance of the united front from below able ignorance of contemporary political trends, a subject to which, quite natural to of the employers. Here we have also the sharpest American example of the role o issue" since the time was not yet "ripe", the Communist controlled unteresting about as much truth in his stateemployed councils, labor unions, labor away as utterly as the down of a thistic cial-fascism as the bearers among the united front of working class organizations "opportunism", that "Today we are stronger and we proceed to more agressive methods in the struggle for the majority of the working class," that "and the substance, the living and the dead."

". . the Party must be the open and outstanding ideological and organizational leader of the united front move-time of the doctor who told locals, and even a smattering of individing the working class, and even a smattering of individing the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told locals, and even a smattering of individing the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told locals, and even a smattering of individing the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told locals, and even a smattering of individing the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told locals, and even a smattering of individing the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told locals, and even a smattering of individing the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told locals, and even a smattering of individing the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told locals, and even a smattering of individing the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who told the way as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in the down of a thistle ment as in that of the doctor who had a sway as utterly as the down of a thistle ment as in that of the ways of the program and the way for the extending the units of the way for the extending the unit it say that such a tactic is not "practical", the organized crystallization of the La-cal." But when a Party believes that bor Party from the top, on a national by the trade union tactics of the Par-load of the maturing revolutionary up-

unity in the midst of the disorganization left line declares that "propaganda for unity in words, isolation in and confusion? The A. F. of L. and a labor party can no longer be considered kind of still-birth parading as a "united L. nor company union alone, but both of Browder is simple, and one, especial L. nor company union alone, but both of Browder is simple, and one, especial confusion." and confusion? The A. P. of the stand disrupters. We cannot achieve the united front of the cannot achieve the united front of the stand disrupters are recruiting campaign for cannot achieve the united front of the cannot achieve the united front of the stand under great and disrupters. Also stand under great and one, sufficient parading as a united front such as Browder gives us on P. together, in a constantly closer association, and in preparation for merging the into under Government auspices. . . as two under Government auspices . . . as a united front of the very stars in the country of the stand under Government auspices . . . as a united front of the united front of the stand under Government auspices . . . as a united front of the united front of the stand under Government auspices . . . as a united front of the united front o auto-workers . . . of the steel workers organized fascism . . becomes a means giving them a united front character.

. . . under the leadership of William of covering the outrageous hitching up The coming Congressional elections must Green and the other A. F. of L. burocrats.

(As we have already seen, there should of imperialism" and that "such a party drive, with the objective of electing at have been no such need. The Commu- will be from the very outset a Party that least a few Communist Congressmen

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

Likewise, the reformists slogan of na-

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MOST REASONABLE PRICES

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Cafeteria

94 FIFTH AVENUE

(Between 14th and 15th Sts.)

In the eyes of the working class which ECONOMIC COUNCIL

CGTU HAS DROPPED

is waiting for action, a quarrel over the The new program of the CGTU fur-

FASCISM IN THE U.S. A.

away as utterly as the down of a thistle cial-fascism as the bearers among the "What is the road to working class unity in the midst of the disorganization and confusion? The A. F. of L. and alpha party can be larger by confusion? The A. F. of L. and alpha party can be larger by confusion? The A. F. of L. and alpha party can be larger by confusion?

From a few concentration points."

Deal "fascism"—and Comrade Browder
The comrades who believe there has does his level best to make out a case.

ECCI: "The capitalist world is heading

worker the hidden springs of his class might and in raising his "political consciousness". It is to the struggle for the sciousness". It is to the struggle for the united front, therefore, that we turn our the ECCI that "Social Democracy constitution of a labor party was not yet a of past blunders by browned et al, call as steps toward socialism. ("The New Deal is not developed fascism. In place from top to bottom, all along the party were concerned, the issue was impractical hands the Labor Party will never be a "practical issue". The New Deal is not developed fascism. Party were concerned, the issue was impractical hands the Labor Party will never be a "practical issue". The Social Democracy constitution of a labor party was not yet a of past blunders by browned et al, call as steps toward social size. The New Deal is not developed fascism. Party were concerned, the issue was impractical hands the Labor Party will never be a "practical issue." The New Deal is not developed fascism. Party were concerned, the issue was of the state of the state of the state is not merely a function of a labor party was not yet a of past blunders by browned et al, call as steps toward social size. The constitution of a labor party was not yet a of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of the size of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past blunders by browned et al, call as the first of past attention in Communism in the United tinues to play the role of the main social a single argument of the slightest plaus- should reread Browder's plea at the 7th fascist dictatorship, which differs from States.

Browder cries as lustily for the unitBrowder cries as lustily for the united front as he cried for trade union unied front as he cried for tr and critically examine the "united labor tickets supported by Democratic, Republickets supported by Democratic supported by Democrat just as effectively as he knifed trade union unity. And when came the talk, Communism in the United States, la "practical issue"—that is, in the hands munists are playing a part here in New in New York we have concealed fasof Browder et al. This is painfully ob- York. The pendulum may swing from cism, and so we don't brag about it; in vious to anyone who understands the composition, mechanism, possibilities and ing the mariner to steer an even course. Kentucky it is open because there they brag. But to go on . . . "It is clear that fascism already finds much of its work done in America and more of it is being There can be nothing to the observer done by Roosevelt." (P. 116) "In the of political developments and events in labor section of the New Deal are to be the United States which so completely shatters any illusions he might still have in regard to the political capacity of our Boyter leadership and the political capacity of our with the capacity of the political capacity of our with the capacity of the political capacity of our brother to Mussolini's 'corporate state', with the capacity of the political capacity of our brother to Mussolini's 'corporate state', with the capacity of the political capacity of our brother to Mussolini's 'corporate state', with the capacity of the political capacity of our brother to Mussolini's 'corporate state', with the capacity of the political capacity of our brother to Mussolini's 'corporate state', with the capacity of the political capacity of our brother to Mussolini's 'corporate state', with the capacity of the political capacity of our brother to Mussolini's 'corporate state', with the capacity of the political capacity of the capacity of the political capacity of the political capacity of the capacity of t Party leadership as its almost unbeliev- with its state-controlled labor unions

> two under Government auspices . . as an integral part of the 'corporate state' in the heavens (the stars in the Communist heaven) predicted the inevitability of Communist heaven predicted the inevitability of Communist heaven. scheme", is the policy of the Roosevelt ity of Communism? And did they not also predict that fascism would help It remains, now, but to label the New that shining star of the International,

"fascism is going to be the last stage of capitalism before the world revolution." New Program for French Workers And now listen to that lesser satellite. Earl Browder, carry on the same motif in a report to the Plenum: "The rise of ascism is itself realizing one of the cracy which, under the circumstances, ary crisis. The victory of fascism does ernment—a slogan of economic demomunist movement. Is it any wonder that Browder finds it necessary, later on, to brown the Communist movement of view to followed by the meaningless provision of can only play into the hands of the fassunk deeper than ever."* The newly published joint program of you boys trying to do, help along fas-

263). That he finds it necessary to remind the comrades that Muste's inclusion in a Party united front as a mere "decoration" should be in the archives of the past history"? (P. 125). That foudalism thru the establishment of the be the presiding genius of the proletarsovereignty of the nation" over the bank ian dictatorship in this country? Unthru the abolition of the Board of Direc-fortunately, the shades of Aristotle are tors and substitution of government con- still here to torment your path. Wisdom trol. The program also calls for the is not for those who gape at society with the Musteites"? (P. 124). Why condemn the comrades for using pistols, when you, Comrade Browder, shoot cannon?

There is much in your book of the There is much in your book of broad united front achievements of the Flandin regime the CP fraction in parliaTo quote: "To the extent that proposals volving their most vital interests, withabove normal for a period of over five consecutive years, is now a relic of the

cizing them.

Leon Blum, cautious and clever as he Communist principles and discipline.

propaganda."

past. New and equally cancerous This program of action of the united growths are cropping up in the "non threaten the position of finance capital organizations are branded "Communist without any decisive interference with innocents." But if they are anything but capitalist property relations, even with Communist Party auxiliaries, why do you find it necessary to counsel against unitative front "decorations" (P. 125). Why is it necessary to insist that "The Party organizations must absolutely respect the independence and integrity of the finantial program) and now comes a new independence and integrity of the finantial program of and now comes a new independence and integrity of the finantial program of and now comes a new independence and integrity of the finantial program of and now comes a new independence and integrity of the finantial program of action of the program of action to the joint of the expressly reserve the right to issue their double of the sexpressly reserve the right to issue their double of the issue their double of the program of action. However, must be expressly reserve the right to issue their double of the program of action. However, the CP democratic Republican and organs will turn nationalization into a revolutionary lever. Thus the added provision of "guaranteeing the integration of the slogan of the slogan of this program) and now comes a new independence and integrity of the final aim of the Communist (universal agitate for the inclusion of the slogan of workers' control of production in the lever feeder own demands in action. However, the CP committed a grave error in failing to added provision of the slogan of workers' control of production in the lever feeder own demands in action to the joint of the committed a grave error in failing to added provision of the slogan of workers' control of production in the lever feeder own demands in action to the joint of the committed a grave error in failing to added provision of the support of workers' control of production in the lever feeder own demands in action to the joint of the committed a grave error in failing to added provision of the support of the final aim of the Committed agitate for the inclusion of the support of the sup independence and integrity of the financial systems of the mass organizations," program of action called "Plan of Econthat "the Party can place no tax on omic Welfare and Social Protection."

this program) and now comes a new is actually meaningless and is used to give up the acceptance of the reformist be at least partly rectified if the CP isthe perty bourgeoisie (Government conprinciples of the CGT plan.

understanding and education instead to the future. especially welcome the fact that the central idea of the program is the theory of increasing general buying and consumption power which has been the fact that the every leader, especially the highest, is responsible to and controlled by the membership, a Party in which the membership, a Party in which the fact that the every leader, especially the highest, is responsible to and controlled by the membership, a Party in which the every leader, especially the highest, is responsible to and controlled by the membership, a Party in which the every leader, especially the highest, is responsible to and controlled by the membership, a Party in which the membership participates in the making of decisions on all important questions of

is, gives but an inadequate and partial The Communist, Feb. 1934.

what makes it worse is that the CGT and links up with the slogan for nationreared on the "leftist nonsense" that simultaneously with the Congress of the "... the Party must be the open and organization. The character- was restricting itself to partial demands. The CCCIII and organization and organization and organization and organization. There seem to be no signs in that in no place does the reader see the CP pointing towards such action and sharply and clearly the idiocies on the open and organization. The CCCIII and organization are the congress of the congres al leader of the united front movements." has been greatly modified along the lines So why deny it, Comrade Browder? Affecter all, didn't you divide manking into the CGT's cept the idea.

So why deny it, Comrade Browder? Affecter all, didn't you divide manking into the CGT's contained by the Defencies, social-fassists left, soci outstanding ideological and organization- istic thing about this draft is that it The CGTU could very easily have put lization of the significance of revolu- braced by Communism in the United formist "Planners" without even criticalling cannot ascend to the political level of honest political analysis and self-criticism. And so for the unsophis Leon Blum, leader of the SP, writes ticated reader, (the reader for whom details of these "plans" would not be thermore takes over the slogan of a in Populaire of September 23rd com- Communism in the United States is de menting on the joint program of action: signed), the book begins nowhere and "We are very glad that a final appraisal of this unfortunate period of agreement was reached thru mutual Communism in the United States belongs of thru deliberate misunderstandings and equivocal phrases. We Socialists not by gods, a Communist Party in which

been the favorite idea of Socialist strategy and tactics, and finally, a Party in which there exists complete free dom of criticism within the frame of

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

S the presidential elections draw As the presidences clear that the Renear, it becomes clear that the Republican Party will have the time of its life picking a standard-bearer. In fact, next to electing its candidate, the G.O.P. will find it most difficult to find him. Take the four pace-setters in the Republican presidential timber yard. Borah, McNary, Dickinson, and Vandenberg hold extremely diverse views on the New Deal. On a basic issue like the Roose-velt "social security" measure, which the Republicans will very likely pound, all of these G.O.P. white hopes voted with the Democratic administration.

Moreover, on seven of the most vital issues before Congress, these four aspirants voted in bloc'but once. Legislation sponsored by the New Deal time and again received their support. How can any of these people now knock the New Deal with good grace, or effect? No! Not even a Hoover or Hearst's Landon can ease the burden of the Republican Party in 1936.

To a visiting Nazi "economist" all workers are indebted for plain and clarifying talk as to what fascism really wants. Addressing the United German Societies in Madison Square Garden the other night, Dr. Hans Grimm dedeclared that Hitler saved Germany from the "class struggle". And this class struggle Dr. Grimm defined as "the struggle against the competent by the incompetent, a fostering of hatred among the incapable toward the capable fellow men. These incompetent and dull mass es now think, since the radio, the movies newspapers, science and other benefits exist, they can do away with the pioneers, discoverers and inventors who provided them."

This is the wisdom that now flourish es in Germany. This is German science today. For the preservation of this new German national culture-Kultur of the Third Reich-the workers and farmers will soon be called upon to give up their

SOUND conclusions by "babbling"
Babson are as rere as here' to " Babson are as rare as hens' teeth. But at the last annual Babson conference in New York, the Rajah of Wall Street's tipsters, did stumble upon some sound findings. First of all, Babson promises us that "a far more conservative congress will be elected in 1936." For this reason, the next administration will be more conservative—regardless of its party label. Then Babson frankly told his flock that "notwithstanding this period of prosperity, our standard of living will decline."

One need not at all agree with Bab son's why and wherefore of these developments. However, one must confess that daily evidense is piling up to confirm the practical certainty of these trends plaguing us.

THERE is no doubt that the Congress recently closed was of decisive historic significance in an international as well as a domestic sense. In basic ways it indicated thru its legislative enact-ments that the U. S. is beginning feebly and slowly but nevertheless definitely to catch up with the biggest European the Soldiers' Bonus, one must use a countries in the realm of social legisla- corkscrew and a hairpin. Thomas' words

concern for the part of Roosevelt and his Administraoning is responsible for the overwhelming indorsement of Roosevelt by the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor. Roosevelt and his followers represent that section of the big capitalists who are convinced that, in the interest of lending some stability to the bourgeois order, it is now necessary to make at least a pretence at granting certain concessions to labor and to enact what they very correctly consider to be the minimum amount of social legislation at the minimum cost to the employing class.

Besides such legislation Congress has also enacted a whole series of laws aimed be through the nose. stabilizing the capitalist economic machine. We cite the new banking act as a type. Its provisions have nothing to do with social legislation, regardless of Nots. The war Have-Nots were working what White House apologists may claim men to the last dog tag on a soldier's for it. Its provisions multiply and esneck. The Haves were plutocrats "maktablish more firmly incentives for unifi- ing" tanks and soup and powder and gas cation and centralization of the banking and money. Marx scorned the "morality" resources and structure of the country. of the Bourgeois Jehovahs up in Himmel The Federal government herewith assumes further responsibility for making serve" and "ought". certain "that banks are in a maximum When Franklin Delano Roosevelt ve state of liquidity at all times." This is toed the Bonus he raised a dust of hos a further merging of the machinery of annas from all the pulpits of the land. big business and the apparatus of the Four million workingmen who had been government. This trend can only mean soldiers heard Thomas read them out of a more powerful capitalist fist against the Socialist heaven. But that does not the workers in their struggles against mean that the Radical Cause has lost the employers and the governmtal agen-cies at their disposal as strikebreakers. Socialists—not workingmen.

Books of the Age

By Bertram D. Wolfe

terman. Viking. 289 pp., \$2.00.

This soviet novel is unique in the annals of literature. If we sought to place it in terms of analogous books we might designate it as a cross between Anatol France's Livre de mon ami and Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland. Yet it differs markedly from each of them, in temperament, and still more in the bigness of the historical events that penetrate into the childhood reminiscence and fantasy that make up the material of the book. For in the queer and won-drous realm of Shvambrania which is childhood land and wonderland in one, are enacted events that are remote and distorted but unmistakable reflections of one of the greatest series of happenings in human history, of the world war and Russian Revolution.

Leo Kassil and his younger brother invented Shvambrania as a dream world of their own imagining, a refuge from reproofs and reverses and the circumscribing barrage of thou-shalt-not's that narrowed and paled and embittered the real world of two sensitive, fun-loving youngsters of middleclass, "respectable" family. Their dream world is at first peopled with knights and dragons and princesses and czars, but then in the real world of which every fantasy is but a distorted reflection, breaks out a great world war. Then Shvambrania is beset by battles and sieges and resounds with cannonades and the tramp of marching The Russian Revolution is followed by revolutions and "partial abdications" and battles of reds and whites and speculators and commissars and the great famine is reflected in fantasies of feasting. Gradually reality impinges more and more upon their dream world as the lads grow older, and they are caught up in the dream of building an ideal real world, a dream which makes Shvambrania pale into insignificance by comparison. Thus the greatest upheaval in history is portrayed for us from a new angle, as it penetrated into the consciousness and imagination of two gay and sensitive Russian children.

It is by no means a book for Amer ican children to read, for its whimsy and word-play and topical and historical reference require an intimate knowledge of Russia for their comprehension and the enjoyment of their savour. The earl-

Norman Thomas And the Bonus to the world.

By JEAN LE GAULOIS

Some time ago I addressed a letter to about a dozen leading radicals of the United States. Ironically enough, the name of Norman Thomas happened on the list. I asked of these leaders their stand on the so-called Soldier's Bonus Each answered, with a single exception backing the justice of the Bonus. Each answered except Thomas—the ambivalent Pontifex Maximus of Socialism in the United States.

Once I was a member of the Socialist Once I was a member of the Socialst Party. I remember writing to Eugene Debs on a piece of wrapping paper—from a lumber camp in Maine. Debs answered. He did not have a Jesus Christ complex.

are like Ianaurius the God's two faces But and we underscore this BUT very that simultaneously went forward and heavily, it would be folly for the workers aft. In other words, Thomas is a spirit-strike to be symbolical of the modern to assume that the legislation above re- ual acrobat able to pacify his slightlyferred to is adequate or animated by a pink Jehovah worshippers and at the chosen he intends as symbols of all of same time guff his worker-followers. For a "Marxist" to judge the veteran's plea tion. Very largely such fallacious reas-for a Bonus on the basis of whether the oning is responsible for the overwhelm-veteran "deserves" or "ought" to be rewarded is too damned precious for words.

Veterans are not asking for a handout; they are not mooching crumbs that belong to other workmen. All they say is; you need us in your war debauchnow pay us our wages. You gave us a buck for a day's toil in hell; we demand two bucks instead of one-and we'll get that extra buck even though we have to jimmy your closets. We don't care a whoop about you "poor" taxpayers—you bankers and Thomases. Pay the fiddler, the tune is done. Pay, even though it strictly and solely at conserving and you'll think twice before blowing your bug es and waving your flags.

After all, the Bonus issue is a simple one between the Haves and the Have-

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt ve-

THE LAND OF SHVAMBRANIA, by ier portions tend to grow a bit dull but Leo Kassi. Translated from the Rus- the reflection of the famine and the civil sian by Sylvia Glass and Norbert Gu- war and the clash of the old and the new in the latter part of the book are deeply moving.

The book ends with an epilogue in which the author expresses his gratitude that the Russian Revolution gave him such a childhood and manhood as he has known, and points the "moral" of his tale in a quotation from Mehring and a quotation from Lenin. The former encompasses the fall of Shvambrania.

"The proletariat does not need to build world in the clouds, because it can and does build its kingdom on this earth."

And the quotation from Lenin enlists man's imagination and fantasy in the task of building a world according to our heart's desire on the real and solid

earth.
"And if anyone should say, what has all this to do with us? We do not need any illusions or deceptions to maintain our enthusiasm. That is our great advantage. But that does not mean that we have no need of any dreams at all."

THE ILLUSIONS OF IMMORTALITY, by Corliss Lamont. Putnam. 294 pp.,

Corliss Lamont handles the idea of immortality in this book from every philosophical, logical, rational and emotional angle that he can conceive of, and finds it logically, rationally, philosophically untenable and emotionally unnecessary to the living of a full, rich, gay and courageous life. But one thing is lacking in all of its almost 300 wise, earnest, brave, logical pages, and that is a gen-uine socio-historical sense and approach to the essentially social phenomenon of religion, with its beliefs in God and immortality and the radical and ineradicable ignorance and impotence of man. La-mont has read everything and quotes from everybody, and therefore there are a line or two from Marx and Lenin also in this book. But the whole mode of approach of historical materialism is lacking, and hence there is far more real light shed by one essay on religion by the young Marx or by the slender pamphlet of Lenin "On Religion," than in all these learned and determinedly rational pages.

Nevertheless, the book will serve a very useful purpose: it is a work to give courage and logical consistency to philosophers, renegade clergymen, doubting theological students and shamefaced agnostic scientists, to follow their doubts to logical conclusions and proclaim those conclusions honestly and courageously

PIER 17, by Walter Havighurst. Macmillan. 260pp. \$2.00.

This is the story of a general strike on the Seattle waterfront, as seen thru the eyes of a number of its participants. Some sort of unity is attained in this multiplicy of viewpoints by making virtually all of the main characters consist of sailors from a single ship, their officers, and immediate acquaintances. There many dramatic episodes, a man killed in hoisting freight, a ship afire, clashes between pickets and police and pickets and scabs, deaths in strike skirmishes, a girl reporter who uses her charms to worm a damaging story out of a striker—each of the episodes is vivid, carefully documented, realistic, a good self-contained incident. Yet all of To learn the Socialist position as to them put together do not make a novel

The author does not intend merely to tell the story of a strike as seen thru class war and the characters he has

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Roosevelt has built himself a buroeratic electoral machine, extending deep into the countryside, which will prove an important factor in the 1936 elections.

But the real results of the AAA, the true attitude of the government towards the typical American dirt farmer, was clearly outlined at St. Joseph, Mo., last

Ground under heel by the pressure of the banks and the capitalist administration schemes, Sam Divelbiss was having his farm foreclosed. (Of course, the New Dealers Tugwell and Wallace haven't yet explained how this could happen under the AAA). Divelbiss, together with a dozen of his farmer friends who saw the potential threat to themselves, blocked the foreclosure and expropriation, by the simple procedure of holding the U.S. Marshall in custody until the legal time of sale had passed. This was a defense of property rights.

The judge, who passed sentences of from one day to three years imprison-ment on the farmers, referred to this action as "dangerously near to treason, and certainly rebellion and insurrection." These citizens, referred to on the Fourth of July as "the backbone of our democwere characterized as follows: "This mob, and I know of no better term for it, committed robbery, slander, mayhem, false arrest, felonious assault, conspiracy and unlawful assembly. . . .

And all in the defense of their property Such struggles, accumulated will teach the farmers what forces really destroy property rights, the heavy pressure of finance capital thru state-capital-

the possible or at least all of the main viewpoints in that struggle. Here the weakness of his own detachment and bewildered lack of viewpoint comes in. It enables him to give the novel a surface objectivity but at the expense of the subjective intensity of all of his characters. We never get truly beneath the surface of any of them. They remain well-constructed and skillfully manipulated puppets, to the consequent detriment of the depth of the novel.

The author is pained and bewildered by the necessity of strikes in modern society. He sympathizes with the strikers, sympathizes with the scabs ("We got to live too, don't we"), sympathizes with the old captain, sympathizes with the "bookkeeping exigencies" that cause wage-cuts, sympathizes with the wobbly leader who dreams of a classless world. He deplores the "soullessness" of the modern corporation with no personal owner with whom individual men can negotiate. He sympathizes most deeply with the more bewildered among his characters, who don't comprehend the nature, necessity or significance of strikes -an old sea captain and a young intellectualized sailor who longs to write. With the latter the author, a former student-sailor now an English teacher at a Mid-Western College, most nearly iden-tifies himself. But it is significant that he kills both of them before the strike is over. Detachment is unsustainable in the class struggle and bewilderment impermissible in one who would record and interpret it. Therein lies the real weakness in this book as a whole, despite the undoubted strong points of many of its

Browder on the

(Continued from Page 2) the method of the most brutal and oppressive class in history. The rugged individualism of frontier days (before the establishment of bourgeois law and order, the militia and police to protect the vast holdings of the capitalist landowners and ranchers) has been carried

over for decades into our political life. The complete crassness of the entire communists. This will be easy because "new view", its ominous practical con- all that's needed is for the executive sequences for proletarian struggle board to be convinced of their Communication are summed up in sism. Browder's peroration:

"The fact that Long was himself a half fascist must not blind us to the struggle for power a short distance fact that the forces that removed him ahead, now leads the Party into the from the scene are even more reaction- grossest right-wing errors. The demand ary than Long himself... the murder of for ousting the reactionary officers of the half-fascist Huey Long marked a American Legion, Father Devine, the atfurther advance of fascism in America titude toward the Knickerbocker Demoand a new menace to the lives and lib-

ened too? Decent citizens! Since when do Communists allow the legal bourgeois that the progressives forces of the Unitconception of society to become their ed States . . . rally together to put a stop analysis. There are no citizens. There are workers and employers, farmers and and the American Liberty League and shopkeepers. These are the class forces their ilk". Why, even the "Nation" that determine politics, not citizens.

This is not political analysis—not even an attitude. false analysis. Browder is still convinced that the political situation in America is as he announced at the Seventh Congress—"a race between Fas-"more reactionary forces". A People's enth Congress—"a race between Fascism and Communism". This fundamentFront—where we'll all be together, just ally ultra-left orientation which sees the a band of joilly anti-fascists.

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

We have said a number of times that dual unionism and union busting never was an exclusive C.P. monopoly and recent developments have gone a long way to substantiate this. The United Hebrew Trades and the New Leader did not for a moment hesitate to support the racketeer Nemser in his fight against the A. F. of L. Now the same New Leader (Oct. 5) tells us that "Teachers Form Guild as Step To New Union. More Than 600 Former Members of Local 5 Start Movement for Bona Fide Organi-

Thus, with the typical disregard for truth which has become traditional with the New Leader, we are not told that this new organization is a dual union fighting against the bona fide A. F. of L. organization in the field. It becomes clear that when these worthies frothed at the mouth when mentioning the unionsplitting course, which the C.P. pursued in the past, they were voicing the interests not of the workers in the unions but of the burocracy. They were interested in trade union unity only as long as their leadership was retained but when their leadership stands at stake (as in the case of Local 5) they resort to union busting and red-baiting of the worst kind.

THE NEW LEADER BOOTLICKS BUROCRATS

We glance thru the issue of October 5 and become aware that the New Leader must have become the mouthpiece of the A. F. of L. burocracy in its drive against progressive and radical thought in the unions. Oneal has outdone even himself in vile and venomous attacks against the Communists At the same time John P. Frey of the A. F. L. Metal Trades Dep't was given a prominent role in the New Leader a couple of weeks ago. This is the same Frey who threated to split the A.F.L. unless the craft unions are maintained and the federal locals broken up. And in this issue the New Leader exposes its complete bankruptcy because of its policy of support to the burocracy.

With such burning issue before the A. F. L. convention as industrial unionism, Labor Party, union democracy and the 'purge of progressive" the New Leader ays editorially:

"Five years of hideous calamity have been their (the American workers) lot and the lot of millions not members of their (A. F. L.) organizations. What's to be done? . . . Frankly we do not know . . .

In this way does the New Leader cater to the burocrats and hopes for "emancipation of labor from dependence upon party organizations which they do not control . . . " An outright approval of the campaign to expel the progressives.

Is more needed to prove the complete dependence of the "Old Guard" on the reactionaries in the unions?

TOBIN ANTICIPATES A. F. L. CONVENTION

The convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters recently held at Portland, Ore. adopted severe measures against the admissions of what they call communists".

The resolution says: "No member of the Communist Party shall be allowed to hold membership or be admitted to membership in any local union of the International organization. If by false statements such individual has obtained membership, he shall be expelled.

"It is not necessary that the individual charged with membership in the Communist party admit his membership in said party. If the local union executive board, by a majority vote, are satisfied Murder of Long with the evidence presented that the individual is a member of the Communist party or any branch of the Communis party, the local executive board shall have the power to expel such individual after he has obtained a proper trial in accordance with our laws. . .

Tobin's outfit always has been an organization that expelled people first and bothered about finding reasons for it With this motion now on the books Tobin will be discovering many

-GEORGE F. MILES.

crats as dissenters and therefore fit maerties of all decent citizens" (!!!)

Here is the raw payoff. Perhaps
Browder thinks their property is threatjigsaw puzzle. Browder, after profound thought, announces that: "It is high time to the unbridled reaction of the Hearsts could pose as being to the left of such

Actually there could be only one practicial conclusion to this political orienta-