Workers A

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C. P. O. CALLS FOR UNITY OF

To all members of the Communist Party! To all communist sympathizers! To all workers!

The Fourth National Conference of the Communist Party (Opposition) ended on New Year's Day. It was an event of no small moment in the development of the American labor movement, especially of the revolutionary forces, the communist ranks.

Delegates from the hard and soft coal fields, from the textile centers, from the garment factories, from the shoe plants, from the metal and machine shops, from the fields of class battle from Los Angeles to New York, reported on the struggles of the American working people in recent months. The problems and tasks facing labor in the U.S. and the world-over were approached objectively, in a healthy, critical spirit, in the light of the revolutionary scientific teachings of Marx and Lenin.

It was inspiring to learn how the C.P.O., despite its poverty of forces and paucity of funds, was able to lend leadership to workers and to mobilize them against the employers and the government under the banner of the N.R.A. It was particularly instructive to learn of the growing effectiveness of our members and ever-growing number of sympathizers in their struggle against the reactionary, and often corrupt, trade union officialdom. It was most encouraging for us to be able to register our marked progress in defeating the destructive dual-unionist drives of the official C.P. and thus not only save the name of communism from being discredited in the eyes of thousands of striking workers but also to get these masses to move left and to enhance the influence and prestige of communism as the only force which spells hope and shows the way out for the exploited and oppressed in and snows the the world-shaking crisis.

C.P.O. FORGES AHEAD

More than that. The year behind us, was a year in which despite all mistakes and shortcomings, many of which have been costly, we extended and consolidated our communist position and influence. The number of recruits we have won, (especially those with great influence in the ranks of organized labor) the notable progress of the New Workers School, as the outstanding centre of Marxist-Leninist education in the country, our clarification and solution of burning issues confronting the world communist and labor movements, our successful struggle against Trotskyism and centrism, our strength-

Join Communist Opposition

ened determination to fight for the reconstruction and unification of the American and international communist movements-all of these will surely serve as a great stimulus to an improvement and intensification of our own work, to an even firmer welding of the solidarity of our sympathizers and workers, fighting shoulder to shoulder with us, against capitalist reaction and its rising tide of war and fascism.

But we do not rest here. We have made only a beginning. More unified than ever, more clear in our tactics and objectives, more experienced and determined, thru years on the firing line of the workers against the bosses and their agents, we, with more effective organization and steeled morale, now appeal to the workers to close their ranks and fight harder than ever against hunger and war, against misery and fascist reaction.

UNITY IN FIGHT AGAINST HUNGER AND WAR

Our call for unity in the revolutionary labor movement goes out especially to our comrades in the C. P. How long will you, comrades of the Communist Party, allow the American and international communist movements to be broken in pieces by the stifling system of inner party life and leadership and by the sectarianism paralyzing our party in the face of countless opportunities for growth and influence? Comrades, our convention has reaffirmed our devotion to communist unity and our determination to hasten its realization. Let not our appeal fall on deaf ears! Let us learn, even from our most disastrous defeats, as well as victories. Let not the tragedy of Germany be repeated elsewhere, even in a limited form. Let us fight together for a return to the tactics of the first Four Congresses of the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin-to the tactics of the united front, to the strategy of fighting for the transforma ion of the trade unions into militant agencies of working class struggle. Let us join hands for unity in the revolutionary movement, for communist unity, as the first step towards unity of the working class.

To the members of the Socialist Party we say: Comrades, it is high time that you break with the false principles of reformism, which have brought incalculable damage to the German and Austrian working classes and to the world proletariat.

Brothers and sisters in the labor unions! We are with you as one, for a fight for decent conditions, for clean and militant unionism.

Toilers on the land and in the mills, in the mines and in the factories! These are critical and decisive hours. Under the flag of the NRA and the New Deal the ruling class of this country is strengthening the grip of trusts and is preparing new heavy blows against us all, preparing to lower our standards of living and to deny us even the right to organize and strike.

What we need most, today, is unity of action-militant united action by the oppressed and exploited Negro workers, by the impoverished farmers, by the workers in the cities-against their common enemy-the boss class, the rulers of industry and agriculture, the owners of the government. * * *

RALLY TO THE C.P.O.

The C.P.O. is that section of the communist movement which resolutely adheres to the principles of world communism, the principles enunciated by Marx and Lenin, the principles on which the Soviet Union is founded and in which socialism, a classless society free from all exploitation, is now being constructed. We stand for tactics rooted in the soil of American conditions and the best of American revolutionary traditions as well as the experiences of our comrades and brothers in other countries.

We ask you to fight side by side with us. We ask you to join our organization. We urge you to take place in our ranks, as members, to help us hasten the unity and rebuilding of the communist and revolutionary movements, to speed up and insure the unity of the exploited against the exploiters and the victory of a new, a socialist, day in the United States.

Our convention keynote and message to the workers is: Forward to unity against capitalist reaction and imperialist war!

Forward to solidarity with the U.S.S.R .- the socialist fatherland of the working class of the world! Forward to a victorious working class!

> FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A. (Opposition)

Decisions of Convention

Situation in the U.S.A., and on izing and supporting inside a The NRA and the Labor Move Adopted unanimously as amended by the National Buro.

2. International Reports. Lovestone for the Buro Majority and Zam for the Minority. For the having them organize themselves majority—45; minority—7; absten- inside their party for turning their tions—1.

3. Resolved, that we condemn Trotskyism, in its new phase, as an extension of the doctrine of Thermidor to the Communist Interna- centrist leaders and thus means li-

ses for a new party and a new communism.

Communist International. Voting The I.C.O. for-44; Against-None; Abstentions—5.

5. To repudiate the conception that the centrist parties, like the S.A.P. of Germany, O.S.P. and I. S.P. of Holland, P.U.P. of France and the I.L.P. of England, as a less whether such organizations whole, as an intact organization, and the "Bolshevik Leninist-Left Opposition" (Trotskyites) can serve as the basis for the new C. P.'s and a new C.I.

formist parties, have to be liquidat-Centrist parties, as types of reed in order to make it possible for the workers adhering to these parties to advance to communism.

However, in view of the great differences which exist among the centrist parties, their heterogen-eous composition and the different tion and to conclude therefore, that conditions in which they arise, in we cannot have an new Comintern individual cases it may become nec- without the party leading the vic-

1. Resolutions on The Economic parties to communism by organstruggle for winning or transforming the centrist parties.

This means to conduct our activities for winning the workers in centrist parties for communism by party into a revolutionary party. Tho, as communists we realize that the organization of such a struggle inevitably involves a split with the tional and as the ideological lead-ership of new centrism. Voting for —41; Against—2; Abstentions—4. tactics we can facilitate our win-ning the workers from the influthe Trotskyist position and premience of the reformist leaders for

> The I.C.O., and its affiliated organizations stands ready to unite with any working class organizations which are in agreement with us on the fundamental principles of communism and on our strategical, tactical line, regardare made up of former members of the Communist Party or workers who were never in the communist movement. Such a step would not be a substitute for naltional and international Communist Communist Opposition and thereby towards accomplishing that end. Adopted unanimously.

6. To recognize the Soviet Union essary for us to conduct our work torious proletariat—the C.P.S.U.— which in thei for winning the workers of these being part of it. Voting for—42; their attitude.

Convention Greets Jailed Leaders

The Fourth National Conference of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Opposition) sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the seven leaders of the Communist Party of Canada, now incarcerated in Portsmouth Prison.

This convention is unanimous in ts approval of the inner prison struggles led by the comrades in protest against the holding of Comrade Cacic for a longer period than his sentence called for, and against The conference also discussed in the deportation planned and caried out by the

This convention looks forward to the day when our Canadian com-rades will rejoin the ranks of the revolutionary party of the workers, and we pledge ourselves to work for the unification of the Communist parties under the banner of one international to the end that the revolutionary forces will the better be able to provide communist leadership for the workers and farmers in their struggles

Against—6; Abstentions—1.

In the voting, on motion 3, 4 and 6, the comrades supporting the minority voted for specific sections of the minority resolution

Report of Convention

ion of the C.P.O., during intensive three days of work (December 30, 31 and January 1st), considered the economic situation in the country, the NRA as a recovery measure and its effect upon the labor movement, went exhaustively into he condition and status of the Comintern, Second International, the I.C.O. and the Paris Conference, and soberly considered the mass work and organizational condition of the C.P.O. in the U.S. great detail, the proposal of the great detail, the proposal of the minority for a reorientation of the bers but also with a large num-C.P.O. and the I.C.O. in the direcion of building new Communist Parties and a new International and overwhelmingly defeated this proposal and endorsed the present course of both the C.P.O. and the I.C.O. (See detailed decision elsewhere in this issue).

Composition Of The Convention There were 53 accredited delegates seated, 31 of these, from New York and 22 from out of town districts. In the latter is inagainst the dangers of fascism, im- cluded delegations from Troy, Anmeasures of the existing capitalist Hartford, Chicago, Pittsburgh, tasks; Comrade Miles reported for Fort Wayne, Philadelphia, Boston, the Trade Union Department of Brookwood and Montreal and Tor-the Trade onto in Canada. The Detroit dele-the C.P.O. gation arrived after the convention was closed. This was due to various industries and in the presan automobile accident on the ent strike wave, discussed their exroad. The San Antonio and Van periences in the light of the re-Wert organizations were not re-presented. There were also pres-reports and discussions was the ent 21 alternates (15 from New proof of the virility of our trade which in their opinion expressed York and 6 from out of town) as union in the labor movement. well as fraternal delegates from

The Fourth National Conven- Penna., Paterson, Passaic, Omaha Penna., 1 and Washington.

Herberg Reports On Economic Situation And NRA

In the absence of Comrade Lovestone, who was then addressing the Student Congress in Washington, D. C., Comrade Benjamin got the convention under way and intro-duced the reporter on the Economic Situation and the NRA and The Labor Movement.

Comrade Herberg's report was delivered to a hall packed not onber of workers sympathetic to the C.P.O. Comrade Herberg's report was based upon the document on these question, previously printed in Workers Age.

This was followed by special field reports. Art. Denslow reported on the shoe industry; Ben Lifshitz on the situation in the metal trades; Eli Keller dealt with the recent national silk strike; G. Peter explained the recent developments in the anthracite; Sasha Zimmerman discussed the needle trades situation and especially emphasized the dressmakers' recent suc-cessful strike and the present

About 20 comrades, active in

(Continued on Page 2)

For the Line of the I. C. O.

by Leon Lerner

It seems that, as the representative of our group in its attempt to bring the Proletarian Party since his views are that our group from the article referred to, Com-can count this as an accomplish- portant role in such a party. rade Zam writes: "We cannot propose to a party which is in the process of becoming a Communist a faction of an International which refuses it admittance." ing to this, the minority holds the wiew that we cannot propose to the Proletarian Party, which claims to be a Communist Party, such as it is, to join our group, since we have legal a faction of an Internation of the communist Party and the prospects for extending our influence never better.

The discussion in which about 25 commands the prospects for extending our influence never better.

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The discussion in which about 25 commands participated, was thorogenerated and the prospects for extending our influence never better.

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The discussion in which about 25 commands are also a faction of the communist prospects for extending our influence never better.

The discussion in which about 25 commands are also a faction of the commands are also a faction of the command of the prospects of the discussion in which about 25 commands are also a faction of the command of the prospects of the discussion in which about 25 commands are also a faction of the command of are also a faction of an Interna-

tional which refuses us admittance. True, Comrade Zam, as the leader of the minority, does not at present advocate an additional Communist party in the Soviet Union and, on this point, his program ings from the Buro of the International Communist Opposition. In ites. If the minority actually suc-document (printed in this issue) | Actually suc-ment. He dealt with the necessity and a new Communist International, it would be interesting to know tions agitating the revolutionary of our excellent mass work; Insistwhat disposition they would make of the anti-Soviet "left of the lefts", the Trotskyites, who are also for a new routh international, growing out of almost the same viewpoint as that of the minority (complete bankruptcy of the C. I., complete bankruptcy of the existing Communist parties, the belief that it is impossible to win over the Communist Party membership, etc.) but who also believe in a signature of the camp of the working class.

tion (in the labor movement—Editor) work on the youth and Negro field; Further penetration of C.P., S.P. and P.P. with our program; and the conversion of Workers Age into a weekly. He concluded by an appeal for tightening up the ranks and for more educational class. etc.) but who also believe in a new Communist party in the Soviet Union. Comrade Zam does attack ness and clarity are necessary, at the Trotskyites, it is true, but so such a time, in order to set right advance. did Comrade Gitlow, and yet Gitlow today is openly negotiating with the Trotskyites with a view to joining them.

of our minority in the proposed organization of a Fourth International and also the establishment of dual Communist parties, would the minority's program then call for a Fifth International?

International comes from the minority's belief that "our efforts to
win the party to a Lapinist line

O. A letter to the Swedish Comevening session, this united proevening session, this united prostrengthen those valiant comrades
by the delegates. When the ontry's belief that four efforts to tegration in the camp of the Sec-strengthen those valuant comrades with the party to a Leninist line ond International; The Paris Cen-fighting to keep the S.C.P. on the convention went on to instruct its N.S.L.) In answer to the proposal, ... and that the C. P., thru its trist Conference; The Comintern, communist path.

wrong line, would continue disintegrating, would become a mere specially in the light of the defeat in Germany; The new role of the other members of the Central Comstant parts of the communist path.

The rais cell- light of the proposal, convention went on to instruct its executive committee to carry out this program in some written form, was not appropriate for complete this program in some written form, the Li.D. coulet the chairman, Prof. Eagleton of N.

The rais cell- light of the proposal, convention went on to instruct its executive committee to carry out this program in some written form, the Li.D. decided that the present was not appropriate for complete the chairman, Prof. Eagleton of N.

The rais cell- light of the defeat of the convention went on to instruct its executive committee to carry out the Li.D. decided that the proposal, the Li.D. decided that the proposal that the Li.D. decided that the proposal that the Li.D. decided that the proposal that the pro 'shell'. . . ."— have completely failed. The comrades who make such proposals at this time have taken a defeatist attitude, pure and simple. From such defeatist views come theories of new parties, new Internationals, with the result that workers become so confused that we had the failed that the failed that the failed that the communist Party of Cantitude, Party of Cantitude, Communist Party

The minority in our group has under the most favorable conditions for growth the official Com-

official Communist party, to show up its mistakes and the results of such mistakes, to lead the way with also, what has occurred in Gera correct Leninist line and event- many; there, we are not a party of the C.P.G. was the sharp crack the pamphlet of Piatnitsky offer ually bring about a change of line and yet entire sections of the offi- that warned us that the entire edi- any hope to Comrade Zam and he himself became a staunch adherent of the idea of a dual Communist party.

In the Communist International cial Communist party have joined our group thru a realization of our correct line.

In the Communist International cial Communist party have joined our group thru a realization of our correct line. idea of a dual Communist party. Have failed to win over the membership of the C. P. That is true, ticle (Workers Age, November 1, of course, if "winning over the pership of the LLP, in Eng
1933) regarding the LLP, in Eng
The comrade Zam says we correct line.

As I see it, the need is not for a new Communist party, not for a new Communist party.

1933) regarding the LLP, in Eng
The comrade Zam says we failed to win over the membership of the C. P. That is true, a new Communist party, not for a new Communist party, no ticle (Workers Age, November 1, of course, if "winning over the Fourth International, but for a time formation of a course, if "winning over the regarding the I.L.P. in Eng-membership" means their whole-continued application of our correct cratically organized) Communist International." land is no doubt what he also thinks of the Proletarian Party in the United States. With his present views, Comrade Zam cannot sincerely fight for the Proletarian Party to join our group, since his views are that our group is incompleted. The property of the party leadership, and today continued application of our correct of the work in the United States. With his present views, Comrade Zam cannot sincerely fight for the Proletarian Party to join our group, since his views are that our group is not for a new C. P. here, but rational in the United States. With his policies, for taking the lead in the day-to-day struggles of the work-day-truggles of the work-day-tr

DISCUSSION ENDS

With the two articles on this page, we close the discussion on the "new" party and "new" In-

For A New Perspective

The minority in our group has definitely stated its viewpoint that it proposes we adopt as our main objective the "working for shows the correctness of our line. This does not mean that we must orientate ourselves towards a new Communist) party when we believe the forces are sufficient and that this is our main orientation. . .". It proposes, therefore, a reorientation towards a new Communist party in the U. S. A., additional Communist party in the U. S. A., additional Communist parties thruout the world and, in fact, a new Fourth International.

The minority in our group has tions for growth the official Communist party failed to advance, shows the correctness of our line. This does not mean that we must orientate ourselves towards a new Communist party, and thus bewilder the working class, for our group has no right to do so if it is to continue to adhere to a correct line.

There is no cause for defeatist attitudes, no cause for despair. Our primary job is to check the tactical errors of the C. I. of the official Communist party, to show up its mistakes and the results of solutions.

The Czechoslovakian Party has dropped from 12,000 to 2,000; France dropped from 12,000 to 2,000; The C. P. U.S.A. had 15,000 members in good standing, today it has 13,000 of the decisions.

When we believe the "working for a victory for the opposition in Germany. But how much office would it have in changing the line of the C.I.? If all the set of the decisions.

Now, that the National Conference and its decisions.

Now that it is found in the C.I. has been for und its found in the national conference and it

The decimation at one stroke of

our meetings (New York, Chicago, ther for a Labor party—a broad we are making headway in the any single country only one Com-

Party, that it act only as a faction of a much smaller party, or as Report of the C. P. O. Convention

Convention Greeted By I.C.O. And of 45 to 7. German Communist Opposition

At this point there was read to the convention a letter of greet-

A letter was also received from lutions:

that workers become so confused that we had that they prove easy targets for the capitalist parties.

The position presented by Line position presented by L

In his summary remarks Com- a new Communist International.

Benjamin Reports On The

The final report at the convention on the condition of the organitakes a firm stand on many questo build the C.P.O. on the premise activities to arm our group for

comrade Manabandra Nath Roy, precise conclusions. serving a six year sentence in In-

(Continued from Page 1) Communist Parties and eventually ale of the C.P.O. was never higher, y ale of the C.P.O. was never higher, and the prospects for extending main objective would be the same

> minority being defeated by a vote fort from the results of this convention. We go forward, reinforced faster if we adopt the perspective by many fighting recruits in the of a new international? (Not deast several weeks, conscious of clare ourselves the new internaand determined to achieve our aim tional, as some comrades think.) the unity of the communist It is silly even to think of guaranmovement for proletarian victory. -JIM CORK

CONFERENCE

Washington, D. C. 29-31, at the Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D. C. The position to the official party. participating—such as the National Student League, League for Industrial Democracy, National Student Federation, Y.M.C.A. stu-"Communist inflexibity, firmless and clarity are necessary, at such a time, in order to set right comrades who are vacillating, to comrade who are vacillating, to compare the properties of the former confusion in order to pre
Commade Herman reporting for the companion of the former confusion, indicate the first the more discerning the question whether students must take a political stand. Over must take a political stand. Over a period of six sessions, only one confusion in order to pre
Commade Herman reporting for the former confusion, indicate the first the first that the more discerning the question whether students must take a political stand. Over a period of six sessions, only one confusion in order to pre
Commade Herman reporting for the first that the more discerning the question whether students must take a political stand. Over the former confusion in order to pre
Commade Herman reporting for the first that the more discerning the question whether students must take a political stand. Over the first t Would the Fourth International of this new "minority" in our group admit the Trotskyites, having in mind their objective of a new C. P. in the Soviet Union, and also hearing in mind their theory.

A letter was also received from the German Communist Party (Optosition) in which the advances of the d. The letter also depicts the extreme difficulties under which our German comrades are conducting also hearing in mind their theory.

A letter was also received from the C. P. and its movement speakers of disconting. They would join an independent communist movement stone, E. Meyers, presented their individual proposals or analyses on the C.P.O.

The letter also depicts the extreme difficulties under which our German comrades are conducting also hearing in mind their theory.

A letter was also received from the C. P. and its members, for communist unity.

2. A call to the members of the Proletarian Party to affiliate with the C.P.O.

3. A letter of fraterial greating. new C. P. in the Soviet Union, and also bearing in mind their theory of Thermidor? This Comrade Zam thas failed to explain. Or, since the Trotskyites are a step ahead of our minority in the preposed or of Workers Age.

treme difficulties under which our the C.P.O.

3. A letter of fraterial greetings to our fighting Communist Party of Germany (Opposition).

4. Communist greetings to our the Nazi terror regime. This letter of Fraterial greetings to our fighting Communist party of Germany (Opposition).

4. Communist greetings to our the Nazi terror regime and prestige. The fact tion, War, etc. It was presumed, one may infer, that out of such a one-sided approach the students where the communist movement as whole through the nain conference. The fact tion, war, etc. It was presumed, one may infer, that out of such a one-sided approach the students where the communist movement as whole through the nain conference. The fact tion, war, etc. It was presumed, one may infer, that out of such a one-sided approach the students has not gained in strength. In all probability there are many times of workers Age.

The fact tion, war, etc. It was presumed, one may infer, that out of such a one-sided approach the students has not gained in strength. In all probability there are many times to reach certain definite and precise conclusions.

Prior to the main conference and prestige. The fact tion, war, etc. It was presumed, one may infer, that out of such as whole through the communist move-the many times are the communist of such as the communist move-the may the communist of such as the communist move-the may the communist of such as the communist move-the may the communist of such as the communist move-the may the communist move-the may the communist move-the may the communist of such as the communist move-the may the communist move-the may

Lovestone Reports On I. C. O. Conference

The main political report was delivered by Jay Lovestone. In delivered by Jay Love It is foolish to believe that a Fourth, Fifth or Tenth International is the solution for Communist unity. The idea of a Fourth
International comes from the minor its versions sections. The distinct of the condition of the c

The minority would appear to imply that, when our group was first established, we specified one year or four years in which the C. P. unless it corrected its errors, would become a "mere shell".

We had neither won the party to a correctly to a correct line nor had we, ourselves, Fourth National Convention, ideologically and organizationally unified. There was a spirit of end to reorient the C.P.O. and I.C.O. and I.C.O. our group and in the direction of building new long and organizations. The C.P.O. emerged from its correcte!

As an extra-conference event, In connection with L.I.D.—N.S. In connection with L.I.D. and the N.S.L. had a joint demonstration in the shadow of the White House protesting against R. O. T. C. any compulsions, would become a "mere shell".

by Alexander

Suppose that the Berlin district should go so far as to say that the lesson taught by the Nazi triumph

sliver of reason to believe that the C. I. is changing its line. Does

The C.P.O. has the perspective f influencing the C. I. to change its course and thus to effect uni-What influence has the C. P. . comparable to the powerful lesnecessary to abandon this perspecought to become a Communist party in opposition to the existing official C. P. Therefore, quoting
from the article referred to, Comty in a condition to the existing offrom the article referred to, Comty in a condition to the existing offrom the article referred to, Comty in a condition to the existing ofthem up but to listen and learn and draw conclusions, surely we from the article referred to, Comty in a condition to the existing ofthem up but to listen and learn and draw conclusions, surely we from the article referred to, Comfrom the article referred to, Comty in a condition to the existing ofthem up but to listen and learn and draw conclusions, surely we for the labor movement would belong.
The Communists would play an important role in such a party.

The Communists would play an important role in such a party.

The Communists would play an important role in such a party. ole for situations to develop where there will temporarily be two Comunist Parties, where it would be desirable, provided there are suffiient forces, for launching an opposition party as well as the recog--to bring about the unification

We have been asked, what guarlantee have you that we shall grow Comrade Miles, however, goes

too far when he says that such a new perspective would repulse STUDENTS IN NAT'L those who are now close to us bewell directed efforts. Miles says that those 30,000 who dropped out of the C. P., since we were ex-The National Conference on pelled, did not join us because they did not care to strengthen a merce in Washington, D. C. The position to the official party. ostensible purpose of the groups Therefore there would be even less which was devoted to voicing ganizations, realize that the C. I. of the student delegates' opinions, is discrediting the entire commuvarious prominent speakers of di- nist movement, with its narrow Prior to the main conference, ranks of any communist organizae L.I.D. and the N.S.L. held their tion than within it. For in-

As an extra-conference event

ICO Greets Communist Opposition

CONVENTION SUPPLEMENT

We publish below the letter received from the Buro of the International Communist Opposition to the recent fourth national convention of the American Communist Opposition. This letter, heartily approved by the National Committee, outlines a course that our group has maintained for many years and which the convention overwhelmingly endorsed.-Editor.

To the National Conference of the C.P.O. of the U.S.:

The Buro of the I.C.O. sends its comradely revolutionary greetings to your conference. We are glad to know that you have gained a number of significant and fruitful victories as a result of the working-out and application of correct communist tactics. We welcome the fact that in your theses on the N.R.A. and the labor movement you have attempted to formulate a program, enabling you to utilize the present upsurge of mass activity in America manifesting itself in an influx into the trade unions, the A. F. of L. and a wave of strikes, for the organization of successful revolutionary action and the winning-over of masses to communism. You have shown that you make every possible effort to realize this program in action. You have succeeded in gaining influence in mass strikes; you have informed the workers at mass meetings of the true character of the N.R.A. fraud. You have created a center for the Marxist training of American workers in your New Workers School. You have been able to gain sympathy for correct communist tactics in the ranks of the followers of the official C.P., and for communist principles among the social-democratic workers and nonparty workers because you applied the correct tactics for the defense of these principles.

We especially welcome the fact that you have tried successfully to arouse and strengthen the spirit of international solidarity among the American workers. Your campaign against German and international fascism and your solidarity with the unfortunate victims of the Nazi terror have been exemplary.

We are especially thankful to you for your splendid efforts made to support financially the extremely difficult illegal work of the C.P.O. in Germany and the activities of the Foreign Committee of the C.P.O. Your efforts in this field will serve as a stimulus to other sections of the Letter Outlines Tasks

SIGNIFICANCE OF GERMAN DEFEAT

We are convinced that on the line which you are following you will soon gain further political and organizational victories. Do not slacken in the struggle, however difficult it may be. Everyone of your forward steps is of great international significance; it is a material and moral strengthening of the labor movement in other countries; an encouragement of the illegal fighters in the fascist states, especially to the heroic fighters of the C.P.G.O.

The events of the last few years and the defeat of the German working class in particular have shown how absolutely necessary the struggle of the I.C.O. is. If the proletarian revolution is to succeed in those countries which are at present capitalist, the working class needs communist parties which are capable of discovering and working out the concrete tasks and the concrete road of the proletarian revolution corresponding to the particular class relations of each country and to prepare and organize them accordingingly, as was done in Russia. The aim that the I. C. O. has pursued and is following, without being disconcerted, is to reform the C.I. so that its sections will be able to fulfill these tasks. The way in which the leading bodies of the C.I. reacted to the defeat of the C.I. can only be effected in the way in which the I.C.O. has persisted from the very beginning: namely, from below, thru acting as a nucleus which unites loyalty to communist principles with a correct tactical application of these principles and gathers the members of the

The Party Discussion

A call has been issued for the eighth convention of the Communist Party and discussion in the units is beginning. Simultaneously comes the news that the Seventh Congress of the Communist International is to be held in November.

The C.P.O. will participate actively in this discus-

sion. The first article on THE THIRTEENTH PLENUM RESOLUTION by B. Herman will appear in the forthcoming issue.

C. I. around itself and in this way wins over the C. I

For the I.C.O. to fulfill its task it is necessary that it guard against any concession whatsoever to such communist elements which like the Trotskyites organize a struggle against the Soviet Union and the C. I. under a supposedly communist banner; who want to build a centrist party and a centrist international and to further the desertion of workers from the camp of communism and keep social-democratic workers from going over to commu-

INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT IN CRISIS

The crisis which the international labor movement is going thru, as a result of the defeat of the German proletariat, has not left the I.C.O. untouched. The I.C.O. has had to break with the C.P. of Sweden because its leadership has gone over to centrism-Trotskyism and because they have acted contrary to the most elementary principles of international communist discipline. But precisely as a result of its irreconcilable struggle against all centrist and Trotskyite tendencies has the C.P.O. been able to continue its work successfully and united in that country in which the labor movement has suffered the severest blows. In Germany after the victory of fascism the C.P. O. has made progress in winning-over the members of the C.P. Thru its work it has forced the leadership of the C.I. and the C.P.G. to undertake a series of corrections of their ultra-left tactics. The German experience also shows that the objective of winning-over and reforming the C. I. makes it possible for the C.P.O. to gain followers and sympathy among the social-democratic workers, disappointed with reformist policies. Moreover, your own experience in the U.S. has proved that the policy of the C.P.O. as a communist tendency does not hamper but furthers the independent organization of mass activities and the independent approach to reformist and non-party workers.

I.C.O. FOR OUR LINE

For that reason the Buro of the I.C.O. fully agrees with the resolution of the majority of the National Committee on "The new party and Trotskyism". The resolution proposed by Comrade Zam as a minority report of the national committee, on the other hand, contains a series of fundamental concessions to centrism and Trot-(Continued on Page 4)

Blue Eagle Over Latin America

sound good in print, it might re- way as possible, and he did, judg- its activities. lieve mass pressure at home, temporarily at any rate. And so these Conference. cliques hoped that at Montevideo | Foreign Minister Lamas of Arthey might at least be given a gentina (although essentially the public sessions, made grandiloquent words the Montevideo conference chance to discuss—to discuss what country leading Latin American speeches about civilization and bro- did not terminate on a note of uniseemed the most vital problems for sentiment against the United therly love and had their pictures ty. The Caribbean countries, clos-

finality from the mouth of Roosefinality from the mouth of Roose- debt question all-right because like ten and they also let them get into countries, came away disgruntled, the gentleman of honor" that he the pictures. Then the eleven larged discussing at Montethe "gentleman of honor" that he contemplated discussing at Monte-video was the Pan-American Highway, towards the completion of which the American Government was willing to give \$500,000; that this was the only order of business for the conference—all other questions would be "embarrassing to the Market of Yankee intervention and Haiti asked for the withdraw loss of the state of the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. Then the eleven larg-the pictures were broken up into the pictures. The pictures were broken up into the pictures were broken up into the pictures. The pictures were broken up into the pictures were broken up into the pictures. The pictures were broken up into the pictures were broken up into the pictures were broken up

way. The Latin press launched an attack against American dictatorship. Some of the countries in the interim, well its just seemed actually determined to place their problems before the Conference. To prevent such action Roosevelt and Hull called preliminary conferences with individual representatives at Washington.

The Latin press launched conference is always frozen in adaptout the evils of war and the vance and if new problems should and how it must be forever bandand how it must be forev

tions would be "embarrassing to and Haiti asked for the withdraw- And so effectively was this hand- Haiti and Nicaragua were seek- led that the ruling press of every ling to establish a bloc of eleven We, the workers This blast had a very bad sobering effect even upon Latin American described by the control of ica's cynical politicians. Since the to the next conference. Interven-Havana Conference in 1928, the tions we have always with us. Bedepression had come; political sides in Pan-American conferences revolutions had taken place in all postponements have become tradius; Machado, the butcher of Cuba, had been overthrown; cut throat ficial way of handling all touchy

Machado, the butcher of Cuba, had been overthrown; cut throat ficial way of handling all touchy

Machado, the butcher of Cuba, had been overthrown; cut throat ficial way of handling all touchy

Machado, the butcher of Cuba, had been overthrown; cut throat ficial way of handling all touchy sessions).

Machado, the butcher of Cuba, had been overthrown; cut throat ficial way of handling all touchy sessions). bankers refused to renew large problems. Due however, to the sessions). loans; all through the hinterland special pressure of several of the —mass misery and starvation—smaller countries, a sub-confer-politicians could take back home for deserting them in the strugg and all that the United States was ence is being called to meet in the with them from Montevideo were against American imperialism. willing to discuss at such a moment was the Pan-American Highway. The Latin press launched

willing to discuss at such a moment was the Pan-American Highway. The Latin press launched

conference is always frozen in admains to be seen. Such unions
ship; all about the evils of war
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life them from Money down against American imperiatism.

What will come of all this, remains to be seen. Such unions
have been contemplated many
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have been contemplated many
have been contemplated many

eleven committees. These met in their countries—currency stabiliting for Hull. Evidently someting for over the conference of Nations and distinct from the League of Nations and distinct from the League of Over the United States and more to the United States and more opposed by it, with economic interest and distinct from the Nazi hangement and the Nazi hangement But the answer came with curt bing big had been promised him. been pro Puig Casauranc brought up the Portuguese observers to sit in, lis- those of the larger South American

(Continued from Page 5)
somewhere, some demogogic, bombastic declamation that would sound good in print it will be and be did judge of the continued from Page 5)
sisted and sailed for Montevideo.
Hull sailed too. He was instructed and thereafter. Here, the U.S. love and trust, join our powerful can work with less delicacy—there northern sister, for we believe in will be little publicity trained on her." The kept press of other larger Latin American countries echoed similar sentiments. At Montevideo the work of the

conference was distributed among Opposition Forces At Montevideo But despite all these honeyed

as the conference terminated its litex summer. These countries cristicized Argentina and Mexico for was collected at our meeting.

And all that the Latin American the United States at Montevideo, pecially of Montreal are already

tion Roosevelt and Hull called preliminary conferences with individual representatives at Washington,
urging them not to bring up
troublesome questions at Montevideo. Especially did they plead
with Puig Casauranc, of Mexico,
to lay off on the debt question.
They insisted that it would be exceedingly embarrassing to air all
that in the midst of nice, decent,
that in the midst of nice, decent,
full-dress gentlemen, but Puig in
liminary conferences with individsystems

2. Inter-American debt probblems
3. Inter-American economic organizations.

The Conference in Santiago will
organization will
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organization for the coming war.
But beneath the surface, the deepdent Roosevelt's declaration will
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The Conference in Santiago will
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MONTREAL GREETS GERMAN WORKERS Montreal, Canada

To the German Proletarian Fighters against the Hitler Terror:

A few weeks ago, Jay Lovestone 900 workers and intellectuals in Montreal. The first-hand information brought to us by Comrade

We, the workers of Montreal, The conference had set up an "effective" peace machinery and had "settled" the war between Bolivia and Paraguay (which war, of course, broke out again as soon

politicians could take back home for deserting them in the struggle experiencing the effects of Hitler's bloody rule in Germany. Here too

R.P.C. Against "New" International

The Revolutionary Policy Committee of the I.L.P. has recently clarified its attitude to the Communist International and also to the proposed organization of a "new" International.

In a bulletin issued in the early part of December 1933, they say:

"The Revolutionary Policy Committee cannot agree that there is any justification for the formation of a new International, and urges members of the I.L.P. to oppose most strenuously any tendency that may widen the existing gap between any sections of the revolutionary movement and the Communist International.

"It does not, however, consider that unconditional association with the C.I. will in the present circumstances be most advantageous in the development of working-class struggle. But it suggests that the I.L.P. should welcome the suggestion made by the C.I. of association as a sympathetic body on the basis of the Twenty-One Conditions, if it is satisfied that the correct interpretation of those

This declaration coming, as it does, on the heels of the most frantic efforts at the organization of a centrist international (The Paris Conference and the later efforts of Trotsky) is indeed to be welcomed. Especially is this so in the light that Brockway, Maxton and Paton tend to look upon the Paris Conference as a sort of up-to-date version of the Zimmerwald Conference and will in the coming Easter congress of the I.L.P. attempt to commit the Congress to a policy definitely favoring the establishment of a new international

The Revolutionary Policy Committee is to be congratulated on the firm and clear stand which it has taken for the unity of the world revolutionary forces as against the intensification of the political confusion now existing in the revolutionary and communist movement.

The Road to Revolutionary Unity

by G. F. M.

18, 1933) has no comment to make But what guarantee is there that C.P.G. which is blocking unity of on the above quotation. It does, however, wax very indignant at another quotation from the same bulletin, dealing with the trade union question. The bulletin of the R. P. C. quotes Lozowsky as follows:

"In creating the Red Trade Union organizations, have you strengthened the trade unions? Do you want to strengthen them? So long as we do not so long as the trade union apparatus is not destroyed, so long will they keep back a portion of the workers."

To which the London Daily Worker remarks that the quota tion is one "which every good reformist trade unionist now knows by heart." Finally, in order to al-

munist practice in the trade unions in Great Britain during the last 12 months."

This it must be admitted is an rgument worthy of notice since the C.P.G.B. during the course of the last year has pursued a more or less constructive policy in the trade unions and has not applied the disastrous union-splitting line which became the official course elsewhere in the Comintern. We must ask, however, why ex-

amine the trade union line of the C.P.G.B. only during the last 12 months? Why not before? not also the trade union line of other sections of the Comintern?

The answer must be apparent to every revolutionary worker. Also the C.P.G.B. had begun to practice a dual unionist course but re-

this course will not once again be action thru its insistence on the or-changed. Just so long as the Com-ganization of "pure red unions" to intern and the R.I.L.U. do not openly and frankly condemn dual unionism and union-splitting, and return, on an international scale, to Leninist tactics on the trade union field; just so long is there a legitimate and real basis for sus-picion as to the course also of the C.P.G.B.

Does the C.P.G.B. maintain that weaken and disrupt them (The reformist trade unions—G.F.M.) before the mases, so long as we do not disrupt their discipline, came to power? Was it not the course of the C.P.G. to build the R.G.O. as a dual center to the re-formist mass unions? Is it not a fact that even today when the suppressed and tortured German workers are organizing underground inter-party trade unions, it is the

Workers League Set Up in Canada

A new organization, known as the Canadian Workers League, has just been established. This organization will meet a burning need of the Canadian workers, especially since various revolutionary groups have been declared illegal and have been suppressed by the govern-

From the programmatic state-

Workers Age

Is an accurate source of information on the course of developments in the international labor and revolutionary movements.

To keep pace with the rapidly It is quite significant that the versed itself in time on the basis changing events you should read Age we will deal, more exhaustive-London Daily Worker in which of its own disastrous experiences. It regularly. A subscription is the ly, with the program of the Canathis report is printed (December On that score we have no quarrel. best guarantee for receiving it.

be affiliated with the R.I.L.U.?

As for the U.S.A., here the destructive trade union line of the R.I.L.U. has been carried out with appalling results which have brought discredit upon the name of Communism. Yet the C.P.U.S.A. persists in that attitude and constantly repeats that the building of the red trade unions is the main

task of the Party.

The doubts of the R.P.C. on the trade union question are fully justified in the light of the whole course of the Comintern. If Comrade Pollitt feels that the trade union line of the C.P.G.B. can not be challenged it is his job to see that that line becomes the rule and not the exception, in the tactical course of the Comintern.

ment it is clear that the Canadian Workers League is a revolutionary working class organization, fighting for the abolition of capitalism and for a workers republic.

In its relation to other working

class parties, the C.W.L. is against the reformist policies of the Sociallists as well as against the sectar-ian course of the Communist Party of Canada.

Internationally, it is definitely opposed to the organization of a "new" centrist International as well as against the Trotskyist efforts to set up a Fourth International

The C.W.L. pledges to cooperate revolutionary and communist forces on the basis of a correct tactical line.

The organization will begin, soon, to publish a monthly paper.

In a future issue of Workers
Age we will deal, more exhaustiveworld to make this a hurning

A NEW PERSPECTIVE

(Continued from Page 2)

that have left its ranks.

Recently Comrade Brockway said he believed that the probability was that the I. L. P. would declare itself for a new international unless the C. I. would soon undergo a drastic change. He was against an opposition party in the C.P.S.U. and against a return to the Weimar Constitution for Germany. This fact and the fact of the Swedish C.P.O.'s behaviour is fairly good evidence that the new C.I. would get off to a good start in providing the unifying force, so much needed, to rally all communist elements outside the offi-cial parties. By not putting ourselves in the forefront of the fight for a new C. I. we are merely allowing Trotsky to mishandle the movement in his own sweet way.

Much has been said about "the logic of positions" and the inevitable road to Trotskyism. Since Gitlow and Trotsky had the same premise (Becker spoke to me of new Kronstadt rebellions) a logical course brought Gitlow close to the Trotskyites. But if Herberg is going to prove by logic that Zam will take the same course when Zam starts from a different premise (Zam says the C. I. is not a traitor to Communism) then his logic is powerful indeed. Herberg prove that when Zam says, no opposition party in the Soviet Union, he really means the opposite? If Herberg can prove this his entire fight is won.

One more point was raised by with such organizations as are certain circumstances, to can estriving for a unification of all new party then why not a new international? If such new parties ternational? If such new parties and communist ternational? Brockway. If it is permissible, in were formed on a democratic basis would it be wrong for them to constitute themselves a new international? It would seem that the C. world to make this a burning question.

I.C.O. GREETS COMMUNIST OPPOSITIO

(Continued from Page 3)

skyism, the acceptance of which would have disastrous consequences for the C.P.O. The C.P.O. cannot adopt the view-point of Comrade Zam, that in relation to the centrist parties we use a "tactic aiming at the conversion of these parties to communism—rather than their destruction and the absorption of their masses in the communist parties" without giving up its character as a communist organization. The centrist parties are reformist organizations even if they have separated themselves organizationally from open reformism, and the winning-over of their members for communism is impossible without an organizational break with the reformist elements. It is not our task to guard the organizational unity of centrist parties. On the contrary, we must do everything so that their members will break with the centrists and will adhere to communist principles and correct communist tactics not merely in words but in deeds, i.e. to the Communist Op-

The founding of a new party which Comrade Zam proposes must lead to capitulation before centrism and Trotskyism and to the destruction of the hopeful beginnings which our American organization has made towards winning over members of the official C. P. The organizations of the C.P.O. must strive to become the communist parties of their countries, but only thru gathering around themselves the communist workers of their countries, thru winning over the official sections of the C. I. in capitalist countries.

The proposal of Comrade Zam to establish a new C. I. without the C.P.S.U. is from the standpoint of communist principle not acceptable. There can be no Communist International without the leading party of the first proletarian dictatorship. Even after the I.C.O. succeeds in winning over a number of important sections of the C.I. it cannot found a new international without the C.P.S.U. It will remain even then a communist tendency striving for a reformed C.I., i.e. the cooperation of the C.P.S.U. on the basis of correct communist tactics and the elimination of the monopoly of leadership by this party.

The proposal for the international broadening of the I.C.O. is that its organizations in individual countries fight as the C.P.O., fight as the advance guard for the reform of the C.I., that they win practical successes in

The I. C. O. Letter

this struggle and show themselves to be the ablest fighters for communism.

WE ADVANCE IN GERMANY

Our German organizations, the C.P.G.O. has become, despite the most difficult conditions, a recognized factor in the illegal German labor movement. The ranks which our illegal literature reaches are greater than the number of readers we had during the time of legality. In America our organization has also strongly increased. If this work continues, if everything is done thru international cooperation and mutual ideological and material support in order to secure its progress, then, the I.C.O. will gain prominence in other countries too.

The victory of fascism in Germany, the g cist tendencies in other countries, the open bankcruptcy of reformism in Germany, which was the strongest pillar of the Second International, the effects of the economic development and of the capitalist attempts to get out of the crisis—all these present new and complicated problems to the communist world movement and the international labor movement. They can not be solved by the ultraleft methods. They can certainly not be solved by the centrist-Trotskyite methods, which, consciously or unconsciously, lead to the destruction and liquidation of Com-

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Wednesday Evening, February 21st (eve of Washington's Birthday)

Vernon Griffith's Orchestra

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munism. The solution of these problems call more than ever for the greatest exertion of critical and positive work by the C.P.O. This work is progressing and is proving to be fruitful.

AGAINST CENTRISM IN GERMANY

In Sweden the leadership of the C.P.S. has gone over to centrism and opportunism. On the other hand, due to the intervention of the I.C.O. the fundamental problems of communist tactics in the world today have been placed before the membership of the C. P. of Sweden and the world of labor in general. Thus criticism from the ranks of the members of the C.P.S. has already begun to set in. The inconvenient insistence of the I.C.O. against any opportunist deviations or vacillations has everywhere aroused forces which oppose them, has increased the authority of the I.C.O. and has created new connections several countries (England, Denmark, Holland,

CLARITY AND FIRMNESS—THE NEED OF THE HOUR

The international labor movement is at present in the process of great fermentation and transformation-thru which transformation the labor movement is to have the ability and readiness to lead the world revolution a step further, to fight for a new big break thru the capitalist front. This involves the decline and liquidation of reformism and the raising of the communist parties to a higher stage of maturity and ability to struggle. It is inevitable that this tremendously deep process of transformation embracing dozens of countries, millions of workers and a considerable period of time, should be connected with all sorts of signs of disintegration, vacillations and errors in the camp of the working class.

Communist inflexibility, firmness and clarity are necessary at such a time in order to set right comrades who are vacillating, to clear up confusion, in order to prepare to win the final victory.

We hope, comrades, that your conference will come forward with new proposals for the successful struggle of the C.P.O. in the U.S.A. and for the I.C.O.

With communist greetings,
HEINRICH BRANDLER

For the Buro of the International Communist Opposition

Paris, Dec., 10, 1933.