

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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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 Party, 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 understanding the decisions of the Seventh Congress and the present situation in the international Communist movement.

Comrade chairman, comrades and fellow workers: In the history of our movement, this mighty gathering will have a distinct significance. By those who are with us now and will come in the future this gathering will rightly be hailed as the first ray of hope and the first harbinger of revolutionary unity in our ranks after more than six years of acute dissension, bitter strife, and costly disunity.

At the outset I must underscore, with the greatest emphasis, that the leadership of the Communist Party is to be commended for granting us of the Communist Party Opposition the right to address you here tonight. Had the Central 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 proletarian 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 by 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 speaking long. As precisely and pointedly as I possibly can, I will state the position of the International Communist Opposition, the position of its American

organization, the Communist Party Opposition, in the light of developments in the world Communist movement during 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 desire or choice. Our comrades in Germany, colleagues of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, builders of the Spartacus Group, founders of the Communist Party of Germany, have not left the official Communist movement in Germany of their own free will. Our comrades, followers of Comrade Roy, imprisoned for years in Britain's darkest dungeons in 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 Communist Party of the United States, some of the most experienced and influential workers in the trade unions, in the mass organizations, have never been outside the Party through our own volition. The same holds true for our comrades in France, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia, Sweden, Spain, Denmark, and elsewhere.

We found ourselves outside the Communist International, not because of any difference in principle with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, not because of any disagreement with the Communist Party of Soviet 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 opposition to the sectarian tactics, to the ultra-leftist tactics, to the ultra-leftist strategic line. Long before the Seventh

Congress we saw the necessity for and fought for the realization of democratic centralism, of establishing a genuine collective 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 bitterness 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 comradeship, constructive criticism. Besides, we never gave ourselves over merely to the tasks of Communist analysis and enlightenment, valuable, indispensable 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, union-splitting in any shape, manner or form. That is why we insisted that all Communists, all militants, all progressives,

stay within the main stream of American labor—the American Federation of Labor—to work there constructively, to help strengthen the unions, to set the pace in union-building, in strike militancy and in this practical, positive way disabuse the minds of the workers of the prejudices against Communism and thus win them over to the cause of the revolutionary class struggle. That is why we rejected the theory of social fascism and its logical practice of the united front from below which made impossible a genuine united front of working class organizations against fascism, war and all expressions of capitalist reaction. That is why we demanded a united front of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the trade unions and all 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 dry-as-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 worshiping of fetichisms 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 scores. We do not come here in any spirit of "I told you so", with any aim of proving who was right and who was wrong thruout these critical years in the life of our world party of Communism—

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 World Congress deliberations and decisions. We have come here to seek to reduce further and if possible to eradicate the bitterness which has arisen between us, to help the Party to struggle against sectarianism, against the remnants of ultra-leftism, to help overcome what Comrade Dimitroff called "the isolation of the vanguard." We are prepared to do our all to help the C.I. and our party to begin to lay a firm foundation for genuine democratic centralism, to realize in life the decision of the Seventh Congress for democratizing of the Comintern and against the mechanical transference of tactics. Here, we do not hesitate to say that the hero cult which has been developed to a very dangerous point 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 collective 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, French and other sections of the C.I. in recent months. 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 opportunist (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

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 Gugs, 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 condemning Italy the question of the type of sanctions to be applied is causing many difficulties. It is certain that 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 the big powers. With characteristic 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 ample 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 covenant."

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 provoke on the part of Italy reactions which would definitely disturb the ef-

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 that the Soviet Union is in fear of the strengthening of its most avowed enemies.

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 great 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 speedy election. It is their opinion that they would sweep the country. The Labor Party, fearing precisely this danger, opposes an early election.

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 paralyze Italy's conduct of the war against

Ethiopia. This call has been erroneously interpreted as replacing the approval of sanctions. That is not the case. The endorsement of sanctions continues and the Communist Parties have merely added one more demand—this time addressing themselves to the workers.

GREECE GOES BACK TO MONARCHY

In the defeat of the 11-year old republic 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. Although 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 interfered with by engineering a military coup, overthrowing Tsaldaris and declaring martial law. The new cabinet finds Kondylis as President of the Council and Minister of Finance. 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 10,602.

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, International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and United Textile Workers seem to have come to an agreement on a number of important proposals coming before the convention and it is this development added to the defeat of Green's proposal on the Building Trades which has caused respectful consideration of a number of pro-

Issue of Industrial Unionism Divides Federation Convention Almost Evenly

proposals introduced in the form of resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO U. S. CONSTITUTION

This has occurred over the resolution introduced 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 matter has not yet been reported out of committee.

LABOR PARTY AND VERTICAL UNIONS

It is also clear that the movement for industrial unionism is much stronger than had been anticipated by many of its friends. Among those who have come out for the resolution are United Mine Workers with 4,000 votes, International Ladies Garment Workers Union 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 Employees, 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 question 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 leadership. It is not at all excluded that the convention leaders may be forced to amend this proposal. Altho Curry of the Foundry Workers was unseated because he ran on the Communist ticket 3 years ago yet certain phases of the

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 yet 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 asks a hearing because of California's obstruction tactics in the recent hearings held in that state.

