VOL. IV, No. 46

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1935.

Five Cents

At First **GLANCE**

By JAY LOVESTONE

T is very seldom that Nazi ministers offer us more truth than shoddy poetry in their political fulminations. One of these extremely rare instances is to be credited to the Nazi Minister Frick for his latest speech before Nazi functionaries gathered for the special occasion in Berlin. The Fascist Minister of Interior said in part: "Posterity will not judge us on the basis of the quantity of butter or meat or pork we shall have consumed, but rather on the basis of our heroic deeds."

Interesting indeed! What is Frick revealing here, What is he driving at? Stripped of all the theatrical nonsense about heroic acts, this remark is a confession that there is a woeful lack of such essentials as butter, meat and pork in Germany. We would be very much surprised if a rigorous system of rationing, a card system, were not instituted for butter, milk, eggs, meat, pork and other essentials in Hitler's hell before the winter is well on the way. Let the Nazis try to replace pork with their "Bible"—Hitler's "My Struggle". That would be a heroic deed, indeed! Tho the German people may have for the moment swallowed the tripe in this Nazi Bible, they still prefer a chance to digest just ordinary butter and pork to the "heroic acts" in the screeching of Goebbels, Goering, Frick, Rosenberg, and Der Fuehrer.

No one can exaggerate the seriousness of the economic complications in Germany, the tempo of worsening of conditions aggravated as a direct result of the Nazis' accession to power and their re-armament ventures as well as their other suicidal economic remedies.

HE ultra-opportunist line of the Comintern continues to blossom The resulting weeds defy description and are the vilest travesty on the most elemental Leninist conceptions. In the prewar days of social democracy, we, in the Socialist Party Left, used to pride our-selves that such dangerous reactionary employing class outfits, as the New York Citizens Union never indorsed or held "qualified" any of our standard bearers in election campaign. But what do we find now in the Communist Party of New York? The Daily Worker proud-(Continued on Page 4)

S.P. MILITANTS' STAND ON WAR AND ROAD TO POWER

(This is the second of two articles analyzing the main features of the "Draft for A Program for the Socialist Party of the United States" presented at the recent Socialist Call Institute.—Editor)

By WILL HERBERG

Curiously enough, the section on war is the most thoroly unsatisfactory part of the whole Draft Program. I say, "curiously enough", because the attitude of the American Militants on "mixed war", labor advocacy of governmental sanctions and similar problems of current world politics, has been quite sound on the whole*—in favorable contrast, it sis of the nature of war or of the types of the concrete nature of war, without

An Analysis of their Latest Program. -II

from the Draft Program! The few words the least unclarity is of the most serious consequence practically.

In the first place, no attempt whatever is made at a concrete Marxist analy-

may be noted, to the European left So-1 of war characteristic of the present cialists of the Dan-Bauer-Zyromski tend- stage of capitalist development. And yet ency. But you could never guess that such an analysis is really indispensable. The Comintern justifies its dangerously on war are vague, general and utterly false policy in regard to the "mixed inadequate, and this on a question where war" by a cloud of references to the allegedly progressive character of such a war even on the imperialist side. How can the error of this position be understood and avoided without some grasp

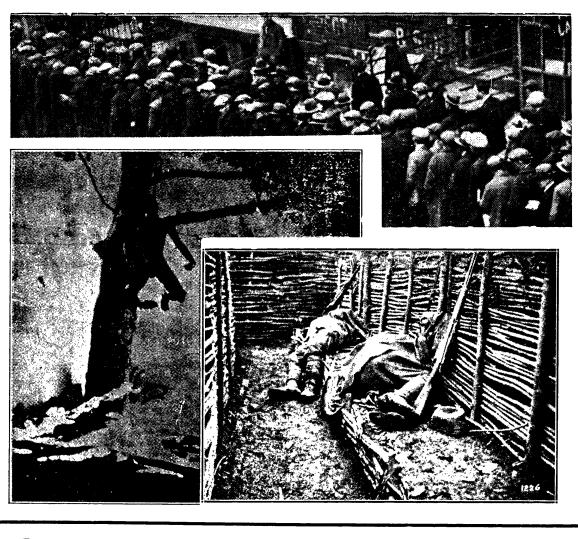
above all, a clear idea as to the basic distinction between progressive and reactionary wars, both of which are possible today? Furthermore, recent developments in the international situation (new world position of the Soviet Union, advance of Fascism, etc.) have brought with them essentially new types of war, necessarily unknown to either Marx or Lenin and therefore requiring really fundamental analysis. But nothing of the sort is to be found in the Draft Program! We are surely to presume that the Militants are well aware of these problems and have a definite answer to them but somehow they do not seem to have thought it fit to make their answer explicitly clear in a document which purports to be a draft program for the

IMPERIALIST WAR AND CIVIL WAR

The Draft Program contains a repudiation of the theory of national defense and this, of course, is all to the good. Unfortunately, however, the authors of the program did not deem it necessary to go into more detail. Zyromski and Dan also declare themselves against national defense in general and yet, in the very same resolution of theirs, they come out like the Comintern in favor of supporting French imperialism in a "mixed war". We know the attitude of some leading Militants on this question but why is there nothing in the program?

The central conceptions in the Marxist policy on war—revolutionary defeatism and the struggle to convert the imperialist war into civil war-find no place in the program. As a substitute for the former, apparently, the fine-sounding but essentially utopian slogan of "a general strike to paralyze the conduct of the war" is presented while the latter is replaced by the declaration that "it (the Socialist Party) will take advantage of the mass opposition to war to work for socialism and a workers and farmers government." It is surely obvious that the substitution is not one of words but of ideas, the replacement of revolutionary internationalist policy by vague phrases which promise a good deal but commit one to nothing. This studied avoidance of the traditional slogans of revolutionary Marxism is all the more strange in that the first (1932) Militant program, so vastly inferior to the present draft in almost all respects, did contain an explicit declaration "urging Socialist parties to turn imperialist war (Continued on Page 3)

THANKSGIVING 1935—BREADLINES, WAR PREPARATIONS, LYNCHINGS



REVIEW OF THE WEEK SANCTIONS AGAINST ITALY BEGIN; CONSERVATIVE LANDSLIDE MEANS INTENSIVE WAR PREPARATIONS; SOCIALIST "OLD GUARD" BEGINS DRIVE ON LEFTS.

of New York has taken a sharp turn ority of 210. with the possibility of mass expulsions not at all excluded. The City Central Committee of New York, controlled by the "Old Guard", voted by 69 to 47 to reorganize the Socialist Party in a manner so that the Militant elements may

The resolution charges that it was the Militants who have failed to comply with | Conservatives to all the resolutions and peace agreements adopted by the various bodies. They of the Governfurther charge the Militants with being over-friendly with the Communists and Ethiopia to the of planning a united front with them. It is further charged, in this indictment of the Militants, that they actually constitute an organization within an organization, since they have their own headquarters and publish their own paper. Such "disruption" the "Old Guard" is out to end once and for all by swinging the axe.

A mass meeting of Militant Socialists held on November 17, voiced its bitter resentment against the heresy hunt against militant elements in the party and decided to prepare itself organizationally to resist every attempt to oust them from the Party.

Meeting simultaneously, the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of New York, went over the head of the National Executive Committee of the party by ordering the expulsion of five members from the Buffalo local, over whom a controversy had been raging.

LABOR REPAYS TREASON OF MACDONALD

THE British parliamentary elections are over and the Tories have emerged victorious to a degree hardly

The Labor Party pretends to be greatly surprised at the small gains it made. Yet the suprise

HE'S LICKED

is really uncalled for. When Stanley Baldwin announced the desire of the ment's stand on people the Labor Party frantically fought it.



that with the Labor Party in agreement with the Tories on the main questinns at issue (sanctions, increased armaments. etc.) there was no earthly reason why the British masses should overturn the Tory Government.

Some interesting sidelights to this general election there were. Judging plans would be thus strangulated. That by the nature of the voting, interpreted as intensely patriotic and national, one would have expected a candidate such as Sir Stafford Cripps to be defeated. But desire to apply sanctions. France is a that was hardly the case. Despite his few degrees less than lukewarm about leading the struggle against sanctions at the Labor Party Congress and also campaigning against sanctions, he was reelected with a huge majority.

Also it is important to note that British Labor has at last repaid its debt to the MacDonald clan. The younger MacDonald a former Cabinet member was defeated. Ramsay MacDonald himself paid for his treachery to Labor in 1931 by being defeated by Shinwell, the former Minister of Mines in his own Labor Cabinet. They went to the polls, forty thousand strong, to cast their ballots against MacDonald. He polled a

eat out of the hand of the Conservatives-by running in a safe district in a by-election especially prepared for him,

or by accepting a peerage.

The Communist Party is represented in Parliament by Comrade Gallacher, elected from Scotland. It is almost seven years since a communist voice was heard in that august body.

stiffened resistance against Italy and a more aggressive policy in the field of war preparations.

LEAGUE SANCTIONS ON **AGAINST ITALY**

NOVEMBER 18 may go down as a significant date. It is the date on which 50 and some nations have pledged to bring various kinds of economic pressure to bear in the hope that Italian war this marks also the beginning of all sorts of difficulties among the 50 is evident because Switzerland has absolutely no the whole proposition, fearing to enrage its potential ally Mussolini but fearing even more to anger the British Lion who may decide to throw the Republic to Fascist dogs. Complaints of chiseling will be soon coming in from all direction.

In the meantime Italy is whistling to keep up its courage. Benito has told the world that he will answer sanctions with sanctions. In other words he will boycourse. In reality what he will try to do is to play one against the other and attempt to break thru the economic blockade. Italy sorely needs certain war ma-

THE struggle in the Socialist Party majority of 120, it returns with a maj-|fighter. The only way in which Mac-|lieve that Mussolini is dissatisfied with|Elimination of speed-up and shortening Donald can return to politics now is to the speed of the advance. The replace- of hours. ment of General De Bono by Badoglio is expected to speed up the conquering of

ON THE LABOR FRONT

JOHN BROPHY, director of the newly organized Committee for Industrial Unionism, announced last week his res-* * *

ignation from the A. F. of L. Committee

For international politics this Confor organizing Negro workers. Brophy servative landslide is expected to mean stated that he found it a waste of time to sit on that committee since the A F. of L. has shown not the slightest desire to carry out the decisions in reference to this question Nor does it show any interest at all in the field organizing the Negro workers.

ALABAMA MINERS, on strike since September 23, have returned to work after the United Mine Workers succeeded in securing a partial victory. The agreenent to be in force until April 1, 1937, calls for a 20c increase per day for workers; 4½c increase per ton for tonnage workers and a 5% increase for dead work. The settlement sent back to work 18,000 miners who had put up a glorious battle in which a number of miners were shot down by company thugs.

THE DRESS INDUSTRY in the City of New York is making intensive preparations for the forthcoming negotiations with the dress manufacturers. True to its past methods which has resulted in the building of a powerful union, the Joint Board is leaving nothing to chance. The organization is being put on a war basis and in case the manufacturers get balky a general strike in the industry will be declared immediately.

WAREHOUSE WORKERS of St. Louis, organized in Local No. 667 of expected even by them. Where competent observers estimated that Conservative strength would be cut down to a between an old political and an old expected even by them. Where competed measly 17,000 He says he is not thrust terials and will go far to get them. It is and will go far to get them. In a military sense, Italy appears to be treating the cut down to a between an old political and an old quite nervous. There are reasons to be treating the competence of the competence o

The strike is especially directed against the Kroger and Piggly-Wiggly Stores. Organized labor thruout the country is asked to refrain from patronizing these stores.

TOM MOONEY is making his final fight for liberty thru the Supreme Court of California Habeas corpus hearings were slated for the early part of this week. Frank P. Walsh is in charge of the defense.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Manager of Dressmakers Local 89 of the I.L.G.W.U. returned last week from Europe where he attended a conference which mapped plans for the struggle against fascism.

Several thousand workers, mainly from the dress and knitgoods unions welcomed Antonini at the pier.

BROOKWOOD COLLEGE has added three nationally known trade unionists to its Board of Directors, according to Tucker P. Smith, director of the school. The three added are Emil Rieve, president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers; Julius Hochman, vice president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; and Abraham Miller, a General Executive Board member of the Amalgamated Clothing Work-

RACE, is the name of a new quarterly magazine slated for appearance this week. It is a magazine for the discussion of Negro problems, sponsored by the "Conference On The Social and Economic Aspects Of The Race Question." The following authors are represented in the first issue: Francine Bradley, Franklin E Frazier, Martha Gruening, Conrad Kamorowski, Alexander Lesser, Martin Maxon, Henry Lee Moon, George Streator, Betram D. Wolfe and Len Zin-

S.P. MILITANTS ON WAR AND ROAD TO POWER

An Analysis of their Recently Published Program. - II

THE STRANGE CASE OF CONGRESSMAN MARCANTONIO

Adventures in Oppportunism. I

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE The Daily Worker of November 14th worker on the case of Congressman Marcantonio. He writes: "Along with many others I have been wondering at the Daily Worker's attitude toward Congressman Marcantonio. Every activity of Marcantonio m ward Congressman Marcantonio. Every activity of Marcantonio printed in the Daily Worker has been of credit to him.

to spread political enlightenment. The editor begins by telling R. H. to judge the Congressman "not only by his political party." This it converts into judge ing him not at all by his political party. Congressmen that "liberal" congressm ing him not at all by his political party but "by his position on basic social questions—war, fascism, the democratic rights of the masses, etc." But the most of the masses, etc. But the most of the masses are most of the masses, etc. But the most of the masses are most of the most of the masses are most of the most of the masses are most of the most of the masses are most of the most o pasic social question on which to judge about the capitalist parties and their hard with the boss parties is the first test by liberal old-party politicians; and this Worker of August 15, 1935) and Conapublic official, a politician, is precise-

NON-PARTISAN ACTION JUSTIFIED

The Daily Worker endorses Marcanarties? They have the machine, they litical purposes. have the votes, they have a better chance of election. Why bother with Communist ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES

glowing account of Marcantonio's record. ary first principles. These are: his excellent record, he will always have of "people". They are fighting organi-

However, I have failed to see one line to fight capitalist liberal politicians and 2. The leaders of a boss party depend bor party, come along with them and we ganizations was a "plot against the of condemnation of Marcantonio. How demagogs by lying about them. It is upon that party. They serve it. Their are not able to explain their role. demagogs by lying about them. It is upon that party. They serve it, the duty of a workers' paper to tell the nominations depend upon their ability to the duty of a workers' paper to tell the nominations depend upon their ability to but, it cannot convince, it cannot edu
blav the game. In place of endorsing for an all-inclusive Farmer-Labor party." "from below." Today the Party abanre we to regard nim: — R. H.

The answer of the editor of the paper truth: it cannot convince, it cannot edu- play the game. In place of endorsing for an all-inclusive Farmer-Labor party." "from below." The answer of the editor of the paper truth: It cannot convince, i basic social question on which to judge about the capitalist parties and their na-

politics if the Daily is to peddle such to the Daily to explain the issues in- gressive people exist in both Republican workers and farmers, and not from benevolved, to correct misapprehensions it and Democratic parties. The coming volent and misguided (when sincere) or The Daily editor continues with a may have sown, to explain some element-It declares that "so long as he maintains 1. Political parties are not just groups two.old parties."

poses, but in every such cooperation doubly dangerous it really shifted and the present century? Why should ship of communism thru the stormy sea good righter for the masses and remain in the boss parties? Then Upton main in the boss parties? Then Upton Sinclair is right. Why not support the middle-class reformers, loyal to capital-"progressives" and "liberals" in the old ism, do not use it instead, for their posupport of capitalism, their pretense that LEADERSHIP TO COME it can really be patched up and reformed FROM THE RANKS today when it has corruption and decay | The leadership and control of a healthy on the rocks if they do not keep their

main from people who today are in the sincere) but in either case dangerous,

Quotation

Marks

"POUR LA PAIX"

where pacifist hoodwinking plays

greater part than anywhere else i

he world. As a result of the terri

the working masses have become im

which the ruling bourgeoisie are mak

to put forward the same slogan— "For Peace"? This simply means

enouncing what is the special and

main task of the French Commu-

nists in this question, namely, to un-

mask the pacifist hoodwinking of the

bued with a strong pacifist feeling of

a bad year for labor votes? A break in the world, by middle-class reformers, of the Governor Curleys' (see Daily ture, and prevent the masses from separ- with the boss parties is the first test by indefail out-party pointerains, and this worker of August 10, 1930) and Containing from the boss parties and develop- of sincerity of a "friend of the masses". was a main cause of the disintegration gressman Marcantonio's (see any day's ing the first elements of political class Otherwise their "good record" however of every workingman's and even every Daily), praises the Knickerbocker Demoonsciousness. For this reason, the LaFollettes, Norrises, LaGuardias and Marcantonios are politically dangerous and bad in a long-run sense.

Otherwise their good record nowever of every workingman's and even every pothylingman's and even every True, the working class must work with They sow illusions as to the parties parties of the 1820's and '30's? of the Washington, N. J.) and threatens to lose tion as "a good righter for the rights of the masses." What are the masses to conclude? That non-partisan political action is possible? That one can be a considered by the masses are conside

Parties? Why throw away your vote? What happens to the compass of class

Certainly, this question from a wonworker gave a golden opportunity

A. But, says the Daily Worker: "Prothe readersing and control of a nearthy on the rocks if they do not keep their
farmer-labor party will have to come class bearings at every stage of the
from the ranks, from the organized journey. old-party politicians and middle-class re-

write these ABC's to the editors of the

commanders like Stalin and cabin boys like Browder, but helmsman and captains and cabin boys will lose their ship

Next Week:

ADVENTURES IN OPPORTUNISM I. The Specter G-Man or How Daniel Webster Became a Communist.

French Radical Congress Gives Up Fight on Laval

By AUGUST THALHEIMER | ascribes or ever did ascribe any pract The conference of the Radical Social-tical significance to it. In addition, ist Party held recently in Paris is being there were all sorts of resolutions against praised by the Right and the Left. The finance feudalism—also of no practical Rights are lauding it because it did not force Laval to resign. "Humanite", the CP organ, is overjoyed at the speech of GIVE UP STRUGGLE Herriot on foreign policy. The unity of AGAINST RIGHT the Radical Socialist Party-which

leader of the Party. The events at the Radical Socialist conference are of great significance for the future of the Peoples Front in France. And, since the Peoples Front in France has become the model for corresponding tactics in other countries these events and the attitude of the Socialist and Communist parties to them ed that an ultimatum be sent to Laval are of considerable international signi-

STAND BY LAVAL'S

The main results of the Radical So cialist conference are the following:

was the demand for a re-organization in are forced to act. the leadership of the Bank of France In his speech on foreign policy Her-

BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA

SEASONABLE **FOOD** REASONABLE

6th Ave. at 14th St.

RANCE is notoriously a country

To sum up the attitude of the confer strangely enough was desired even by ence on the economic and social field the secretary of the CP, Duclos-has The Radical Socialist Party approves of been preserved. Herriot remains the the principles of the financial and social policies of Laval and aims to continue

it is known what will replace it. And on asking him to dissolve the fascist leagues thru an emergency decree by October

The conference agreed to the following: Approval of the emergency decrees diately before the convening of the Radi-The conference rejected the revocation cal Socialist conference. The inefficacy of the emergency decrees issued by Lav- of these laws were instantly demonstratal. There was talk only of slight modi- ed by the fascist leagues themselves.

C.P. AND S.P. SHOW IMPOTENCY

What is the attitude of the Socialist represent a repetition of the policy of and Communist Parties to this conven- the lesser evil as practised by the Ger-

In reference to the "National Union" Guernut explained that the Laval government must not be overthrown before its attitude to the fascist leagues, Deladier, the leader of the left wing, demand-31st. This was rejected.

bourgeoisie and their lackeys.

—From O. KUUSINEN'S REPORT AT THE TWELFTH PLENUM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNA-Incations to suit those participating in war, etc.,—modifications which do not bring any material change.

The conference did not advance any demand for decisive measure of economic or isocial significance. The general slog an motivating the policy of taxtation was that of "All Must Sacrifice Equally." This is precisely the slogan which served Laval in the introduction of the emergency decrees. This slogan translated into practice means that the main burdens of the extension of the emergency decrees. This slogan translated into practice means that the main burdens of the extension of the extension of the emergency decrees. This slogan translated into practice means that the main burdens of the extension of the time is impossible, anyhow. Herriot expressly warned against any serious attack on financial powers, called the "mur d'argent" in France. In addition, there

which would not change the rule of finance capital over the bank one iota but would merely effect the methods of this rule. The demand for the sharing of profits by the workers is an old agitational standby of the Radicals and no one iotal emphasized not only the necessity of a rapproachement with England but also traditional friendship with Italy liamentary mass activities against the development of the struggle against fastors. The failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the development of the struggle against fastors. The failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the development of the struggle against fastors. The failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the development of the struggle against fastors. The failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the development of the struggle against fastors. The failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the development of the struggle against fastors. The failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the development of the struggle against fastors. The failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the emergency decrees of Laval, the failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the emergency decrees of Laval, the failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the emergency decrees of Laval, the failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the emergency decrees of Laval, the failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the emergency decrees of Laval, the failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the emergency decrees of Laval, the failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the extra particular mass activities against the emergency decrees of Laval, the failure to organize extra-particular mass activities against the emergency decrees of Laval, the failure policical rights of the masses. Hence not only the middle class to only the middle class for th profits by the workers is an old agitational standby of the Radicals and no one tional standby of the Radicals and

> LESSER EVIL WILL BRING MORE DEFEATS

The policy of the French CP and SP cism. They have made their peace with it; of Bruening. The German Social De
of Nov. 13, 1935.

They have made their peace with it; of Bruening. The German Social De-

The Negro Masses and the **Problem of Unionization**

This article is reprinted from the Novem- | membership during the crisis, and by the ber issue of "Negro Voice," official organ of the Harlem Section of the Communist Party (Opposition).

By GEORGE F. MILES of Labor do not show a single decision after the strike—to open the union to the trade unions. But even had the connificance has it when in France, where every "socialist" has the slogan "POUR LA PAIX" on his lips, where almost every deputy and every minister, especially those of the previous against discrimination of Netherland Neth groes in the industries but the results to show themselves recently. There is an, the Young Communist League can think of nothing better than simply to put forward the same slogan many decisions during this struggle of almost two decades the Executive Council did not even attempt to execute, apparently for fear of arousing the lily-whites in the Federation. That is not to say that there have been no execute. to say that there have been no exceptions among the international unions. We know, for instance, that such organizations as the United Mine Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers,

Amelicant Clathic Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgmated Clothing Workers, are three kept.

These are but a few of many signs of the very important organizations in the A. F. of L. whose attitude to Ne- of a weakening of this inbred disease

The effect of such a position of the CP and SP will be fatal to the future development of the development of the development of the closed rights of the masses. Hence the closed shop," All the horrible things enumerically and the closed class by Bruening, laboring under the shop." All the horrible things enumerically and the closed class by Bruening, laboring under the shop." All the horrible things enumerically and the closed class by Bruening, laboring under the shop." All the horrible things enumerically and the closed class by Bruening, laboring under the shop."

The most important result of the Radical Socialist conference was the giving up of the struggle against the emergency decrees of Laval, hence, the surrender of the actual struggle and defense of the working class against the tendency to continue to shift the burdens of the crisis on its shoulders.

In most important result of the Radical Socialist conference was the giving up of the social demagogy of the fascists. The catastrophe may not break out today or tomorrow but these events will lead to the gradual demoralization of the anti-fascist forces which will lead to a catastrophe—unless the CPF realizes in time that the ORGANIZATION of broad extra-parliamentary mass activities for terests of the working class forms the backbone of the struggle against fas-

October 30, 1935.

case of San Francisco, the longshoremen involved in the general strike of 1934, We are very sorry to say that the records of the recently closed fifty-fifth convention of the American Federation of the American to the strike before they decided to aid in breaking down that despicable practice of drawing the color line in the color line line in the color line in t

This mind you is a discussion on the

WORKERS

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

Published every Saturday by the WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION Subscription Rates: \$2.00 per year, — \$1.25 for x months, — 5c a copy. Foreign rates: \$2.50 per ear — \$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. Address mail to Box 68 Station "O" N. Y. C.

much as a single word on pacifism and workers on the road to socialism" is ment, the Socialist Party will give first AND UNITY war policy. Surely the Militants must thors of the document quite properly nection with the Ethiopian situation. policies of the Soviet Union, both forlective peace." Haven't the Militants on the "Russian question" are completeanything to say about this at all? ly absent from this document. Doesn't the matter deserve a place in the Draft Program?

(Continued from Page 1)
into class war." How can this backward

movement be explained? Have the Mili-

tants, in the last three years, come to the conclusion that the slogan is in-

Unbelievable as it may seem. it

These omissions, obscurities and gena month or so after the Socialist Call In- tant progressive movement in the unions. stitute, the N.E.C. of the S.P. adopt- Yet in this paragraph, amidst mention ized labor movement." provingly and without criticism. And the need for an organized progressive views"? Or the Free Herndon and other yet this is what it has to say about the movement within the unions as the in- labor defense movement? Or even the POSITIVE FACTORS

The League of Nations has not forms. Nor are the relations that should certain Yipsels seem so enamored? fulfilled the hope of the world's paci- exist between the workers political parvations designed to free the League from the domination of the large im- THE UNITED FRONT perialist countries and to direct its procedure into channels of democra-

cy and peace." Was there ever so much petty bourgeois, philistine nonsense compress to so few words before? To speak of tion of the large imperialist countries when, in its very nature, it is no more of big powers, to propose seriously to direct the League into "channels of democracy and peace", is to convict oneself of the most hopeless and the most dangerous political romanticism, objectively serving the use of outright chauvthe recognized leadership of the S.P.

A POLICY OF EVASION

No-it is not a matter of oversight claration printed below. or political immaturity. It is plainly the result of a policy of conscientious evasion. But why should this be necesrors on the war question and yet utterly unable to formulate a clear and conbe due to an attempt to "harmonize" irgether? Such a stratagem may seem the soil, without trouble to landlords very convenient in a tight spot but how long can you continue to balance your- "We further hold that labor produce"

DO YOU NEED?

hold goods?

ADMISSION: In Advance 35c

THEN COME TO

CENTRAL LABOR UNION DID HAVE PRINCIPLES

delusive farce.

Labor Union of New York is a conservative organization will cause the lift repeated. But to say and to prove that once upon a time our own Central Laization but had a very definite social but the Militants can seem to find no stic program may indeed surprise a lot room for the subject in their new pro- of people. Nevertheless its true ever the some members of the present bod may read with growing horror the de

A glance at the paragraph on "Trade

Unions" in the Draft Program yields the

It was on February 11, 1882 that the Central Labor Union was launched and after deciding on rules of attendan sary? Why are the Militants well enough and time of meeting the delegates gath able to criticize the Comintern and the ered adopted what they called a "De right wing Socialists for their grave er- claration of Principles" which we reprin below in full.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES try is the social and common inheritan reconcilable viewpoints thru the simple of the people in that country, and hence expedient of dodging the question alto-

self on the knife's edge between chauv- all wealth, and therefore, is in justice ism? The war question is not something labors to produce. But when wealth-pro academic or "abstract": it is the most ducers live in poverty and idlers roll practical, the most vital problem facing in luxury, it is very evident that the sothe working class today and it is a prob- cial and industrial system which cause lem that demands a plain and unequivo- such condition must be wrong and immoral, and requires a thorough change The Draft Program treats the question "As the power of capital combines and

At Door 45c

of the Soviet Union in a manner that increases, the political freedom of the

A dress, sweater, knitted dress, infants wear,

shirts, ties, dolls, toys, ladies hats, fur collars,

cuffs, muffs, paintings, pictures, sketches, house-

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

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(AND BUY AT SUBSTANTIAL SAVINGS)

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A. Roshko

the activity and poli-

the seed for a new and better system.

But they must keep pace with the pro-

vailing system, and they contain in them all the year around.

Lily Holand JOIN! Communist Party U.S.A.

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correct? Then why aren't we told so? Si- is perhaps a little too sketchy and gen- they do in their programs. The authors They really look upon Socialist-Commu lence and evasion are the worst possible ways in which to deal with what is really damentally. The U.S.S.R. is recognized of the united front in principle but then in the direction of a united labor front as a "workers country, in which the basis add: "A formal united front representa- against reaction, Fascism and war. for a socialist society is being built"; tive of different political views without the duty of its defense is plainly laid down; and the necessity of following is "development in the Soviet Union in oris "development in the Soviet Union in or-

nevertheless a fact that there is not so der to profit by the experience of the tions and tendencies in the labor move- INTERNATIONALISM

the League of Nations in the section on emphasized. At the same time, the au- consideration to the need for united ac- The paragraphs on "Internationalism" tion supported by the organized labor and "Revolutionary Unity" both emphaknow how momentous these questions claim for the Socialist Party the right movement." As against the current size the "desirability of a single revoare at the moment, especially in con- to "criticize, in a fraternal manner, those worship in official C.P. circles of the lutionary party and a united revolution-Socialist-Communist united front as the ary international. But here too not in the United States; but it is far from Program raise no objection to the revoare certainly no novices politically. About cooperating in the development of a mili- joint committee for the promotion of elaboration would certainly be welcome "united action supported by the organ- here.

fism and confusion. Presumably this like, there is no reference at all either ble the highly successful united fronts al. Without doubt this is a reflection resolution was passed with Militant to the necessity of replacing the whole on the past two May Days (1934 and of the vague and inconclusive character votes; it certainly was published in the scale of the present international orientation socialist Call (October 26, 1935) aption by a policy of class struggle or to presentative of different political of the Militants.

strument for effecting the essential re- American Youth Congress with which In the above paragraphs I have natur-

the trade union movement. Do the Mili- ment.

riewpoint is an achievement in itself. good deal of the material, moreover s quite sound and valuable. But the can best be grasped by comparing it as a whole with some authoritative exposition of the right-wing viewpoint, such as Then it becomes abundantly clear that. despite all confusion and vacillation, the tendency of the Militant program is dein contrast to the hopelessly stagnant oseudo-Socialist reformism of the Old

After careful examination of the three Militant programs, issued respectively in 1932, 1934 and 1935, I come to the conclusion that the present document represents a marked advance over its pre-The British imperialists, echoed by the eign and domestic, which it believes to grand solution of every problem, such liberals and right wing Socialists and of be erroneous." It is particularly gratifyficial Communists, are parading the ling to note that the objectionable fea-league as the great instrument of "col- tures of earlier Militant formulations assumes an entirely different aspect. A litical basis for organic unity altho some and on the attitude to the Soviet Union block between the Socialist and Communist political organizations is certain—ly no united front in itself, at least not ly no united front in itself, at least not ly no united States but it is for front. program contains explicit reference to "valueless", as we are asked to believe. lutionary principles of Communism; at the proletarian dictatorship and an exeralities in place of clear Marxist slogans can hardly be the result of mere oversight or even of political immature.

The questions are noither ways for the concept the satisfied with carefully avoiding the satisfied with ment. In fact such a Socialist-Commudemocracy and to the subjection of the term altogether. But this superficia insignificant while the Militant leaders tive class conscious unionism, actively nist bloc might well be regarded as a Comintern to the C.P.S.U. A little more the "defense" of the prolatories distributed by the prolat orship in the 1934 program is so hedged Very little of any consequence is said in by a weird hodge-podge of un-Marxian "interpretations" in the true Kaned a resolution on socialism and war of industrial unionism, democracy, orjust crammed with the most absurd paciganization of the unorganized and the
their own experience. What made possitional and that little is extremely genertional and the little is extremely genertiona ian dictatorship is it that is based on a many-party system and that is supthat "Marxian Socialism has always been democratic Socialism"? What kind of proletarian dictatorship is it that is deally placed all emphasis on the negative rived from the idea that the working What does it really mean to counter- aspects of the Militant program, on its class must "get control of the state fic elements in the organization of a ty and the trade unions properly pre- pose, as does the Draft Program, the errors and failings, for the criticism of machinery and use it for the purpose of true collective peace system. This is sented. Merely to declare that the "par- united action of the organized workers shortcomings is the only real starting establishing socialism"? There is in fact, no fault of the Socialist Party of the United States, which alone among the United St all the political parties, in its platis is hardly adequate; it is not much more means to concede, in principle, the chief conclusion that there is nothing of vales of the 1934 program than in the forms during the last two presiden- than what the Old Guard leaders have claim of the Old Guard leaders that a ue in the document or that it is of lit- "workers and farmers government" of forms during the last two president than what the Old Guard leaders nave claim of the Old Guard leader class cannot simply seize the available tants believe this to be true? If they The positive significance of the Draft ready-made machinery of the state and Approximately the same can be said about the section on the united front.

Again they do better in practise than of the Call. But of course they do not!

Approximately the same can be said do, then they should say so and stop program is manifold. In the first place, set it going for its own ends" and which as I pointed out towards the beginning contains also some very sensible remarks of my remarks, its very formulation as on the form of the proletarian state! mining what each of the programs has

WITHIN ORBIT OF CENTRISM

toiling masses becomes more and more a ly protected themselves as producers, "There can be no harmony between ruling moneyed classes have meanwhile definite leftward movement that has capital and labor under the present in obtained legal sanction to wring from been taking place in certain Militant cirdustrial system, for the simple reason the workers what strikes and resistance cles in the past year. It appears, in that capital, in its modern character, gained, and this they have done by high fact to be the expression of the more consists very largely of rent, interests and profits wrongfully extorted from the producer, who possesses neither the land nor the means of production, and is, therefore, compelled to sell his arms, brains, or both, to the possessor of the land and many of production, and selected to sell his arms, brains, or both, to the possessor of the land and many of production and at the land and provisions, and by the land and provision land and means of production, and at terests in danger. And yet trades and chief source of its very serious shortsuch prices as an uncertain and specu- labor unions went so far as to prohibit comings as a program for a revolutionthe discussion of such topics in their ary Marxist party.

"Organization of trade and labor meetings, and on election day their mem- For, taken all in all, the Draft Promions is one of the most effective means bers voted in favor of a representative gram remains within the vicious circle o check the evil outgrowths of the pre- of the very class that oppressed them of centrism. On the state, on the road to nower and on war, it still attempts to occupy a position that is sharply distinct "The emancipation of the working from the Old Guard, liberal reformism gress of the age, and with the march of classes must be achieved by the working but is not quite identical with the standdvanced ideas.

"While trade and labor unions hitherclasses themselves, as no other class has point of revolutionary Socialism, that is any interest in improving their condiCommunism. And this is sympathetic of to have struggled for higher wages and tion. The combined wage-working class the Militant movement as such. It too shorter hours of labor, they have partial-ple. In their hands rests the future of without committing itself irrevocably to our free institutions, and it is their destate other and so has remained stranded

INDIVIDUAL GREETINGS
tiny to replace the present iniquitous social system by one based upon equity, morality and the nobility of all useful damentally and in the long run. There can be no middle course: it is either back "We regard it as a sacred duty of every to the moldy "democratic Socialism" of honorable laboring man to sever his af- the Old Guard, of Kautsky and Cahan filiation with all political parties of the or else forward to the revolutionary So capitalists, and to devote his energy and cialism of Marx and Lenin! And the attention to the organization of his trade choice must be made sooner rather than or labor union, and the concentration of later for, here as everywhere, stagnation all unions into one solid body for the pur- | means retrogression!

pose of assisting each other in all struggles—political or industrial—to resist every attempt of the ruling classes directed against our liberties, and to extend our fraternal hand to the workers of our land and to all nations of the globe that struggle for the same indective that struggle for the same indectification.

*Except in regards to Soviet policy. Without having committed themselves very definitely on the question, the Militants seem to believe that the Franco-Soviet military alliance and the Soviet support of sanctions in the League of Nations constitute grave errors on the part of Soviet diplomacy. In this, of course, they

On the Occasion of the Eighteenth Anniversary of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION And the Sixth Anniversary of the WORKERS AGE We Extend Our Hearty Greetings

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OF ST. LOUIS, MO.

ON SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF

pose of assisting each other in all strug-

COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

Negro Workers And the Unions

(Continued from Page 2)

ated in the excerpt will occur if the American Federation of Labor succeeds in winning a closed shop. This the author considered as a great threat against Negro labor. He sums up his attitude in

the following words:

"Just as the strike is labor's final effective weapon in the class struggle, so strikebreaking is the only effective weapon that the Negro may employ in the intra-labor conflict to break down the proscription of race prejudice."

WILL STRIKE-BREAKING CURE PREJUDICE?

We are of the opinion that the analysis and solution proposed here is not only harmful but positively dangerous. Is it not peculiar that in his great anxiety to see that justice is dear to the iety to see that justice is done to the Negro and his fear that the closed shop would be a menace, the author should adopt, lock stock and barrel, the attitude of the worst open shoppers in the country; of the very captains of indus-try and finance who have profited most thru continued division between black and white toilers. Should not Mr. Leon P. Miller, the author, hesitate before placing himself and the Negro people on the side of the exploiters of la-bor and against the 39 million working people (black and white) of the United States?

Mr. Miller, who appears to be so solicitous for the welfare of the Negro people poses the question: "Is the Negro Strike-Breaker Justified?" and answers that it is correct for the Negro to be come the strikebreaker of America; that the Negroes, to cool the fires of resent ment against discrimination by many unions, are justified in hiring themselves out as mercenary troops in the war of the employers against all unions, against all workers.

Is it so difficult to grasp that such tactics perpetuate the very condition against which they are directed? Is it not clear that such a policy, far from breaking "down the proscription of race prejudice", rather presents the danger of fanning this prejudice into most violent flames of race wars?

THE REAL SOLUTION

The solution of the problem lies not along the road of converting the Negroes into a group of hired retainers for the American industrialists, but along the road of unflagging struggle to break down the barriers which now bar the way to unionism in so many unions. The cases cited above prove that it can be done.

There are in the trade unions a large and increasing number of progressive and forward looking workers who have fought and who are continuing the struggle for smashing the color line. If the Negro workers, in such industries as completely bar them today, were to be organized and begin the fight for ad-mission into the union, it would be discovered very quickly that the fight resolves itself not into one of black workers against white but black and white workers against the trade union burocrats and their hangers-on.

Especially during this period in the trade union movement when the most venerable traditions of the past are being subjected to a highly critical test, is it necessary to raise in the most determined manner the cry for repudiating the historical mistreatment of the Negro by the American Federation of Labor unions. No one can deny that the issue of industrial unionism is an important one, especially for the mass production industries but it is equally necessary to point out especially to the many progressives that precisely in these important industries the unions will have to open wide their doors to the Negro workers. Company unionism has already secured far too strong a hold over many thousands of them. The progressives must therefore inscribe upon their and the description of the descript banners in large letters the demand for all elements, which would naturally go the admission of Negroes into all unions without any restrictions whatever.

One and a half million Negro workers are awaiting the call for organization. It is up to the progressives in the trade unions and the clear thinkers among the Negro workers to work hand in hand for the solution of this most burning problem.

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"THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE"

Once more Southern white supremacy has been "saved" by the lynching of two Negro boys during the night of November 12, at Columbus, Texas. Ernest Collins, 15 years old and Benny Mitchell 16, were taken from the hands of the Sheriff and hung outside the town for the crime of "raping a white girl."

What is unique in the present outburst of lynch-law is the attitude of "The Law". The usual fancy tales about the most energetic steps being taken to run down the lynchers is completely missing. Instead the most sanguine and arrogant pronouncements of solidarity with the bestial lynchers are heard from the "representatives of Southern law and order". Statements have been made by County Attorney O. P. Moore and County Judge H. P. Hahn, which make it not unreasonable to believe that they themselves would have loved to participate—if indeed they did

The County Attorney, whose duty it is, according to law, to run down the lynchers declared:

"I DO NOT CALL THE CITIZENS WHO EXE-CUTED THE NEGROES A MOB. I CONSIDER THEIR ACTION AN EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE."

And the County Judge before whom these lads would very likely have appeared to receive "justice" said:

"THE FACT THAT THE NEGROES WHO SO BRUTALLY MURDERED MISS KOLLMANN COULD NOT BE ADEQUATELY PUNISHED BY LAW BECAUSE OF THEIR AGES PRE-VENTS ME FROM CONDEMNING THOSE CITIZENS WHO METED JUSTICE TO THE RAVISHING MURDERERS LAST NIGHT."

Here are two examples typical of Southern Democracy for the Negro. Here are examples of Southern capitalist

justice which has made of the South a hell on earth for the Negro masses.

There are many people in these United States who recoil in horror from the oppression and torture visited upon Jews and Catholics in Fascist Germany. To these we must say that to make more effective their protests against policies and methods in Germany which remind us of the Spanish Inquisition of the middle ages, they must fight determinedly to clean their own house also.

Especially the statement of the two officials have dramatized a condition of terrorism which calls for the widest and broadest protests from every decent man and woman, from every worker and every trade union and labor or-These pillars of Southern society, these government officials, who do not hesitate to shoot down southern textile workers or miners fighting against capitalist oppression, become the defenders and apologists, if not the actual leaders, of the lynch mobs.

"IT IS THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE", say the Moores and the Hahns. They lie! It is the echo of their own bestial desires and wishes that they hear from the mouths of their retainers and camp followers. LET THE REAL VOICE OF THE PEOPLE BE HEARD! PROTEST TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND TO THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS AGAINST THESE CRIMINALS AND OPRESSORS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE GARBED AS JUDGES AND PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS. DEMAND THRU YOUR TRADE UNION, LABOR OR OTHER OR-GANIZATION THAT THESE HEROES OF ROPE AND FAGOT BE REMOVED FROM OFFICE!

RAISE YOUR VOICE IN PROTEST NOW! IT CAN NO LONGER HELP MITCHELL AND COLLINS BUT IT MAY SAVE FROM A SIMILAR FATE OTHER MITCHELLS AND OTHER COLLINS'.

AT FIRST GLANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

ly proclaims on the front page (October 23rd) the fact that the Citizens Union has found Comrades Brodsky and Hutch "qualified" for election in the ins as New York Aldermanic contest.

This is merely a feather in the wind. And it is high time that C.P. members should raise a storm about it. How come that now for the first time in the history of American Communism such a Wall Street racket as the Citizens Union can find communist candidates "qualified"? Certainly it was not on the ques tion of looks or efficiency that this "qualified" label was handed out. If the members of the C.P. should scratch a bit beneath the surface, they would find something far more serious at faul in the party line than they have con ceived todate.

And let no one, even for a fraction of a second, think that this is a weird accident or that the American CP is "exceptional" in its opportunism today. The French and German Communist Parties are far more significant and, therefore, their right wing, their opportunist approach is even more grave in its con-sequences. The French CP is at the moment neglecting entirely all criticism of the Radical Socialist Party with which it is in the so-called People's Front. The latter party is a straight capitalist organization and is well represented in the market for agricultural products bethe Laval cabinet which is ruling more as an open dictatorship than any French cabinet since the war. In Germany, the CP is showing real signs of life—but primarily in agitation for convoking a na-tional assembly and restoring the Weimar constitution.

SENATORS Norris and LaFollette have made it their business to jump rather quickly on the 1936 Roosevelt bandwagon. Senator Borah is having the toughest time of his life in a desperate effort to have the Republican Party take on a coat of progressive paint. Roosevelt appears to welcome the action of the A. F. of L. convention for an amendment to the Constitution making it posinto a "people's front" along the lines advocated by the Communist Party here and in other countries, find themselves securely and comfortably in the fold of the big capital.

Of ourse, the Communist Party leadership persists in distorting and making a caricature out of the very significant labor bor Party a peculiar, "exceptional", specifically American expression of the peo-ple's front. Far more historical import and substance are to be attributed to the Labor Party trend in the U.S. than to that of a shibboleth momentarily tossed about by the Comintern men on the fly-

BRITANNIA rules the waves" they used to cry. "Britannia waves the rules" used to be a rejoinder. Events, moving at a lightning tempo, are now bringing on an entirely new situation as far as Great Britain is concerned. British imperialism is determined not only to reconquer its primacy on the sea but also to win mastery of the air. To achieve the first England will undoubtedly come to some secret arrangement with the U. S. as to Far Eastern affairs. To realize the second, Britain is losing no time in building the mightiest air armada. Its strained relations with Italy have served as the stimulus and excuse. For after all, Italy is no longer a mere vacation ground for fired British bankers or industrious English would-be ar-

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE AGRICULTURAL CRISIS. Joseph | vance under capitalism is plain the the M. Goldstein.

(Reviewed by A. B.)
The author begins his book with a confession of cowardice, a statement of ental impotence. "I do not hypothesize; I propose nothing; I state the facts." He sings this in French on the title page

Dr. Goldstein drags thru an excess of statistics to show that agricultural productivity must increase. He condemns the curtailment policies of Roosevelt and gives the lie to his theory of the unproductivity of sub-marginal lands, which actually show a great increase in productivity due to improved methods of cul-

tivation, and better transportation.

In the last two chapters he describes the failure of recent attempts to control agricultural production. It is interesting here, to point out what he does not, namely that even with state capitalist intervention, production cannot be controlled and attempts to do so become attempts to control the market for these products, thru tariffs, trade treaties, etc.

The contradictions arising from the back to the land movement are mentioncause they live on their own produce. At the same time agricultural production is increased. On the other hand the restric tion of production drives surplus farm labor to the cities where they add to the masses of unemployed and are used to heat down wages.

This is the content of the book. Too much space is taken to prove a well known fact, that the agricultural re sources of the world are scarcely utilized. That their development cannot ad-

chaeologists.

Seldom do we find frankness accompanying British imperialist drive. This time we must confess the traditional

"We do not want the heads of our defense forces to cling to the shibboleths of 1870. A big navy Britain must have to defend her Empire lines of communications. . . But she needs far more desperately a big air force. The airplane can leap-frog the battle-ship. . . First in the air, first on the sea, must be the motto. And behind those new defences let the new Government give industry a chance to make the most of its recovery. . . (Our emphasis).

No sooner said than done. Great Britain is now spending scores of millions on an invincible air armada to "threaten such deadly retaliation that no enemy air fleet will provoke that nemesis." Here are real British sanctions—tho heavenly ones!

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KAUTSKY AND THE COMING WAR

Begin Reading in the Next Issue of **WORKERS AGE**

> the articles by Bertram D. Wolfe

author prefers not to see it. The concrete aspects of the problem, farmers debts, ownership of farms, the antagonism between city and country, aren't even described. Dr. Goldstein is of the opinion that problems can be solved by description. The book serves indirectly to prove the unsolvability of those problems under capitalism, and the futility of the author's methods of approaching

THE WAR OF THE COPPER KINGS, by C. B. Glasscock. Bobbs-Merrill. 314 pp. \$3.00.

The story of Butte and the copper country, of the men who ruined its vegetation, looted its resources, cornered its copper, corrupted its politics, deceived its people, and when there was nothing more to grab up, fell to looting insinuation that they were wrong in each other. The true tale begins with lesser bandits who elected their chief changed their policy. as sheriff and under his protection held No! They are never wrong and they up coaches, robbed miners of their gold never change their policies. Its just the dust and snuffed out a few score lives. Then as Montana grows, out of the labor low that change his policies. of its miners and the resources of its mountains grow the greater robber Local 22 I.L.G.W.U.—argues, while we sheriff look like a piker.

tale of the robber barons who today make last elections. up "society" in America, is revealing. simple minds! But the telling suffers somewhat from a pell-mell, higgledy-piggledy piling up of details in which picturesqueness is prized The memory of the past will make it easabove significance, until one grows a life weekly to the disorderly and the dis trifle weary at the disorderly parade. in the future. In passing we might also What the book needs is deeper social say that such books as Jack Hardy's penetration, an understanding of the sys-Clothing Worker—published by Internagone on a holiday. To cite a typical plea by one Collin Brooks, in a recent issue of the DAILY MAIL:

| Foliation, an understanding of the sys- | Clothing Worker—published by Internatem of which these incidents are but an itional Publishers at this late day—helps expression, and some generalization to remember. It represents the worst give the details meaning and perspective. In its present form it is an anecdotal, views of this junk in the Daily Worker journalistic source book for future Marxist historians to utilize, rather than an able, personal attack upon Jay Loveadequate picture of its subject.

Who Serves Green **Unintentionally?**

Under the sub-head "Lovestoneites Easy on Labor Fakers", the New Militant reports the speech of Charles S. Zimmerman at the meeting on the A. F. of L. Convention called by the Progressive Needle Trades Center. The New Militant is very angry that Zimmerman should have taken A. J. Muste to task for his leftist and sectarian analysis of the convention.

Their report goes on to say: "Was the attack then just an ex-pression of solidarity with Green's union wrecking campaign in Minneapolis? No, we do not for a moment believe that was the intention, though

the speech did serve that purpose." So Zimmerman's speech served Green's purpose! The that was not the intention, of course! of course! Well, we'd like to ask you a couple of questions. When Muste insists that the real reactionaries in the A. F. of L. are Lewis, Hillman and their colleagues, is he perhaps serving the interests of Green? When Muste grieves that the left wing did arguments do "serve that purpose" don't not center all its fire against the opposition bloc, does it occur to you that such tention, of course! of course!

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

On October 25 the United Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania breathed its last and with it died one more dual unionist venture which, beginning as a conservative led effort (some even suspected a link with coal interests, somewhere along the line) to oust Lewis from the Anthracite, involved also the members of the Communist and Workers Party.

The case of the members of the Communist Party was really pathetic. The last remains of the National Miners Union had just been interred and the bewildered Party members were being "enlightened" on why it was wrong to go back to the United Mine Workers before and why it is their revolutionary duty to do so now. In the midst of this campaign the new dual union was born and the Party members, hardly having warmed their frost-bitten ears in the U.M.W. were again outside with Maloney and Cappelini (whom Lewis had previously ousted from the District Presidency because of his relations with the employers.)

The writer remembers speaking in Wilkes Barre one night last winter and then listening to the vicious and slanderous tirade of a certain Comrade Nelson* -the Section Organizer of the Communist Party-against members of the Communist Opposition who refused to split their union — the United Mine

I also remember, about the same time, news stories and even an editorial in the Daily Worker branding as scabs and scab herders such militant and tested fighters as Vratarich and Stanleyall because they refused to follow the Communist Party into new adventures and new defeats of dual unionism.

I remember spending many hours with a number of fine Lithuanian workers in the Anthracite who had blundered into the camp of Maloney. I confess, I failed to win them back. they today? Driven from the mines! Probably disgusted with the labor movement and demoralized. Victims of dual unionism!

I remember that only about six months ago a number of Lovestoneites came as delegates from various organizations to a C.P.-controlled united front of some kind (I have forotten which) and WERE REFUSED SEATS BECAUSE THEY WERE MEMBERS OF THE U.M.W.A.

Now that union is dead. The party members have slunk back, those that could, to the United Mine Workers. But Comrades like Nelson would resent any

For instance, Gerjoy-Party whip in barons, Marcus Daly, George Hearst, Wm. A. Clark, F. A. Heinze, H. H. Rogers, Wm. Rockefeller. They buy correct in calling the administration of judges and senators wholesale, fight with crooked politics, demagogy, rival newspapers, dynamite, and stock manipulation, in battles that make the bandit ed States! You see, he says, they did The tale is revealing, as every true not become progressive until after the How simple it all is to

> increases suspicion. Also, the despicstone, by that loud-mouth Ben Gold, on the floor of the Joint Council, shows a degree of factional bias which is not going to help the C.P. to work together with other forces.

It is up to the Party members in the trade unions to mend their ways if they want their change of policy to be taken seriously.

WHO CHANGED WHAT?

You cannot change the party line from the outside! says Gerjoy very emphatically to a group around him at the 14th street pier. A non-party comrade in-tervenes to ask Gerjoy-"And do you mean to say that you changed it from the inside?" To which there was no

Needless to say we do not refer to Louis Nelson of the Knitgoods Workers Union, who is one of the leading comrades of the C.P.O.

a policy would have suited Green very When Muste announces that the well. When Muste announces that the Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky opposition is more dangerous than the Green leadership because they mouthe progressive phrases, is he not helping to screen the Green clique from the wrath of the membership in the A. F. of L.?

they? Though that was not Muste's in-