A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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DOWN TOOLS ON MAY FIRST!

Join In Labor Parade To Madison Square Park

TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF N. Y. May Day Call From the Labor May Day Conference Comrades; brothers and sisters; fellow working men and women:

On this First of May, the great international holiday of the workers of America and of the world, we call upon you to assemble and to demonstrate your solidarity, your

might and your power.

May Day as a labor holiday was first conceived by the American workers fifty years ago in their fight for the eight-hour day. The workers of the rest of the world have also adopted May Day as their symbol of solidarity. All over the globe today, workers are gathering to proclaim their opposition to a system of starvation and war and their determination to fight for a better world.

and their determination to fight for a better world.

On this May Day, 1934, the workers of America are assembling to demonstrate against a system that condemns twelve million people to idleness and hunger in a world of plenty. Twelve million jobless people, with their wives and children comprise over a third of our population. Millions of children are suffering from malnutrition in a land rich in the possibility of a good life for all. Over a third of our population is hungry, roofless, or living in slums and hovels, wearing shoddy and rags.

In this, the richest country in the history of the world, forty million people have been turned into little short of

beggars. They must depend upon private charity or be-

come wards of the state. A system that produces such masery and degradation must stand condemned in the eyes of every intelligent worker in this country.

AGAINST THAT SYSTEM—AND FOR A BETTER WORLD FOR THE WORKERS—WE CALL UPON YOU TO JOIN WITH US ON THIS MAY

WE ASK YOU TO PROTEST AGAINST THE RISING TIDE OF COMPANY UNIONISM, AGAINST THE DANGER OF WAR AND FASCISM. WE ASK YOU TO JOIN IN A MIGHTY DEMONSTRATION FOR BREAD AND WORK, FOR PEACE, AND FOR A SANE, CLASSLESS SOCIETY!

American labor finds itself today at the crossroads. Faced by the collapse of capitalism, the government, through the NRA, granted workers the "right" to organize unrough the NKA, granted workers the "right" to organize and bargain collectively with their employers. But the employers got the lion's share of the bargain. The government took the initiative in organizing the industrialists. The employers won the right to fix prices and to exact any tribute from the consuming masses. THEIR DIVINE RIGHT OF PROFITS AND OF UNLIMITED MONOPOLY OVER INDUSTRY WAS SANCTIONED AND PERPETUATED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

Now these giants of industry, organized one hundred

per cent, are using their power and influence to try to wipe out genuine unionism. They are attempting to fasten the yoke of company unionism on the necks of the work-

On this May Day, the workers must raise a mighty protest against any attempt to aid or legalize the company union. We must compel the government and the to recognize only bona fide unions organized and controlled by workers.

War Danger and Fascism

The danger of Fascist savagery today threatens the whole of Europe. All workers must know that fascism is nothing but bloody terroristic capitalism revealed in its true colors. Unable any longer to rule under the guise of democracy, capitalism casts off its sheepskin and stands exposed as a bloodthirsty wolf eager to swallow all labor organizations and destroy everything that labor has fought for and achieved.

In order to divide the working class, fascism has also brought in the issue of race and religion, just as in America the ruling class attempts to set workers against each other on lines of race and color and religion.

But the main purpose of fascism is to destroy working class organizations. In some countries, these fascists—the murder bands of capitalism—have called themselves "National Socialists" in order to deceive the workers. They are as far apart from Socialism as barbarism is from civilization, as darkness is from light.

In this country, capitalism is already preparing for any emergency by organizing groups of fascists. The great danger of fascism is that it intensifies nationalism and spreads the seeds of hatred of one people against another. It has already stimulated the armament race all over the world, which will inevitably plunge mankind into another World War, another orgy of slaughter.

Working Men and Working Women

Let us turn this May Day Celebration into a powerful and mighty demonstration of working class unity against the bloody hordes of fascism. Let us raise the banner of international brotherhood against the danger of a new world war. Let us raise the flag of peace. Let us launch

a mighty demonstration for bread and work for all. Let us proclaim our eternal opposition to a system that has made outcasts and beggars of forty million people in the United States. Let us prepare the way for a workers' world of peace and plenty for all who toil!

ON THIS MAY DAY, THE WORKING CLASS

OF AMERICA SENDS ITS FRATERNAL GREET-

To the workers of Germany, Italy and Austria, temporarily under the heel of fascism, but already organizing to overthrow it.

To the heroic Austrian Socialists, whose desperate struggle against the murderous forces of reaction has aroused the sympathy and admiration of the whole world. To the workers of France, Spain and other countries, who are uniting their ranks against the danger of fascism and reaction.

To the workers of England, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden, who are marching steadfastly toward Socialism.

To the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union, who are building, amidst the greatest of difficulties, a new, Socialist order.

THE WORKERS OF AMERICA SEND SPECIAL GREETINGS.

To all workers, political prisoners and martyrs of the labor movement in the concentration camps and dungeons

To Tom Mooney and all other political prisoners jailed in this country for fighting labor's battles,

ON INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY, 1934, WE CALL UPON THE WORKERS OF THIS, THE GREATEST METROPOLIS IN THE WORLD, TO COME OUT IN THE STREETS IN TENS AND HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, TO CLOSE TREIR RANKS AND MARCH TO MADISON SQUARE PARK IN ONE POWERFUL UNITED LABOR DEMONSTRATION.——

AGAINST fascism and war! AGAINST company unionism and the open shop! AGAINST starvation and degradation!

FOR the six hour day and the five day week! FOR unemployment relief and social insurance! FOR international solidarity of the workers! FOR bread, for work, for peace! FOR A WORKERS' WORLD!

THE MAY DAY LABOR CONFERENCE

United Elects National Officers

Boston, Mass.

According to official reports is sued by the general office of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, William J. Mackesy of Lynn was elected General Organ-izer and George A. Wilson of Lynn was elected General Secretary-Treasurer in the recent national tration of Dressmakers Union Loelection.

The final count showed Mackesy leading Biedenkapp of New York cheer rang thru the crowded aisles by over 700 votes. The vote for the of the big hall as the thousands of ganizer is as follows: Mackesy voiced their wholehearted approval 4,813, Biedenkapp 4,090, Zimmer of the past record and the future man 2,557 Makes 2,122 man 2,557, Mahan 2,132 and Lach plans of the administration. 257. The vote for General Secretary-Treasure showed 7,078 for Wilson and 5,834 for Holmes.

The following were elected to the General Executive Board. Territory No. 1 which includes Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, elected Rose Gautreau, George Wilkins and Fred Dufour of Lynn, Michael Salvaggio and Bernard Hallett of Boston, Eli La all of New York. Plante, Ernest Mazmanian and Leonard J. Ford of Haverhill, Albert Shore of Lawrence and Alfred Bertrand of Marlboro. Territory No. 2 including New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland elected Antonio Camposa, Sam Ziebel, Max Spierer,

Officers Installed In Local 22 I.L.G.W.U.

Great Enthusiasm For Progressive Administration

cal 22, I.L.G.W.U., was formally installed in office. Cheer after

A significant feature of the occasion was the participation in the program of a brass band and a mandolin orchestra, both organized from union members by the recently established educational department of the Local. The Union

Nat Lilienstein and Joseph Shadah,

The newly elected officials will take office on May First.

manager, in the midst of a forest of flowers, a tremendous ovation occurred. Louis Nelson opened the proceedings commenting on the great importance of the occasion. The installation of officers took place at the hands of David Dubinsky, President of the I.L.G.W.U., who outlined the great progress made by the International in the last year as well as the very grave and difficult problems ahead. He called attention to the various differences in policy and tactics between the administration of Local 22 and that of the International but emphasized all the more the effectiveness, responsibility and union loyalty of the Local 22 leadership.

Julius Hochman, general mana-

New York City.

One of the most enthusiastic and spirited meetings ever held by a union took place at Mecca Temple on Tuesday, April 17, when the newly elected progressive administure of the evening—the address by Charles S. Zimmerman, manager.

In forceful words, Comrade Zimmerman pictured the tremendous headway made by Local 22 in the recent period, progress organizationally, financially and in defense of the economic interests of the dressmakers. The struggle for the unity of the dressmakers, culminating in the building up of a powerful dressmakers union in the I.L. G.W.U. was strongly emphasized. Comrade Zimmerman concluded by outlining the program of the administration for the next year.

Amidst the strains of the International, the memorable meeting con-

-W. H.

"ART IN INDUSTRY" M. Bourke-White "ART IN INDUSTRI" | April 29, 8 p. m., 51 W. 14 St.

Participating Organizations

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. American Workers' Party. Ass'n. of Civil Works Employees. Bag and Portfolio Workers' Union.

Bakery & Confectionery Workers' Union. Brotherhood of Painters Dist. Council # 9. Boot & Shoe Workers Union. Brooklyn Art Decorators Club Communist Party (Opposition).

Communist League of America. Communist League of Struggle Furriers Joint Council. Grocery and Dairy Clerks Union. Hebrew American Typographical Union. International Ladies Garment Workers Usion. International Pocketbook and Suitcase Workers

Industrial Workers of the World. Ideal Painters Club. Jewish National Workers Alliance. Joint Board of Cloak Makers Union. Joint Board of Dressmakers and Waistmakers

Ladies Garment Shipping Clerks Union. League for Industrial Democracy. Millinery Workers Union Poale Zion. Painters Supreme Club of Boro Park. Rebel Arts.

Socialist Party of America. Socialist Consumers League. Student League for Industrial Democracy. United Hebrew Trades. United Neckwear Makers Union. Waiters Union. Workers Unemployed Union.
Workers' Circle.
Workmen's Circle Schools.
Voice of Labor.
Young People's Socialist League.
Young Circle League of America.

The C. P. O. in Harlem

of the Harlem Branch of the C.P.
O. for the past year. In Harlem our work among the Negro masses has already produced very defi
white seem by examining the record than twenty at most sessions: This may not gibe with the tremendous it appears that Secretary of War Dern, down in Washington, calls the local baseball mogul into the conference and suggests the adnite results that are certain to remain of permanent significance for the Communist movement of this

The Harlem C.P.O. Group Our Harlem C.P.O. group was day, one year after, we have over presentatives restaurant. thirty members, all except three ing class population of Harlem and

The Unemployed Movement
The Harlem Association of the Unemployed, a branch of the Workers Unemployed Union, was established by our comrades even before our C.P.O. branch was organized. It has become probably the largest labor organization in Harlem, far outstripping the C.P.-controlled Unemployed Council, which is in fact, hardly more than a memory today. In direct contrast to the general decline of the organizations of the unemployed everywhere, the Harlem Association of the Unemployed has continued to the Unemployed has continued to the Unemployed organizations, also, it is financially in a good position, despite heavy expenses. In all our work, we have probably gained more every viewpoint have been excellent. We have probably gained more members that the first school than in any other way. Our courses have been varied and effective. During the first term we had a class in Communist fundamentals and another in American history. The second term consisted of four classes: Essentials of Social Science (Communist fundamentals), The Negro in American History, Basic Principles of Marxism and a symposium course, Great Negro Leaders. Our third short term has three classes: What Is the Communist Opposition, Modern Tendencies in World Thought and Modern Tendencies in World Thought and Modern Tendencies in World Cabor.

Our initial educational venture in Harlem was a Discussion Group, provided the proposition of the probably gained more members thru the school than in any other way. Our courses have been excellent. We have be The Unemployed Movement good position, despite heavy expenses. In all our work, we have instituted in the Fall of 1932 and most carefully preserved the gen-minely non-partisan character of the organization, in direct contrast to other continuous that a year. In a sense it was the foundation of all our work. to other sections of the unemploy- Now it has been merged into the ed movement.

The Harlem Interracial Forum The Harlem Interracial Forum, tendance at the forum has been consistently growing so that today it is easily the biggest institution of its kind in the community. And substantial that it is no wonder we are referred to, in many quarters, as the "Communist invasion in Harlem."

—W.

One year \square

New York City. there are forums aplenty in Har-What can be accomplished by lem! It is of some interest to note hard work and persistence, operat- here that the C.P. forum in Haring on the basis of the tested tactes lem is dragging out a miserable ex- ried, a few weeks ago, a story of the Communist Opposition, can istence, with an attendance of less which sounded like an echo from be seen by examining the record than twenty at most sessions! This Roman times.

Recently the forum has been branching out its activities. It was represented at various Scottsboro gatherings and at the anti-war congress held in New York some months ago. Only a short time ago it sent Comrade Welsh to Washingorganized a little more than a year ton to get in touch with the student ago, on February 9, 1933, in fact. We started with seven members, four colored and three white. Tosplendid demonstration against jim-crowism in the House of Re-

Our Comrades, of course, attend being Negroes! And a group of other forums as well, with very Communists in Harlem good results, as far as spreading habit of dishing out free circus something! Our group is our political influence and making and gladiatorial fights to their really representative of the work- important contacts are concerned.

school and the results from every cession!

Harlem New Workers School.

The "Communist Invasion" It would take too long to list too, was established by our com- all of the activities and fields in rades before our group was formal-ly organized. From its first meet-ing in December 1932 to the pres-is now a definite force to be reckent, the close of the second season, oned with in Harlem. Our group the forum has been a striking suc- and its work are well known to cess. We have strictly adhered to a policy of non-partisan progressivism and have had prominent speakers from the Socialist Party, from the official Communist Party, from our own group and its work are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect by them. Exexpect the first work are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect by them. Exexpect the first work are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect by them. Exexpect the first work are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect by them. Exexpect the first work are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect by them. Exexpect the first work are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect by them. Exexpect the first work are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect by them. Exexpect the first work are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect by them. Exexpect the first work are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect to the first work are well known to considerable sections of workers are well known to considerable sections of workers and held in respect to the considerable sections of workers are well known to considerable sections of workers are well known to considerable sections of workers are well known to considerable sections of worker from our own group and from many other labor and Negro organizations. The topics have been of the widest variety and here. Our proof the widest variety and have been gress has been so rapid and so of great educational value. The at- substantial that it is no wonder we

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Modern Bread And Circus

A metropolitan daily paper car-

calls the local baseball mogul into conference and suggests the advisability of his baseball team training in a certain part of Un-cle Sam's domain "for political reasons". The Washington Post of January 24 carries the yarn.

A big league team training i Puerto Rico is considered by Mr Dern as the "exact prescription" for "keeping occupied the minds that otherwise might be fomenting political rearrangements of the is-

The Romans of old were in the hungry and rebellious under-dog is bound up with all phases of the life of the community. It has already become a political factor that, in many fields, has outstripped the official Communist Party and the Socialists.

* * *

The Harlem New Workers School
An institution that we are very proud of is the Harlem New Workers at that time and their consequent feeling of unrest is downtown. We are now completing the third term of the Harlem will arrange to have a Royal Procession!" population. Disraeli of England

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT

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In addition, the book includes reproductions of Rivera's other mural painting in this country -the destroyed Rockefeller Center mural, with many details; his Detroit museum series on heavy industry; and his work in California. Rivera himself has contributed a long introduction in which he discusses the problems of his American work and tells his own story of the forces and conditions which brought about the destruction of his mural in Rockefeller Center.

with an explanatory text by

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COVICI - FRIEDE

To be published May 7, 1934.

PATRONIZE BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA, 535 6th Ave.-14 St..

Communist Movement and Its Defenders An Answer to Earl Browder

Editor's note: The magazine "The Modern Thinker" in its March issue ran an interview with Earl Browder, General Secretary of the C.P.U.S.A. entitled "Communism tionary phrase-mongering, empty and its renegades." For its May is boasting and self-deception for sue it carries an interview with its aims and views. The interview reprinted below epitomizes in brief

1. Do you acknowledge the to set the masses in motion. charge that the Communist Party of America (Opposition) is a renegade Party?

No, we are not. Many of our members are founders and builders of the Party. We founded it when its present leaders were in many instances (William Z. Foster, William F. Dunne, Robert Minor, etc.) still bitter opponents of Communism. We saw it through the Palmer Red raid days, through the Coolidge boom days when it was not so "fashionable" to be a Communist. We are not likely to desert it now, when capitalism is proving its bankruptcy.

We are loyal to our party. Our differences with the official leaders do not touch the fundamental prin-trial structure. It sows division in ciples of communism-overthrow of capitalism, proletarian dictatorship, soviet power. Both factions, the official and ours, agree on them. Our differences are tactical-how to get there, how to obtain our objectives, how to build the party,

will not bear examination. We We are called "renegades" for the same purpose. Abuse is substituttactical line.

The present party line, in this country and in all countries outside of the Soviet Union, suffers from the following defects:

a. Marxism is treated as a ritualistic creed, a ready-made solution of all problems by means of a few

stitutes romantic pseudo-revolurealistic analysis. It isolates the of the Communist Opposition and party from the masses by proposals and worst of all and slogans ill-adapted to real conditions and the actual state of mind of the masses, which two factors conceptions of the Communist Opposition. use the splendid theoretical instru-ment of Marx and Lenin as a lever

> c. The official party espouses the fatal tactics of dual unionism, draining out all the revolutionary

shows that. Draining out the radicals and progressives plays into the hands of the bureaucrats, surrenders the backward workers to them, and abandons the long, hard task of defeating those bureaucrats and winning the conservative unions for a fighting policy and an industhe labor movement, puts upon the Communists the onus of unionsplitting and benefits only the

bureaucrats and bosses. d. The party has abandoned the objectives, how to obtain our objectives, how to build the party, how to strengthen its influence and insure its victory. Our differences should be discussed inside the Party. We did not choose expulsion. The present line of the Party and International will not hear expension. We have a committee the property workers to any the program cancel each other out. were expelled to prevent discussion. port the party program, and has nothing to do with the united front.

e. They have violated the Comed for argument because the present leaders have no valid arguments. Comradely discussion would result in the adoption of our stifled, discussion of basic tactics prevented, leaders and officials ap-2. What are your fundamental objections to the Moscow general line?

The present party line in this pointed from above, questioners and above of the Communist International, and of right-ward moving elements who, expelling the community of the istic creed, a ready-made solution of all problems by means of a few cut and dried formulae.

b. The official movement sub
International. The Russian Party has a monopoly of leadership in place of being the first among equals. The parties are led by puppet leadership, kept in leading little regarding. Some will go left, some right.

We stand with the Communist International is mevitable disintention.

by Bertram D. Wolfe

strings, their initiative destroyed

f. Tactics appropriate to the Soviet Union are mechanically transferred to all countries, overlooking the fact that all other countries have basically different conditions and problems. Tactics are transferred like blue prints, the varied nature of objective conditions in each country, the different mood of the masses, the difdraining out all the revolutionary and progressive workers from the conservative unions into "revolutionary unions." Unions have to have a program broad and elemenhave a program broad a ferences in its degree of developcialist society.

> 3. Do you think the newly created American Workers Party will help clarify the situation?

No, confuse it, but not much. Its lements are diverse and contradictory; it has many of the defects of the official party without the virtue of being communist; its program is confused in content and fuzzy in language—an eclectic friendly relations the Soviet Union elements gathered together likewise. It will likely be a still birth.

4. What is your reaction to the

Fourth International? Another still birth. It is made up of leftward moving elements who have left the Socialist Interpointed from above, questioners national but are repulsed by the sveophantic, hero-cult. Stalin in the Soviet Union, and little Stalins like to keep a Communist position and Browder in other countries. There is no collective leadership in the International The Russian Party International is inevitable disin-

and strengthen and correct its line. We regard the Fourth International tendency as an obstacle.

5. Do you think that Trotsky is unsuited as a leader because of his personal theatricality?

He has personal attributes that are not altogether desirable in a the Soviet State, his efforts towards a Fourth International, his attitude towards the building of socialism in the Soviet Union.

methods in each land for solving tains, and it correctly tries to mainthe international task which is tain, diplomatic relations with the identical for all lands. the overthrow of capitalism and the estab-lishment of workers' rule and so-macy in so far as they do not vitiate its working class policy. Litvinov has scored some swell victories for working class diplomacy while dressed in a stove pipe hat and a cutaway coat. Overalls wouldn't have helped, would they? Do you think that if Troyanovsky Do you think that if Troyanovsky dressed in overalls that would feed workers ruled, as if the entire class American workers or help him in supported our party. Our leaders the fulfillment of his tasks?

The Soviet Union correctly seeks the Socialists. The parts of the program cancel each other out. The elements gathered together like-countries, and to trade with them. This is to the advantage of the the methods of Lenin, not ape the Soviet Union and furthers the construction of socialism there. It helps to prolong peace as long as possible. The diplomatic and comIn Russia from day to day, even nercial relationships between the moment to moment. Our party Soviet Union and capitalist lands, must analyze American realities Fascist or otherwise, do not injure and become what it was on the the working class movements of road to becoming prior to our exthose lands. Both the maintenance pulsion and the change of line in of peace and the building of Social- 1929—an American Communist ism help the workers in all lands. Party speaking to the American

> 8. What are your aims? nd International, to restore inner party democracy, and to restore ist-Leninist tactical line, so that it toric destiny, the conquest of can grow and go forward to vic-

9. Can you give specific examples of tactics that are correct for Russia and wrong for America?

Surely. Here are two: "revolu-tionary unions" and the "united front from below." Both ideas are derived from tactical practices that are perfectly correct for the Soviet Union and wrong for every capitalist country.

In the Soviet Union where there leader, but that is secondary. His for over 16 years, there are no political line is wrong, his tactical conceptions, his attitude towards Any organization which would not have support of proletarian dictatorship in its program, would be neither a union nor a workers organization. But here the workers

> other kind. There is only one party. the Communist. It has the support working class is not split. There is neither need nor possibility of united fronts such as Lenin conworld—only "united front from be-lew around the Communist Party."

Yet our party acts here as if it have only their feet in America, their heads are in Russia.

10. But didn't the Russian approach succeed in Russia? Why shouldn't it succeed in America?

working class in its own language, of its own problems, and proposing To reunite the Communist Party such tactics in this country as will lead the working class of the United States forward on the road he movement to a healthy, Marx- to the achievement of its own hisfor themselves and for the workers of the world.

For a 30 Hour Week

Employment Index 1929 ... 92.9 1932 ... 76.2 Amount of decrease ... 18%

by Israel Zimmerman

The statement printed below cast submitted by Israel Zimmerman, Sectoral properties of the General Continuity of the General Co

workers in 1926. If we would dis- without necessarily adding to plant tribute the 1932 man-hours among and equipment. The comparative these workers, it would necessitate figures of production in 1932 and a work-week of 30.8 on the average, and 28.3 with respect to the strate the truth of this assertion.

TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM

has, for some months, been reacting to the new world situation. For a while, the discontent in the Socialist party manifested itself cratic principles, as well as tactics and policies, was accentuated by the treacherous role and consequent collapse of the German Social-democracy. The death of

Left Shows Much Vitality The Revolutionary Policy Comnittee began with a series of draft programs which aroused considerable interest, support, resentment and opposition amongst the various groupings in the Socialist party. Finally, its program appeared in printed form. Frankly, we must state that we are surprised at the growing interest and substantial support that this program has managed to arouse in the SP ranks. We had not believed that there was that much vitality left in the

A Marxian Program

In substance, the program of the R.P.C. is Marxian. The principles of the Communist Manifesto are neither submerged nor diluted in it. In general, the program embraces the revolutionary Marxian teachings about the state, the pro-letarian dictatorship, the historical ceeds the dead Hillquit, the faltershows some grasp of the lessons of | Socialist party. the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia and the bankruptcy democratic movement the world over. This much must be granted, regardless of some serious shortcomings from which the program undoubtedly suffers.

The RPC And "Social Fascism"

movement. Pity particularly their of class struggle. weird misconception known as the theory of "social fascism"! These master-minds of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, who Maynard Krueger. professor of have been substituting bad labels for good analysis, will certainly Chicago, Chairman of the Local have a hard time explaining how a Cook County. Professor Krueger's ary of the SP, has a perpetual revolutionary working class pro- mortarboard is in the ring, very "out." Nobody ever knows whether

After reading Browder's confes- revolutionary resolutions. He spoke sion at the Eighth Party Convention that "there is also a real leftward movement among socialist between the two world internation workers, which tries, often con- als. In private conversation and fusedly, to give expression to a revolutionary policy" one is tempted to suspect that the theoretical position. And, more important, he inventors of the ECCI (a la Dr. has expressed his complete agree-Cook and Dr. Wirt) will now have ment with the party policies outto do some tall advising by cable lined in the "Anneal" issued by the as to how to liquidate this disturbing phenomenon in "so notoriously fascist an organization" as the American Socialist party!

Clarity Of Principle Essential

An Estimate of the R. P. C. Program

in a vague and confused movement the SP. From this point of view, which developed into a group of the program of the RPC suffers militants—in quotation marks. The seriously in the following respects:

Workers' Councils And Road To Power 1. Its section on "The Road to

Power," while substantially sound, Hillquit, who was a whole "brain would certainly be very much bettrust" unto himself amongst the ter if it had faced the question of ing class state are not instruments right wing elements of the Socialist party, further hastened the frankly, more thoroughly. Worktempo of leftward crystallization. As things went on, the militancy terms. The Russian proletariat has As things went on, the militancy of the self-styled militant group given them powerful content, began to vanish and, more and mighty enough to tear one-sixth of labor, shop committees of hitherto more, only the quotation marks the world out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and dynamic enough to bourgeoisie and dynamic enough to unorganized workers, dirt farm-Recent weeks have seen developments swerve sharply to the left. There was organized the Revolu
There was organized the Revolu
Recent weeks have seen developments at the cost of the Revolu
There was organized the Revolu
Ther ing of Socialist party members, soviet power than was one of its RPC has certainly erred seriously. united front. We cannot understand some of whom had become disil-lusioned with the "militants" who had been blessed into oblivion by ers' councils only in the most is absolutely essential. Better less Norman Thomas as well as cursed in the eyes of all principled left forces through their constant compromising of Marxian fundamenan understanding of the workers' ouncils, toward a comprehension of their role in the class war and

the revolution. In our opinion, this program fetish of legalism and the role of should have evaluated adequately the workers' councils, or soviets. It is sound. However, especially be-particularly today because of the growing decay of bourgeois demogration by the Socialist party, since the naid by the working classes of Germany and Austria for faith in the possibility of the capitalist. It is a great split of 1919, we feel it was the possibility of the capitalist frankly the role of the Red Terror inside the SP for an effective round. hould have evaluated adequately mass action in the class struggle gles. Why silence here on the part the possibility of the capitalist frankly the role of the Red Terror inside the SP for an effective revostate serving as an instrument of in the various stages of the prole- lutionary Marxist organization. working class freedom, because of tarian revolution. Again we say,

by Jay Lovestone

the rising menace of Fascism. The left wingers in the SP are entitled signers is not an increase in estimate of workers' councils which tionary efficacy. appeared in one of the first drafts the program: "Workers' councils-these basic units of the workdeveloped and organized in response to a revolutionary situation.

Legalism And Mass Action 2. In essence, the approach of

the RPC to the question of the

perhaps the RPC program would, then, have had thirty-seven instead of forty-seven signers. Under the circumstances an additional ten ing the world revolution.

The Question of Tactics

ing, as well as deliberate misre-objectives, if it does not demand presentation. The RPC program that its party, the SP, should should have been far more out- forthwith break organizationally its statement on the question of of clarity of principles, then, the for example, on the question of the ness of the ILP of England, yet, it why the RPC criticizes only the official Communist party. Certainly, the Social-democratic Internation-

clear that the SP is as guilty of sectarianism as the official CP. except that it lacks the militancy ften displayed by the CP and its

The New Socialist Dynasty

The following article was sent in by an active Socialist party member in

Wisconsin.—Editor. Out of the midwest a new Social- coalition—in Europe.

lenge to all radical groups?

in May, four figures will dominate the "left" forces. It seems undeniable that they will defeat New The RPC And "Social Fascism" | Table that they will defeat New York's Old Guard machine, which In fact, the mere manifestation | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself. His insistence | It is possible that in time Andy finds itself today somewhere vague- may defeat himself today somewhere vague- may of such a phenomenon, in a tho-ly to the right of the New Deal. that no program in the Middle roughly reformist organization like With the party machinery in their West omit his name, that no conthe SP, is in itself very significant. control these militants—Andy Bieference be held without Biemiler, worked in the patterns of capitalwhich has been responsible for the
miller, Maynard Krueger, Jack Sulas keynoter, often prove an emism. Socialism makes them Nationdisastrous defeats inflicted upon livan and Clarence Senior—will barassment to his party confreres al Figures. marionettes parading as the theo-reticians of the official Communist mold the party into a true weapon transportation. But for the moment

Will they take the opportunity?

economics at the University of

led the American delegation in its

Revolutionary Policy Committee. Yet Krueger will go to the convention devoid of public comitments, his august name unsigned o any program. ready to lean to the forefront of any faction that Clarity and rigidity of principles seems likely to land on top. In the are essential in a revolutionary movement. Especially costly is the lack of this for a genuine leftward

who declared against toleration and A very similar but more en- and make him the great defender

Socialist party.

Who are these young midwestern militants? What sort of program and policies will they furnish the SP in this trying period of challenge to all radical groups?

of the revolutionary Philadelphia moves to the left he can conveniently repudiate these vicious sentiments as having come from the Old Guard majority of the prospect of higher yet have sobered Biemiller considerably. His attitude on the NRA, the united the can conveniently repudiate these vicious sentiments as having come from the Old Guard majority of the prospect of higher yet have sobered Biemiller considerably. His attitude on the NRA, the united the can conveniently repudiate these vicious sentiments as having come from the Old Guard majority of the True Philadelphia moves to the left he can conveniently repudiate these vicious sentiments as having come from the Old Guard majority of the True Philadelphia moves to the left he can conveniently repudiate these vicious sentiments as having come from the Old Guard majority of the True Philadelphia moves to the left he can conveniently repudiate these vicious sentiments as having come from the Old Guard majority of the Prospect of higher yet have sobered the Old Guard majority of the NEC. When the party convention meets front and the war problem, rivals in conservatism and lack of clarity that binds them all together. He is those of the peerless leader, Nor-the only one who could have be-

> he holds a key position, as the link between the right Socialism of

> Clarence Senior, national secret-

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and retract or reject whatever isn't popular. His recent orgy of stupidities on the Communist party, published after Madison Square Garden, are in this category. At the moment they are Senior's own RPC is politically finished. We inevitability of the armed struggle, and a correct evaluation of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, it formist policy on the American of the revolutionary Philadelphia ing Gerber, the aging Oneal who thusiastic careerist is Andy Bie-miller of Milwaukee. Formerly one Fascists." When and if the party of the revolutionary Philadelphia moves to the left he can con-

> The most interesting of the quartet is Jack Sullivan, the tie sistant professor, Biemiller an as- is precisely the revision of and not

politics. He has probably never gle for revolutionizing the SP made a speech definitely supporting members in particular, or the anything. He believes, rather vaguely, in the co-operative commonwealth. But at lining up delegates, at putting across slates, at dropping a good word to the right person here and there, Sullivan has not in the Socialist Party.

These then are the guiding lights being able to capitalize fully, in the of the midwestern militants. The interests of the Communist movename "militant" is self-bestowed, it ment, such a development as that means chiefly that these are the of the RPC, but that it actually young activist, in contrast to the should pursue a course which hind

4. Of course, what we cannot understand is the section on international relations which seems to International, as such, can become an "effective instrument in promotto an explanation, by the RPC, strength but a diminution of poli-for its exclusion of the following tical clarity and therefore revoluvocates "the transformation of the present regime into a socialist regime) are diametrically opposed to the principles enunciated in the 3. The tactical strategy proposed RPC program. Furthermore, especially since the war, the Second the baldest outline form. Reflect, clarification, or perhaps rather elaboration, would be entirely in place here to avoid misunderstand-place must be recognized that it was entirely correct in breaking with

Entangling Alliances We have emphasized time and

again that the biggest obstacle to followers in certain strike strug- powerful left wing in the SP is the will insure the RPC's being able to avoid such devastating pitfalls. Let me concretize: Reinhold Niebuhr was one of the founders of the so-called Militant group. In a recent issue of the "World Tomorrow" he comments rather favorably on the general efforts and aims of the RPC. Now, Niebuhr is a capable and influential member of the SP, who is dissatisfied with the present program and tactics of his organization. Should the RPC join hands with Reinhold Niebuhr merely on the ground of certainly hope that no groping left-winger in the SP will make the slightest concession to Niebuhr's position that: "without a revision of Marxist thought there s nothing to prevent the events of Europe from repeating themselves

The Problem Of Quality And Quantity

We hold that it is far better to have more sound principles and come a significant figure outside less big men than more big men sistant city editor, if they had the adhesion to Marxist thought the European proletariat. Likewise, But Sullivan has a political mind we hope that no leftwinger in the the mind of a Warwick. What SP will have the slightest illusions psychic twist of a Catholic boy- about Norman Thomas, simply benood on Chicago's South Side made cause he has seen fit, on the eve of Hoan of Milwaukee and the rightward moving Socialism of the midwestern militants.

hood on Chicago's South Side made the convention of the SP, to describe the convention of the SP, to politics it is quite conceivable that must recognize the force of many he would have risen to be Boss of of its contentions" and that "what Chicago. He holds no party office, has been done is encouraging." An is supposed to be, at best, a part of the left wing of the Fascist movement.

As a delegate to the Second International's Conference Krueger can be as experimental as he likes to the Second can be as experimental as he likes to the S not of a kind to lend even the Sullivan's forte is underground slightest encouragement to a strug-

Condition Of Communist Movement

It is most unfortunate that the communist movement should be few equals anywhere and certainly split and that the official CP should be committed to such sectarian tactics as not only prevent it from lethargic passive "Socialists-for-thirty-years," people. These are for good or ill the inheritors of the American Socialist party.

Socialists will not be checked on (Continued on Page 5) (Continued on Page 5)

8th COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION Ultra - Leftism Continues Its Rule

The political character of the 8th National Convention of the party was already prophetically foreshadowed by the 13th Plenum Resolution of the ECCI. Browder's report at the Plenum of the CEC, before the convention, the draft resolution for the convention and Browder's report are patterned closely after the political line laid down in the ECCI resolution. They depart from it in no fundamental respect. The major errors of the the effectiveness of the CP the world over (analysis of Fascism, social-fascism, united front from below, etc.) are still in full bloom Hopeful and encouraging signs of resistance have cropped up in certain places in official ranks (Germany, France, Spain) but America evidently is still "exceptionalist." regard to fascism are still there

That the dangerous illusions in will be evident to anybody reading Browder's report to the Plenum (Communist February 1934). "The rise of fascism is itself

conditions of the revolutionary crisis. The victory of fascism does not mean a protracted defeat for the working class. The German party has sunk its roots deener than ever."

Here we have a true echo of the ECCI Plenum thesis: "Revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the

fascist fury."
The official pundits, continuing their self deception still imagine i will be easier to beat back fascism after it has taken state power i its hands. Unwilling to admit th situation realistically, the self deception with its disastrous consequences perforce continues.

flowers (with some extra buds for the CPO). The German workers did not seize power primarily be democrats. Did the party con- with a defeat for the workers. Ine tribute any mite at all to the result responsibility for this defeat rests to power "above all thru the direct tionist, purocratic policies in the collaboration of Social-democracy. The German Social-democracy still the main social support of ization campaign and kow-towing

The same sentiments are echoed in Browder's convention report.
On the flower of social fascism
sky-Gitlow outfit, from the start, there are now (and for some time had no definite plan on how to the working class today. They towards a general strike, as being must be driven from the labor too communistic, and consequently report). The party still finds its the machinery of the organization walk out. The Trotsky-Gitlow outchief enemy the furthest away from capitalism. Instead of learning the lessons from the bitter exchief blows are still to be directed against the only defenders of realistic Leninist tactics in the Communist movement today. Further,

THE R.P.C. PROGRAM (Continued from Page 4)

their road of development by the prognosis of that "master analyst and theoretician" of the CP—Earl tion to that left social fascism..."

Guard Against Too Many 'Friends' road ahead is anything but smooth. This much we can say on the basis of our experience in the left wing struggles of the SP some years ago, the struggle out of which thousand workers would have answered the call instead of the ago, the struggle out of which arose the communist movement. If the RPC is to have any success at eight thousand who responded to all, it will have to learn to avoid the last general strike call. The the errors we have made years ago tieup of the Hotel and Restaurant in the SP, as well as be on guard against too many of its "Friends" been complete.

developments in the SP (RPC) are genuine developments toward the left and a definite approach to a be based upon the T.U.U.L. and usual high standards. Communist position on fundamen-tal questions of principle (state, amounts to the T.U.U.L. under a imperialist war, etc.), the social different name with a few extra fascist psychology nevertheless scraps, that may be coralled, majority of delegates to the conpredominates and Browder successfully keeps those involved at arms toward changing the party trade party since the Open Letter. This length: "In all probability this ef- union line must have arisen in the reflecting probably a basically fort also will collapse into another contribution to left social fascism." With that theory of fascism still in full bloom it is not surprizing timent will become. that its twin sister, the notorious "united from below" is also Bluff And Bombast kept fresh and intact. For if the Social-democrats are the chief As to the rest, the convention social support of fascism how can

in Germany these people haven't learned yet.

after Browder admits that the left;

Independent Federation Of Labor In the trade union field, the proposition for establishing an Indeby Jim Cork

to be seen how strong the sen- party members and cadres.

you unite with part of fascism against itself. The old tunes are whistled again. From the disaster working within the A. F. of L. is united front ever gathered in this quite naturally posed more sharply country"); about the united front Don in one of his exuberant early han before. This does not however | -"The Communist Party is the reports on the convention developmean any basic change in the communist raity is the rade union line of the party. "We must build foremost," said Stachel, the T.U.L." The so-called Inloyally striving to build up the This would be funny if it were dependent Federation of Labor, to united front of the workers" not so tragic. Here is concentrated

Old Ranks Decimated It is significant to note that the thrown in. That some tendency vention admittedly came into the ranks is evident from Stachel's similar situation, in the party as a polemic against "the tendencies to liquidate the T.U.U.L." It remains light on what is happening to old

Browder-The Miracle Man

A word must be said, if only briefly, upon the Negro question. was quite in usual form. It was Browder in his report dwelt at practically unanimous. Critical at- some length on the question. Raretitudes, of which there is quite a ly have I seen such confusion substantial amount in the party manifested anywhere. I doubt today, were stifled by a "judicious" whether Browder himself believed choice of delegates. The usual what he was saying. (i.e. if he ballyhoo and bluff were there, understood it). Yet he does succeed about the growth of the party, in getting a new idea on the sub-(25,000 members, the it is admitted ject: "... half feudal forms of that 2 of every 3 members are not share-cropping whereby an imperial pendent Federation of Labor, pro- kept); about the influence of the ist nation oppresses and exploits a posed by the Draft Trade Union
Thesis is endorsed. Now that the
growth of the A. F. of L. has
within the A. F. of L.); about its
weak nation." What a muddle the
theory of self determination has
within the A. F. of L.); about its belied the previous prediction of conduct of so many successful the party that it (A. F. of L.) strikes; about the League against Browder—The Funeral Director would die out, the question of War and Fascism ("the widest All in all quite a typical party

Social-Fascism Still In Bloom The theory of social fascism still Lessons of Food Workers Strike

The general strike of the hotel and restaurant workers of the Amalgamated Food Workers ended because of its isolation from the rully upon the shoulders of the ing the revolt of the membership masses inevitably resulting from Trotskyite-Gitiowice leadership of against their policy was forced to its suicidal tactical line, its in- our union. There are no words come out at the January mem- Broadway restaurants there was a ability to forge a united front? strong enough in condemnation of bership meeting with a resolution Nary a word of this. Hitler came their opportunist, class collaboration favor of a general strike. Pasconduct of the strike. Chasing N.R.A. rainbows during the organbefore the NRA Regional Labor Board during the strike, brought nothing but demoralization and there are now (and for some time had no definite plan on how to already) new buds,—namely left build the union; they worked on a social fascism. That's the CPO—day to day policy. They refused to orientate the organization drive to orientate the organization drive systematically firing active members of the union. They to orientate the organization drive to orientate the organization drive to orientate the organization drive to orientate the organization.

Our Proposals

nade for a gen the general strike declared New Year's Eve when the Hotels and Restaurants of the city are filled to Browder, who has already doomed them into the army of fascism. Capacity with reservations worth millions of dollars. That was the We do hope that every left winger time for the union to strike its we do nope that every left winger in the Socialist party will simply blow at the Hotelmen's Associatake as pure poppycock the declaration of Browder that: "In all leadership would have none of it probability this effort (RPC) also and kept on with its policy of paswill collapse into another contribu-tion to that left social fascism..." dues-collecting agency. When New Year came the sentiment of the workers for a showdown with their The emergence of the RPC is an masters was at its height. Every event of no mean significance. The one was ready to come out i answer to the union's strike call Had the union been prepared and issued the call for a general strike

from the beginning came forward

Hotel Owners Begin Offensive

Text by

THE NEW

51 West 14 Street

by A. Christman

Resolutions But No Action The Trotsky-Gitlow outfit senssage of the resolution by the mem- organization and joined up. There bership satisfied the conscience of was the opportunity to have the the Trotsky-Gitlow outfit and now, Broadway workers come out in with a clear conscience, they went support of the striking Casino de on with their old policy of pas- Paree workers, and establish a rea sivity.

Initiative Passes To Hotel Owners The hotel owners, now with the low outfit allowed this opportunity danger line of New Year's Eve be- to slip by. down came at the Hotel Montclair movement." (Browder's convention failed to prepare the workers and where the workers were forced to R. A. Labor Board to win the fit failed to realize the importance of this strike, 1a.led to put up a gave encouragement to the bosses militant fight and contented them- to further intensify their provocaselves with picketing and appears tion and finally the Waldorf Ast We were the only group which to the NRA Labor Board. Had the oria, one of the biggest and most to the beginning came forward leadership put up a militant fight aristocratic hotels in the city, with a concluse militant program with a concrete militant program that would serve as a lesson to the openly challenged the union by that would serve as a lesson to the openly challenged the union by of action. One of our demands was rest of the hotel owners, it could firing one of the most active union that immediate preparations be have put a stop to their provoca- memoers. The workers, being 100 Labor Board, the leadership relytion, for the time being, and per cent organized in the kitchen in place not later than the end of would have made it possible for and dining-room, demanded the fighting spirit of the workers. December. Our aim was to have the union to choose its own time reinstatement of the fired worker and action from the union. to strike.

Next came the lockout of the

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workers of the Casino de Paree Local No. 16 of the A. F. of L., a racketeer led organization, tried to recruit strikebreakers from among its members but the workers renews reached the workers of the general revoit against Local No. 16. Shop after snop came to our union in the Broadway restau rants. But the lack of definite plan of action by the Trotsky-Git-

Marking Time The same procedure as in the Montclair strike was tollowed here. picketing and depending on the N strike for them. The conduct of these two strikes by the union,

Leadership, Forced to Call Strike

ancy on the part of the leadership. 5. Kow-towing to the NRA Regional Board. The Strike Leadership.

that characterizes 1934 party men-tality. In the face of the continued acceptance of the sectarian line of the party which has progressively den). The name calling and slandisolated the party from the masses ers against the CPO was up to its it is especially tragic. In this sense communist Party USA represents another milestone in party bluff

> the actual leader of the union, had no trade union experience whatsoever. Caldis, also a Trotskyite, and Constas, a Gitiowite, hau become members of the union recently and were lacking strike experience of any kind. The confusion in the leadership all through the strike was evident to every worker in the union. The strike found the union cotally unprepared, organizationally and financially. A feeble attempt was made to set up a strike machinery. A picket and legal committee was set up but the eadership fearful of losing its control, began to interfere and actively sabotage the work of these committees and thus hampered their function.

Clique Politics Rampant

A so-called office committee of twenty was organized as a central strike committee, with Gitlow and Cannon drawn into it in an advisory capacity. Immediately a bitter faction fight broke out between two groups of Trotskyites fighting for the control of the union machinery. Both groups had previously agreed on the opportunist course pursued.

Gitlow, seeing the break, utilized every means to win Fleids and Caldis over to his group, supporting them on all policies right or wrong. To him the gain of two comrades for his group was more important than strike policies. hus we find Gitlow silent on the first agreement which made no provisions for increases in pay and decrease in working hours. were the only ones to open the fight in the general strike committee and force the leadership to include in the agreement demands crease in the working hours. We further proposed that if we failed to get full union recognition we should endeavor to secure shop committee recognition. All these propositions the leadership voted

Gitlow's Militancy.

Gitlow, comes out, in his paper, n support of the Fields-Caldisconstas policies and insists they vere militant policies.

What is the Gitlow conception of militancy? Does he consider the fact that although the strike committee passed a motion to dety injunctions issued against the union in the Casino de Paree and Longchamps Restaurants, not one mass picketing was held and the several attempts by the picket committee to have mass picketing in the Casino de Paree were vetoed

Does Gitlow consider as militant the kow-towing to the NRA

The Industrial Union

The policy of the Party, through its Industrial Food Workers Union, The leadership, faced with the was disruptive and openly strikealternative of either losing the breaking. Throughout the strike Waldorf-Astoria workers or ac- they distributed leaflets, calling cepting the challenge, was dragged the workers to mass meetings, and into the fight and was forced to under slogans of rank and file issue the call for a general strike in control tried to capture the union. support of the Waldorf Astoria During the strike, their efforts workers. Eight thousand workers were not successful. They then from every big hotel of the city changed their methods. The Party, answered the call of the Union. with the same slogan of rank and The determination and spirit of file control, but working within the workers was splendid. With a the Amalgamated, took advantage militant, eperienced and determin- of the discontent in the union and ed leadersh.p the strike could have succeeded in getting control of the been won. The strike was lost union apparatus but not the memdue to the following shortcomings:

1. Inexperienced leadership. 2. Lack of preparations. 3. Mechan-left the union. Today the union ical leadership. 4. Lack of milities nothing but a skeleton organiization with no shop control or membership.

The way out remains the same. The creation of one union in the industry to be affiliated to the Secretary Fields, a Trotskyite, general labor movement.

AMERICAN CENTRISM SHOWS ITS FACE

The American Workers party, launched this year by the Conference for Progressive Labor party as it claims, but a centris party. Its program, no less than its composition and actions denote its centrist character.

What Is A Revolutionary Program?

The revolutionary party of the working class must take a clear cut and revolutionary stand on the fundamental principles of communism—armed insurrection, revo lutionary overthrow of the capital ist state, proletarian dictatorship based on Soviet power, unconditional defense of the Soviet Union as the workers' fatherland. On all of these fundamentals the American Workers party takes a definite centrist stand.

It is necessary that the revolutionary movement speak unequivocally on the question of armed insurrection and the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state. Not only as a matter of honesty to representatives of the workers and the working class but also for the producers to take control of state sake of clarity, for the sake of power." Again we see the concept winning the working class to revolutionary principles.

The Road To Power

The language of the AWP is the or Labor parties or Social-demolanguage of a party that hopes to cratic parties—yes, even into the achieve power thru parliamentary same form of bourgeois democracy and peaceful methods. It does not that we have today. It not only point out to the workers in a clear expects to continue the same parmanner that the working class can liamentary (and bureaucratic and take power only thru forcible and military) apparatus, but intends to revolutionary methods. The following quotation from their programmatic statement makes this clear.

Indicate and military, apparatus, but intends to use it as the means thru which it will transfer "ownership and control" from the "hands of bankers" into "the hands"

state power. . . . It proposes not simply to step into state office, into the Presidency and Con-

Probably one of the greatest dangers to the application of Marx-

Leninist method of dialectic rea-

An Analysis of the A. W. P. Program

should be taken from the hands! of bankers and industrialists and be put where it belongs, in th hands of the workers and other ship, and through the educational

No, the truly revolutionary party aims to lead the working class forward in revolutionary struggle to the forcible seizure of power.

Stepping Into Office The AWP proposes "to step into state office, into the Presidency

not of the working class seizing power and controlling state power, but of the party. The AWP expects to be elected into state office in the same manner as capitalist parties "The American Workers party is a revolutionary party. The purpose of a revolutionary party ducing elements of society." Not a word by the AWP on the recognition to the same of the workers and the other producing elements of society." Not a is similar to that of a capitalist word by the AWP on the necessity party to the extent that the revolutionary party likewise aims to achieve and consolidate (Zuschmettern) the present state

and its entire apparatus (Lenin). How Is Power To Be Captured? Let us continue further in our

by D. Benjamin

ordinary parliamentary triumphs will not be sufficient. A thorough

190% parliamentary victory or the

parliamentary form of the capital-

AWP Goes Parliamentarian

The parliamentary attitude o

the AWP can best be summarized

fidence in itself, in its ability to

Dictatorship Of Proletariat

The AWP also takes a centrist

Engels and Lenin on dictatorship?

What about the lessons of the

Paris Commune, the 1905 revolu-

tion in Russia and the revolution of 1917? What about the ex-

periences of Bavaria, Hungary,

generalities constitute a definite

It is true that the AWP repeats

several times that it is for a work-

ers' state, a real workers' demo-

cracy, a tree workers' democracy

But we nave already seen what

Congress" with AWP candidates

promises of a new president. This

winter they have been watching the

more mutant action.

beginning."

A.A. to see what it would bring

Party.

by the former ruling class?

producing elements of society. and agitational activity of the ad- majority parliamentary victory As a necessary phase of this vanced workers in the revolution- will have to be used as a means cut statement that the workers can take power only thru revolutionary Why not arm the masses to resist struggle. This viewpoint of the the counter-revolution? Why not AWP is not even that of a reformist party. The process of getting power is to be peaceful, legal and Why not break up the whole parliamentary. This at a time when bureaucratic apparatus, the whole the capitalist state is becoming more and more centralized, when ist state, so that it can not be used there is a growth of state capitalism, when the military and bureau cratic apparatus of the state is constantly increasing, when Fasc-ism is spreading over country after country. The AWP has learnafter country. The AWP has learned nothing from the German and Austrian events, let alone from American developments.

In the following words: "The AWP it has been made—without our will, on the one hand, attempt to will over increasing popular confidence."

Revolution is already here! In fact it has been made—without our knowing it—at least "substantial beginnings." American developments.

"The revolutionary government take over power and use that power must be prepared to meet the for the benefit of society. In short violence of the overthrown but still the job of the AWP is to convince langerous capitalist dictatorship." For the first time we read about ican people that it can run society.' the capitalist class using violence | The AWP "will continually strive -after it is overthrown. Correct, to raise the theoretic level of its but will it not also use its state membership, to make it constitute power, organized violence, before a leadership, fit in the eyes of it is overthrown? And will it not the nation, to take over the conduct be necessary for the working class of the affairs of the new social to meet the violence of the armed order." This approach is no difforces with its own revolutionary ferent from that of the Socialist

Opportunist Attitude To Capitalist State

"No parliamentary triumphs can position on the question of the dicnsure the victory of a workers' tatorship of the proletariat. It does democracy. The workers must take not even mention it. As though it possession of every branch and of- were an unimportant question; as with the present basis of state power.... It therefore proposes that ownership and control produced by the capitalist dictatorfice of the capitalist state to render though history had not placed this

form instead of analyses. We shall States. Were Karl Marx here tobe a bit more clear and say that day, there is no doubt but what having an important (even a leauAmerican communists are very the "shrinkage of the planet" ing) part in a proletarian revoluoften inclined (in their practice of caused by the above mentioned Marxism) to imitate events in Eu- inventions and improvements) ropean history and by so doing they neglect the true Marxian-sideration by him.

Today the midwestern agricul-

the dangers of making mistakes is and cultural level with the croy worker and the days of "the dir-ficulty of bringing about an agree-"But at the same time it is quite as evident, and equally borne out by the history of all modern countries, that the agricultural population, in consequence of its dispersion over a great space, and of the difficulty of bringing about an agreement among any considerable portion of it, never can attempt a successful independent movement; they require the initiatory "But at the same time it is a successful independent movement; they require the initiatory impulse of the more concentrated, more enlightened, more easily moved people of the towns" owns."

| state scale. The frantic efforts of
("Revolution and Counter- Milo Reno, of the National Holi-

soning. It is therefore evident that tural element is on an intellectual

Revolution," by Karl Marx.) day Association, to keep his flock In the above quotation we find Marx's reasons why the agricultural population in all modern countries never can attempt a suc-

countries, never can attempt a sucnothing but a crude attempt to keep the rank and file of this con-Let us study this quotation: It was written in London, in September, 1851. At that time the great militant farmers. The tendency of militant farmers. The tendency of the artire militant farmer alement is midwestern agricultural belt, in the the entire militant farm element is United States, was practically a toward the left—eventually towhowling wilderness. There were ard "an agreement" amongst "a very few railroads then. There considerable portion of it." And to-

graph and telephone lines, no equally enlightened and even more are conditions in the United States radios, no movies and not many "easily moved" than "the people in 1934—but the fact remains that schools. When Marx spoke of the of the towns."

MARX AND THE FARM QUESTION quotation to the present midwest etc.? It is necessary to state that

But was Marx overpersistent in his opposition to an agrarian group point of view, a very definite athaving an important (even a leaning) part in a proletarian revolu-tion? We quote from the "Communist Manifesto":

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of state. Fill the "Presidency and state. Fill the "Presidency and state. the momentary interests of the ment of the present, they also represent and take care of the wherein an agrarian element is a future of that movement. In decisive factor. France the Communists ally themselves with the Social-Democrats, against the conserreserving, however, the right to was a pause of the same kind last torical and basic significance. take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions handed down from the great

"In Switzerland they support the radicals, without lising sight of the fact that this party consists of antagonistic elements partly of Democratic Socialists n the French sense, partly of radical bourgeois.

"In Poland they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution, as the prime condition for national emancipation, the party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846.' ("Communist Manifesto," Mary & Engels)

Even the Polish peasantry, of the mid-nineteenth century, are considered as a "prime condition.

were no paved highways, no auto- day, the machine-age, literate, mobiles, no great networks of tele- American farmer finds himself Poland in 1851 were the same as

and you have its concept of a workers' state. This is the concept of Social-democracy, of reformism Nothing more nor less.

of Soviets The AWP speaks of Soviets and of Soviet democracy but comes out As a necessary phase of this change of ownership and control and the attainment of a genuine when the major sections of the workers' democracy, the AWP proposes, as the representative of the workers and producers, to take control of State power."

The revolution-ary party accord-training military forces.

Will have to be used as a means of taking over "every branch and office of the capitalist state." As though this will stop the counter-revolution; as though a capitalist class, fighting desperately to regain power, will not be able thrust take.

The revolution-ary party accord-training military forces. The revolutionary party according to the AWP, just as the capitalist party, "aims to achieve and consolidate the state power." Not a word about how the and consolidate the state power." No clear-and consolidate the state power." Suicidal course of capitalist dictagain power, will not be able thru its wealth, training, military forces, it is wealth, training, military forces, found within capitalist society, in the unions and federations of workers will take power. No clear-ton to the tatorship, the workers will take power. No clear-ton to the tatorship, the workers will take power. No clear-ton to the tatorship, the workers will take power. No clear-ton ton ton the tatorship, the workers will take power. Workers will take power to the tatorship, the workers will take power, or the tatorship to be able thru its wealth, training, military forces, found within capitalist society, in the unions and federations of workers, farmers, professionals and very offices of the capitalist state. other mass organizations." In other words, we have the guild "Social needs be different, must needs be original in order to prove to the American working class why it should be considered the "revolutionary" party, so we have this contribution. In fact the "substantial beginnings" of the new form of society are "already" here with us "within capitalist society." The Revolution is already here! In fact beginnings.'

A Trotskyist Attitude To The

Union, the AWP program is truly eloquent! Eloquent in what it omits, eloquent in what it passes Right now there is a pause in the bankrupt in Marxian understand-mintancy of the Farm Revolt. It is ing, or perhaps, there is reason for not a symptom of deteat. There its silence on a matter of such his-

winter. Then they waited for the

The paragraph on p. 24, how-

An American "Variation'

Soviet Union On the question of the Soviet

of the Soviet Union exposes its true character as an anti-revolutionary force. The "revolutionary" AWP does not even consider that the Soviet Union is a question of serious enough import to merit analysis, evaluation and treatment in the 48 pages of programmatic rientation. It has sections on the Crisis of Capitalism, on War, on Fascism, but not on the Proletarian Dictatorship in the Soviet Union. Perhaps it does not consider the Soviet Union of significance to the international proletarian revolution. Perhaps it is of the opinion that the existence of a fortress for the world revolution, in one-sixth of the world, is of no consequence to the American working class? The AWP does not consider it necessary to call to the attention existence of the Soviet Union, how it was brought about, that it is the concretization of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, that it is building up Socialism, that it is demonstrating in practice, in spite of all difficulties and handicaps, the superiority of Socialism over Capialism, that it must be defended unconditionally, precisely because t is the fortress of the World Revolution, the Fatherland of the international working class. No party can claim to be the revoluionary party of the working class that omits in essence the question of the Soviet Union. Either it is bankrupt in Marxian understand-

The Thermidorian Concept

The summer of 1934 promises ever, lets the can out of the summer of the the Trotskyite position taken by "The times of that superstition which attributed revolu- in his article "An American Revotions to the ill will of a few lutionary Party" in the January agitators have long passed 1934 issue of the Modern Monthly. away. Everyone knows now- On page 24 we read "The Comadays that wherever there is a munist International, which has revolutionary convulsion, there tended, in recent years, to become must be some social want in the a branch of the foreign office of background, which is prevented the Soviet Union instead of the by outworn institutions, from leader of the World Revolution." sat.sfying itself. The want may This position which is predicated not yet be telt as strongly, as on the proposition that the ingenerally, as might ensure im- terests of the Soviet Union and of mediate success; but every at- the World Revolution are diamettempt at forcible repression will rically opposed is not only false, bring it forth stronger and but Trotskyite and counter-revolustronger, until it bursts its fet- tionary. This passage infers that ters. If, then, we have been the Communist International has beaten we have nothing else to given up the World Revolution or do but to begin again from the has sacrificed it in order to advance the diplomatic and national interests of the Soviet Union. This (Revolution & Counter-Revoluschools. When mark spoke of the of the towns.

agricultural population's "disper- With all due respect, to the sion over great space" he was Father of Scientific Socialism, we speaking of a condition that is ex- make no mistake when we say that tremely different from the one that it would be nothing short of dognow exists in midwestern United matic ignorance to apply the above sibility for situations to arise

It it is possible for a condition to exist, at any period of history, wherein the farm element can play an important part in a proletarian revolution, it is an economic posposition." Karl Marx.)

The above quotation certainly applies to the farm situation of midthe theory of "National Bolshev-ism" advanced by Trotsky; this is the theory of "Thermidor"; this is possible for a condition to exist, at any period of history, wherein the farm element can play an important part in a proletarian revolution, it is an economic posposition."

America.

(Continued on Page 9) is the theory of "National Bolshev-

What Next for the Unemployed?

SCRAPPING THE RELIEF PROGRAM

power by the most sweeping attacks on the living standards of America's toilers. What more devastating and conclusive evidence deep and conclusive evidence break in the conclusive break in the conclusion and conclusive evidence break in the conclusion and conclusive evidence break in the conclusion at the conclusion

The liberal pretenders, composing the Roosevelt Administration, are winding-up their first year in

does one need for the maxim of

politics that the self-styled liberal,

when in power, will out-do every

"New Deal" Administration is able

to render to Wall Street. And, as

America's millions of unemployed.
"Let 'Em Starve!"—they cynical-

ly declare to the nation. With the

cumping of the CWA into history's

ash can, come the tidings of

CWA by March 31st; the inaugura-

tion of a new system employing only a third of the more than

4,000,000 persons on CWA; drastic

cuts in wage rates plus the most

stringent rulings as to the qualifi-

cations making Mr. or Mrs. Jobless

eligible for work-relief. Rural work-

ers and workers residing in towns

with less than 5,000 inhabitants

are not even promised a morsel of

transferred to the new system—

Emergency Relief Administration?

That Ominous Silence

In the recent past whenever

Mr. Hopkins Is Questioned

changes in the rates of pay.

new "recovery" measure was under-

its expected results.

"new" plan: the dissolution of the

Bourbon that has preceded him. I is precisely this which accounts for

with the new plan?

Rewarding The "Needy" ference between the CWA and the and the twelve million who never

of unemployed, the truly "needy" and, shall we say, the "prosperous" unemployed. Therefore concludes tne "Brain Trust" only 1,500,000 of the 4,000,000 CWA workers are in need. A'ınt logic grand! This type of logic will save wail Street many hundreds of millions in cold cash. The reply to our question emerges first, what about the with unmistakable clarity—work-1,500,000 workers on CWA who on ers automatically transferred to the May 1st automatically become new plan will be faced both with the Works Division of the Federal From the Administration we may expect a tlexible policy in this connection. In those sections of the country where the unemployed are

greatest inroads on relief standards. Briefly, then, what is the

least militant we shall witness the

taken by the New Dealers it was plan in a nut-shell? preceded by the most intimate description, both of its nature and "Back To Hoover' Since the difference between the Not so with the new relief plan! Hoover and Roosevelt Administra-It is shrouded in the silence of a Sphinx. The Administration is as tion is one of method rather than objective, the abandonment of the reticent in declaring itself as a CWA does not strike us as being Connecticut clam. The silence and due to "an absence of the political evasion are both ominous, coming, as it does, from this wily Adminsense displayed by Mr. Roosevelt in his other major decisions" as the Nation falsely indicates. The welstration. Nothing illustrates the grave danger, inherent in the new fare of the unemployed was never, , to the unemployed more than and is not today, a major concern of the Administration. The CWA was instituted to bolster faith in Mr. Harry Hopkin's answers to the queries of a reporter for the Washington newspaper, the United the Administration and curb the States News, on March 19. militant spirit of the unemployed. It succeeded, and now, with the situation well in hand, the Ad-Reporter: Will the workers under ministration believes the time is the new arrangement get the same wages as under the CWA? opportune for capitalizing on this faith by slashing relief standards Mr. Hopkins: In the main they under a hypocritical barrage of will, although there may be some Reporter: Will the hours of work

Mr. Hopkins: I do not know yet

group and it also is bourgeois Big Capital.

minded. There is a nation and na-

tional interests which only Fascism

can serve. Second, capitalism as it

appears to-day is doomed. The

tal must be curbed. This only Fas-

cism can do thru an authoritarian

state. Dennis admitted that, of

course, the Fascist state would ne

cessarily suppress any opposition

from working class ranks, which

disturbs the program in the inter-

stone analyzed the economics of

capitalism and its political struc-

ture as one of class rule, class do-

mination. He traced the development of the working class, econom-

In a crystal-clear manner, Love

ests of the "nation"

The Lovestone - Dennis Debate

ster-Fascism.

Don't Fail to Read the

WORKERS AGE

by Saul Held

tant is that 62% of the first sum appropriated for the Reconstruction "Business Revival" Finance Corporation, will be used The million and a half workers to pour into industries, railroads, Mr. Hopkins: For the 1,500,000 transferred to the Works Division and banks. The hue and cry about working on March 30, the answer of the Federal Emergency Relief the government having to "econois "No." the March 30, the answer of the Federal Emergency Relief the government having to "econois "No." confronted with drastic reductions a fraud. Plenty of money for Wall Rewarding The "Needy" in weekly income. The two and a Street but a mere pittance for When interrogated as to the dif-half million dropped from CWA Poverty Row! if in celebration of a successful year of bluffing and battling American labor, they ring out the first year by a crushing and underhand attack on the "Forgotten Men"—jobs at going rates of wages. In the CWA and the twelve million who never received work-relief will be aided, says the Administration, by the following: continuing "business repairs of the unemployed? The Robber Barons held their segments of the controlling of the controlling to that this is and the twelve million who never received work-relief will be aided, with a controlling to the controlli contradistinction to that, this is imates will be 21% in the coming sions in Washington during the the world's greatest military mathe beginning of a policy that needy unemployed, who are able to through work, shall gain their benefits through work on public projects."

Imates will be 21% in the coming sions in Washington during the past several weeks—Code Author-thine. With the passage of the Vingaria, extension of the PWA, and past several weeks—Code Author-thine. With the passage of the Vingaria as their benefits through work on public projects."

Imates will be 21% in the coming past several weeks—Code Author-thine. With the passage of the Vingaria as the passage of the Vingar What ho! A truly unique a.s- PWA activities cannot absorb mil- was cracked and Roosevelt & Co. adels in torrents while the unem-

> ceded to be but a dream, for the unemployed. immediate future. The capitalist 1) There was, declares one writare showing anxiety as to the reactor. Protest over the wage-scale tion to the new plan while they and the attraction that Civil Work's pray for its success. The Business jobs had for common labor. . . . Week commenting on the meagre The pressure to lower the scale economic revival to date moans, came from friends as well as will increase. Uundoubtedly relief-"But it will be some time before political enemies of the adminis- standards will be constantly hamthe growing ranks of ex-CWA tration." Complete unanimity in the workers are absorbed." Yes, a very camp of the capitalists on the neces-

industry. What we need, they declared, is funds for "expenditures for the kind of modernization and improvement that the Administrato \$2,723,000,000." What is importion is now urging to revive the capital goods industries." George H. Houston, president of the Bald win Locomotive Works, urged such loans because the fight for export

markets demanded it. The War Dogs Must Be Fed To effectively fight the encroachments of Japan and other nations in the world market, the ruling covery. The "Brain Trust" has one lions of workers—its record establishes that much. As for the revival discovers that there are two kinds of business to such a point where it will absorb millions, that is con- explain the latest attacks on the ployment-more men on the breadline—with ever-smaller funds for

> Prepare For Further Struggles What hope for the jobless? Undoubtedly the ranks of the jobless * * *
>
> Doles For Business
>
> Let no unemployed worker succumb to false hopes: "Oh, they've got to take care of us somehow!"
>
> Moody's Investor's Somics and structure of the process of the p Moody's Investor's Service estimates that for the fiscal year ending June 30th, \$6,357,000,000 will levels more difficult.
>
> Service estimates that for the fiscal year ending June 30th, \$6,357,000,000 will levels more difficult.
>
> No barring of any unemployed

> have been expended as emergency 2) Since the CWA failed as worker from relief regardless of expenditures with perhaps an additional \$1,166,000,000 But, reports the National City Bank of New York in its Feb. bulletin, "For the fective recovery begin. Less to the players and state and to be adfiscal year ending June 30,1935, the unemployed, more to banks and ministered by the workers them-President is more optimistic. Rely-ing upon an increase of 21% in business, was the slogan. At the selves. Build a national unemploy-code Authority Conference, the ed organization. In these, in the business . . . he estimates that President openly came out in sup- fight for their realization, lies the mergency expenditures can be cut port of direct government loans to hope for the jobless.

TWO MAY DAY CONFERENCES

That Oneal, Gerber and Lee were

In Chicago the "militants" are providing for the truly "needy", inin control. This means Sullivan,
stituting a new system of relief on Krueger, Senior and Burt. These
Council of the YPSL voted to seat a "firmer and more lasting foun- are the great red hopes of the SP. the CPO representative. The rest

be the same?

Mr. Hopkins: What I think will cry of "Back To Hoover" is uthappen, practically, is that a great terly false. The President has not ference of organizations to "commany people, the run of them, will "erred", he is attempting to do letter the great red nopes of the Sr. the people in the name of the Were unanimously opposed. So, do the "minimants" the sectarianism of the "run of them, will "erred", he is attempting to do letter the great red nopes of the Sr. the control of the same?

These people in the name of the Sr. the control of the same of the sa many people, the run of them, will "erred", he is attempting to do plete the arrangements" and "share get about the same hours of work precisely what Hoover did—give in the observance" of an indoor Reporter: How will it work cut in money? (The old CWA cost about \$60,000,000 a week.)

The work cut the unemployed as little as posmass meeting for May Day.

Starve!"

Twenty people showed up.

Starve!" Twenty people showed up. The

ocialist organizer of the Shoe Reouilders brought the President of nis union along. A socialist mem ber of the Federation of Jewish Unions was also present. The rest were socialists, lady socialists, young socialists, and very young New York City. | ically, therefore also politically socialists. The only foreign body in Over 500 workers gathered in dominated and oppressed by capi- the beautiful homogeneity of the

Dennis' position can be summarized in two theses which he developed at length. First, there is no such thing as class struggle. What we call the proletariat is an insignificant group and it also is bourgeois!

Crisis, the collapse of its democratical purifying the united front. In ic forms of class rule and its resort to Fascism as its savior. Thru facts and explained how the SP had insuch the proletariat is an insignificant group and it also is bourgeois.

Crisis, the collapse of its democratical purifying the united front. In ic forms of class rule and its resort to Fascism as its savior. Thru facts and explained how the SP had insuch the conference. These were delegates controlled by the Left only. These were unions, unemployed organizations, and "the political organization, and "the political organization, the Socialist Party."

The credentials committee major- of the Workers Committee on University of the belowness or at least the very deep lowness of the United Front. In ic forms of class rule and its resort to Fascism as its savior. Thru facts had just heard a lecture on the many as six non-party people seathed at the conference. These were delegates controlled by the Left of the United front. In its convocation address, Krueger had explained how the SP had insolved organizations, and "the political organization, the Socialist Party."

The credentials committee major- of the Workers Committee on United front. In the united front. In the convocation address, Krueger had explained how the SP had insolved at the conference. These were delegates controlled by the Left of the United front. In the convocation address, Krueger had explained how the SP had insolved at the conference. These were delegates controlled by the United front. In the convocation address, Krueger had explained how the SP had insolved at the conference. These were delegates controlled by the United front. In the convocation address, Krueger had explained how the SP had insolved at the conference. These were delegates controlled by the Uni It turned out that the CPO repre-In a damning indictment of Fas- sentative had not been invited.

cism, as a social force, he depicted After some discussion, the CPO cism, as a social force, he depicted its brutal suppression of the labor representative was given the floor Mann of the L.P.Z. opened the paraded out. movement, its destruction of cul-ture, its racial theories and its sad-how he felt about Emily Post on the CPO and the Trotskyites. Two istic orgies against opponents. united fronts, the etiquette of in other members of the L.P.Z. fought fessor Gebert in the city of the "Fascism," he said, "is dragging vitations, etc.
central Europe back to barbarism."

to strike a death blow to the mon- national Solidarity," but that there "united front" and that of the CP were some fl'es in the contment united front celebration. The SP was to be judge and jury of all or wants international solidarity but ganizations, their importance, sinis afraid of Cook County solidar cerity, and role, there would be ity. He called for a joint obser- "united front demonstrations" run

its members and sympathizers. There was no answer. There was

So, do the "militants" correct the sectarianism of the "reaction

The Communist Party Follows

"347 delegates representing 263 organizations" gathered together in Chicago Sunday morning in the Communist party, the I.W.O., the Communist party of Councils and I.L.D., Unemployed Councils and After the vote one of the deleparty fraternal organizations congates from the Left Poale Zion Over 500 workers gathered in Irving Plaza to hear Jay Lovestone and Lawrence Dennis debate the question of Communism or Fascism—Which way for the workers?

Dennis' position can be summar-lic forms of class rule and its resort.

> well on the floor. The only opposi-In conclusion he appealed for unity and solidarity of all workers to strike a death blow to the monwarning the comrades of the party it seems as if the CP has its own that as long as the party insisted united front conference and its own as did the SP, that it and it alone

by each organization separately. It was necessary to have one and posed to united fronts on prin-iple, no one bothered to deay The ciple, no one bothered to deny. The "militants" wept bitter tears at this "accident of fate."

Value of May Day, not two analis Day and that had to include all workers organizations if it was this "accident of fate."

Value of May Day, not two analis Day and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the definite members and sympathizers.

The pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was necessary that the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was necessary that the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and that had to include all workers organizations if it was the pay and the pay a monstrated. It was precisely the party attitude on this question the conference of the fight the CPO is carrying on, through locals of mass organizations, to force the SP to change its May Day plans.

The main oracle (Gebert) then spoke: "these people have nothing in common with the working class." He linked us all up with Roosevelt, Green and John Fitzpatrick. When he announced that the only from below" all the delegates ex-

The credentials committee major- of the Workers Committee on Unity report was given by Sam employment. She evidently decided Cohen of the NTWIU who conthat she had observed enough and

Celebrate May First By IOINING THE **COMMUNIST PARTY** (Opposition) 51 West 14th St.

New York City

The April 7th issue of the "New perial claims is nothing less than Leader" devotes its pages to Anti-War propaganda. Since the young the final stage of capitalism, in

within the conservative trade

unions. The new TUUL puts the

Building Red Unions

the red trade unions are dual!

in this light, the proposals au of profit for the bourgeoisie.

vanced for the abolition of war and the creation of a new society, a Only when capitalism, and with the creation of a new society, a Only when capitalism, and with disastrously in 1914 because it considerable in by the same Socialist who signed "The only peace movement," the creation of a new society, a social order in which war will be a relic of the dark age.

The first article is by Norman Thomas and in it he has certain elementary demands to make to avert war.

Only when capitalism, and with disastrously in 1914 because it con- above was written on Feb. 11, 1917, war is the communist way out. tained no clear plan of resistance in by the same Socialist who signed there be no oppression and exploitation of national and colonial peoples. Only then will there be no oppression and exploitation of national and colonial peoples. Only then will there be no manufacture of munitions, for either an absolute distortion of the against Czarism, — the late Mornan and in it he has certain elementary demands to make to any then will we have avert war.

The Basle Manufesto adopted by support a new war to end war, or any the resulting the fall of capitalism. This is strikes of the Russ. an workers is the international Socialist movement, therefore, that has any validity the fall of capitalism. This is strikes of the Russ. an workers is the international Socialist movement, therefore, that has any validity the fall of capitalism. This is strikes of the Russ. an workers is the communist way out. "The basle Manifesto greeting the same Socialist who signed the refore, that has any validity the fall of capitalism." This is strikes of the Russ. an workers is the international Socialist movement, the fall of capitalism. This is strikes of the Russ. an workers is the international Socialist movement, the fall of capitalism. The fall of capitalism. The fall of capitalism was an absolute distortion of the gagainst Czarism, — the late Mornan and the fall of capitalism. The fall of capitalism was an absolute distortion of the gagainst Czarism, — the late Mornan and the fall of capitalism." The fall of capitalism was an absolute distortion of the gagainst Czarism, — the late Mornan and the fall of capitalism. The fall of capitalism was an about distortion of the gagainst Czarism, — the late Mornan and the

what makes for a genuine peace in the world..."—4. "Never again will we try to grow rich or let any of our manufacturers or bankers solution between the communist, not of our manufacturers or bankers solution of capital created by the war in order to of our manufacturers or bankers solution of capital created by the war in order to of our manufacturers or bankers solution of capital created by the war in order to of our manufacturers or bankers solution of capital created by the war in order to constitute the communist of the proposition of capital created by the war in order to constitute the communist of the proposition of capital created by the war in order to constitute the communist of the proposition of capital created by the war in order to constitute the communist of the proposition of capital created by the war in order to constitute the communist of the proposition of capital created by the war in order to constitute the communist of the proposition of capital created by the war in order to constitute the communist of the proposition of capital created by the war in order to constitute the communist of the community o

by Dan Nilva

other citizens. I do not believe war, would only be realized by the that the Socialists will advocate turning of the struggle into civil worker of today is the cannon food to morrow, I shall examine in this light, the proposals advanced for the abolition of war and or profit for the bourgeoise.

That the Socialists will advocate that the Socialists will advocate the thing of the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate that the Socialists will advocate the thing of the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the the thing of the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the theorem and of the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the theorem and of the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the theorem and of the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the theorem and of the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the theorem and of the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the cannon food the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the theorem and of the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the cannon food to be destroyed. Also good. Now listen any general industrial strike to this: "This anti-war poncy was hand cap the country in its present that the Socialists will advocate the capital strike to the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the capital strike to the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the capital strike to the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the capital strike to the struggle mice that the Socialists will advocate the struggle mice that the Socialist will advocate the struggle mice that the Socialist will advocate the struggle mice the struggle mice that the Socialist will advocate the struggle mice the struggle mi

avert war.

1. "America must stop the race in armaments." — 2. "America must take the lead in abandoning imperial claims, whether in Haiti or in China." — 3. "Finally we must insist on the basic principle that the U. S. will cooperate in longed civil war, the workers should be victorious, the form of the

grow rich in providing belligerent munist government he means the thereby hasten the downfall of capnations with finances and muninations with finances and muniproletarian dictatorship. Kirby italistic class domination," i. e.,
tions or the raw materials and Page is correct. When the workers to hasten the proletarian revoluitalism." Therefore, "the only force Communist International since its munitions."
All one need do is ask the question, how? To this we find no answer. Is it to be done by disarmament conferences, peace conferences, the League of Nations, Is and we know the kind of Socialism ences, the League of Nations of the Leagu possibly by resolutions of the International Socialist Congress?

The imperialist world today finds the Soviet Union—and we under—national. It was the Bolsheviks of that Norman Thomas was a "con—ism and war by raising the class" The imperialist world today finds itself in the strangling throes of the worst crisis of capitalism and is seeking a way out. The post-war distribution of the world market is today the dagger in the heart of capitalism. Each imperialist nation seeks to oust the other imperialist modern wars; make this connection of the world market is to our the post-war capitalism. The imperialist modern wars; make this connection of the world market is seeks to oust the other imperialist modern wars; make this connection of the world market is stand what the construction of the world market is anyone can say that the policy of the 2nd one of two things will happen. The imperialist modern wars; make this connection of the world market is the same fusal to bear arms" is wide-spread. One of two things will happen one in the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil war, that is our support the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil war, that is our support to the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil war, that is our support to the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil war, that is our support to the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil war, that is our support to the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil war, that is our support to the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil war, that is our support to the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil war, that is our support to the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil war, the strikes will be supported by the determination of the world market is anyone can say that the policy of the 3rd International is the same functions objector" and how it that Norman Thomas was a "con-indication objector" and how it the strike in the indication objector" and how it the stable peace but its highest level, civil war, only by turning imperialist anyone can say that the policy of the 3rd International is the same functions objector" and how it the stable peace but its highe

The final article is by Beren- est pacifism and show an ignorance if not fear, of leading socialists to approach and clarify the issue of the war question. lowed by Lenin in 1917 and the Communist International since its

seeks to oust the other imperialist modern wars; make this connect power and the capture of its tion clear to the working classes, face, is quite beyond me. She market. In such a situation when the capitalist world sees war in the near future, to speak of disarrament, or of abandoning im
seeks to oust the other imperialist modern wars; make this connect reaction for the strikes, will use all weapons at its strikes, will use all weapons at its strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes. The strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but civil so the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but all the strikes. The strikes are the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but all the strikes. The strikes are the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but all the strikes. The strikes are the strikes, will use all weapons at its peace but all the strikes. The strikes are the strikes are the strikes. The strikes are the strikes are the strikes are the strikes. The strikes are the st

The New Party Line and the Young Communist League

The author of this article is still at the place of the YCL'er. Only member of the Young Communist when there is no red union, actual

muddled situation in the Communist party, it is to be found clearly mirrored in the work of the Young Communist Leaves of the Young its party, it is to be found clearly mirrored in the work of the Young union line of the CI, the TUUL unions as well as the following the result of the State o Communist League. Every worker knows that there have been 6 world congresses, 13 plenums, national plenums and account to the of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of course, became the guiding line for the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, the CI, the CI, the CI, the CI, the TUUL issued its program, which of the CI, t tional plenums, and conventions, The TUUL states "The old TUEL district conventions, section con- places the main stress upon work ferences, and, of course, unit meetings. There have also been speeches and lines and new lines on every principal emphasis upon the organphase and manner of work. To ization of unorganized workers them, these mean nothing more into industrial unions independent than new phrases to be memorized, of the AFL." Seeing this definite old ones to be cast off, and ex- line, one can readily understand planations to be made in the one the YCL position. sentence: "Changes in tactics are necessary with changing situa-

arian isolation." A very serious group is this "Vanguard of the youth." Unfortunately, it has as yet to learn not to swallow everything whole. Now these sincere would-be Marxist-Leninists have a very had case of some process of some to save the state of shout 100 000 (Stackball) and the state of shout 100 000 (Stackball) and

Here let us deal mainly with Y In June of 1933, when the A. F. CL work in the trade unions. Fol- L. organization drive assumed formist leadership. Thus in analyslowing the party line, its work momentum, the party began to in the situation the YCL came to theoretician of the CPUSA made lies in both the red and "reform- write about opposition work in the following conclusion — they the following statement: ist" or "reactionary" trade unions. But here we must would work on this group and "use the following trade unions with the following trade unions. In both it attempts to set up pause to notice another of the these 250 militant workers as the youth committees, and generally phenomena which thrive in the of-lead the youth sections. Let us ficial Communist movement. In the follow the YCL's progress, see first place, there is no such thing Comrade Weiss spoke of? how its work has advanced, where as dual unionism for the CP. Not it has led us and what are the only do they deny that they are conclusions to be derived. union-splitters, but they deny that

Which Union to Join?

liar phenomena. The most sig- only one trade union, "a class union program and to the League nificant of these is their jack-inbox attitude towards the question
of which unions to join. It is taken

struggle trade union" one can see
that they are consistent. But if
work of the League in the AFL
you follow their logic, is the workunions." This is not union-splitfor granted at all times in the Y ing class going to follow you? ting and certainly not dual union CL that where there is an Industrial union in an industry, there can be no question as to where is We quote an article written by as February 15, 1932, the inter-large large larg

by S. Underwood

If ever there was evidence of the times, in any case, the YCL echoes Builder (Inner discussion organ o

"The youth of the red trade unions as well as the YUL must carry on permanent work (? in the reformist trade unionsputting forth demands for struggie for trade union demo cracy, struggle for the election of the leadership, for the united front, systematic exposure of the treachery of the reformis

When the red trade union line was first adopted by the CI the YCL came to the conciusion that the most important task was to get the working youth into the red union," on districts, sections, shops, streets, units and everything else under the sun. See section of Y CL Builder on "failure to concentrate for the League means secttate for the League membership was concentration." A very serious group is this "Vanguard of the section of the section." A very serious group is this "Vanguard of the section." A very serious group is this "Vanguard of the section." The latest line, on how to get the conciusion that the most important task was to get the working youth into the red union?" And does he, acturate the conciusion that the most important task was to get the working youth into the red unions?" And does he, acturate unions?" And does he, acturate unions?" And does he, acturate the most important task was to get the working youth into the red union line was first adopted by the CI the YCL came to the conciusion that the most important task was to get the working youth into the red unions?" And does he, acturated unions very bad case of sour pickles and sweet cream.

Workers while the 1000 could but workers who were known as the statistics.) ling down shops. These workers , were extremely loyal to the re-

Losovsky Tells How In the 9th issue of the Builder, unions. If you follow their logic, they state: "The winning of the The YCL is chock-full of pecu- which maintains that "we want youth for the revolutionary trade

wrest from them the workers, that we want to explode the trade union apparatus and to be the slightest doubt."

Stachel Hails Victories

In his article in the Dec. 1933 there is an article by comrade Ben frum of the NTWIU, entitled constaints, among the opposition groups."

May we ask what Comrade Weiss means by his remark "the youth of the red trade unions, as well as the YCL, must carry on permanent work in the reformist.

In his article in the Dec. 1933 there is an article by comrade Ben frum of the NTWIU, entitled "Lessons of Trade Union Work." Comrade Frum bewails the fact that in the youth section of the union, 13 out of 15 members on the youth committee are YCL'ers. As usual, this is due to incorrect work in the union. If it has ever In his article in the Dec. 1933

Foster Wins the Miners

In the Communist of July, 1931, William Z. Foster, the trade union "The development of thi

struggle (the miner's strike) under the leadership of the National Miners Union, fully supports the program of build ing the new unions. It is a blow in the face to such people as the Lovestoneites. All the croakings that the NMU is isolated from the masses, has been dealt deadly smash....It would be in teresting indeed to see Lovestone come here and tell the workers to go back into the strike breaking UMWA."

ism. So they say! But as far back The Miners Came, Saw and-Left

expressed in the RILU Plenum, stoneite, sings a different song: where Comrade Losovsky stated: "In the Pittsburgh District all our "There is no need to show comrades in the mining industry from the house-tops destroy either are or should be in the UM the unions' as was done in WA." Comrade Foster surely Germany. But that we want to break up the reformist trade unions, that we want to explode has at a particular critical period, their discipline, that we want to but of how many workers it can destroy it—of that there cannot our comrades will honestry study this experience.

And More Lamenting

In the 7th issue of the Builder,

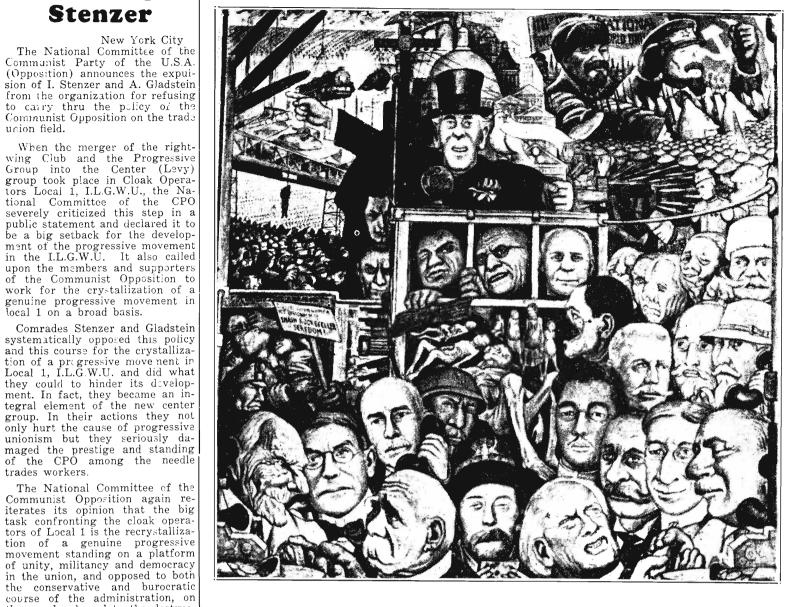
the Theses and resolutions:

"...In the very first year of its existence the Communist International disavowed all sectarian tendencies. It called upon all the parties affiliated to it, however small they might be, to enter the unions and from within overcome the trade union burocracy in order to transform the trade unions into revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat, and into efficient organs of struggle.' Again we quote from the same

Congress decisions: "During the next epoch the principal task of all communists will be to concentrate their energy and perseverance on winning over the majority of the workers in all labor unions.

They must not be discouraged (Continued on Page 9)

WORKERS AGE



THE RIVERA WAR PANEL AT THE NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

want and it does not even want to delegates.

Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition)

Progressive Knitters
Organizing

The progressives in Local 155 I.E.G.W.U. have issued a statement on the situation in the local. After dealing with the severe economic situation in the shops, the incompetency of the leadership and the jurisdictional dispute with the U.T.W. the statement proceeds to say:

| Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition) | Want and it does not even want to glegates. Want to members delegates. Nor should any knitgoods workers. But for us progressives the convention is an opportunity to place the big for candidate of the so-called "Left Group". These people do not want to build our union but want to undermine and destroy it. They are agents of the dual "Into " against the interests of the knitgoods workers, before the supreme body of our union. They are oppose interest of all knitgoods workers. It be a program which is to the interests of a program which is to the interests of the knitgoods workers, before the supreme body of our union. They are agents of the dual "Into " against the interests of the surgoods workers. But for us progressives the convention is an opportunity to place the big for called "Left Group". These people do not want to build our union but want to undermine and destroy it. They are agents of the dual "Into " and carry out the instruction of the "Industrial Union" and carry out the knitgoods workers, before the supreme body of our union. They are agents of the dual "Into " and carry out the instruction of the wint to undermine and destroy it. They are agents of the dual "Into " and carry out the instruction of the wint of all knitgoods workers. It want to undermine and destroy it. They are agents of the dual "Into " and carry out the knitgoods workers, before the supreme body of our union. They are agents of the dual three suprements are convention of the wint of the knitgoods workers. But for us problems of our local, the

lems of the knitgoods workers. But

Conference New York City.

N. Y. May Day

The May Day Conference, called y the Socialist party here resultin a rather large turnout of lelegates, especially were the trade unions well represented. After some hesitation the arrangements committee finally seated the delegates from the C.P.O., Trotskyites and American Workers party.

The problems that caused the greatest amount of discussion were he character of the conference and he question of admitting the Comnunist Party.

The CPO delegation fought vigrously for inviting the CP, but afer a long discussion, in which Madison Square Garden figured rominently, this proposal was de-

Comrade Zimmerman, a delegate from the Dressmakers Joint Board, roposed that the conference organize itself as a Labor Conference for May Day and not as a So-cialist and Labor Conference. After a heated discussion the conerence defeated Zimmerman's proosal. The delegates from most of the unions supported Zimmernan's stand.

Zimmerman then declared his withdrawal from the previously elected executive D. Benjamin stated for the C.P.O. that since it s a Socialist conference, the CPO would have to reconsider its atti-

Because of the sentiment aroused and the stand of the trade unions, the conference decision was later reversed. The name agreed upon s May Day Labor Conference.

Arrangements for the parade and demonstration are in full swing and the turn-out is expected to be the biggest that New York as ever seen.

Our administration does not Do not vote for the candidates of just a picnic with lots of good seem to care what the members the administration as convention times without regard to the prob-Board of New York.

Y. C. L. and the New Line

Centrism Shows Its Face

(Continued from Page 6) in the U.S." This slander peculiarity less and the star international with the U.S." This slander peculiarity comes from one who makes a same plane, and thereby reveals revolutionary party of the workand the AWP in its program, go Union." World Revolution.

C.P.-O. Expels

Stenzer

New York City The National Committee of t

Communist Party of the U.S.A

(Opposition) announces the expui

sion of I. Stenzer and A. Gladstein

from the organization for refusing

to carry thru the policy of the

Communist Opposition on the trade

When the merger of the right-wing Club and the Progressive Group into the Center (Levy)

group took place in Cloak Operators Local 1, I.L.G.W.U., the Na-

severely criticized this step in a

public statement and declared it to

upon the members and supporters

of the Communist Opposition to

Comrades Stenzer and Gladstein

work for the crystallization of genuine progressive movement in

systematically opposed this policy and this course for the crystalliza-

tion of a progressive move nent in Local 1, I.L.G.W.U. and did what

they could to hinder its develop-

tegral element of the new center

group. In their actions they no

only hurt the cause of progressiv

unionism but they seriously da

trades workers.

maged the prestige and standing of the CPO among the needle

The National Committee of th Communist Opposition again reiterates its opinion that the bi

task confronting the cloak opera-tors of Local 1 is the recrystalliza-tion of a genuine progressive

movement standing on a platform of unity, militancy and democrac

in the union, and opposed to both the conservative and burocratic

course of the administration, of

the one hand, and to the destruct

tive dual unionist course of th "Left Group", on the other.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of the U.S.A.

ment. In fact, they became an in

local 1 on a broad basis.

be a big setback for the develop

AWP—Anti-Comintern

main in sympathetic contact and engage in discussions with all who are interested in that problem, and especially with those parties which like ourselves cannot accept the 2nd or 3rd International today."

fetish of an "American" revolu-lits centrist character. No wonder

tional as well. It would substitute Lenin a new International led by The AWP takes a clear-cut stand against the Communist International. The program says:

Lenin a new international led by such stalwart revolutionaries as J.

B. S. Hardman, part of the Hillman bureaucratic and class-col-"The problem of developing an ef-fective international of revolution-gamated Clothing Workers of ary labor is an exceedingly com- America and Professor Sidney

Vulgarizing The "American Approach"

because of that approach. The program is full of appeals to the "people," "persons," "citizens," "people," "persons," "citizens," "all," "majority of men," "Americans," lithe Norwegian Labor Party which the Norwegian Labor Party which that the Communist International the Norwegian Labor Party which its appeal to all classes, to the has destroyed the World Revolution.
This position is the same as taken by Muste in his article "An Amer-live and the Norwegian Babol Latty which has destroyed the World Revolution.
This position is the same as taken "effective international" of "revolutionary" labor and which rejects wants a "free (!) workers demonstrated in the Norwegian Babol Latty which has appear to an classes, to the citizenry as a whole, to the nation, a la McDonald and Snowden. It wants a "free (!) workers demonstrated in the Norwegian Babol Latty which has destroyed the World Revolution. by Muste in his article "An American Revolutionary Party" when the 2nd or 3rd international. The he said, "It is certain that the CPSU will not directly or indirectly promote revolutionary activity les and the 3rd international with its reformist principles on the less and the 3rd international with literature on the less and the 3rd international with literature on the less and the 3rd international with literature on the less and the 3rd international with literature on the less are the less and the 3rd international with less are the less are

tionary party, of one who claims the AWP rejects the 3rd interna- ing class will not appeal to the to understand that a revolution in tional brought into existence by capitalist section of the "nation" a particular country must be made the Russian Revolution, for it cona particular country must be made the Russian Revolution, the foreign office of the Soviet Need it be mentioned that the out of the way to make the attack that the CPSU, the CI, and the Thermidor theory from the Soviet for "all" since it is very definitely this suggestion to all those in or proletarian state is not interested up these pages with quotations. in peace, security, and happiness | We need but select a few and give Soviet Union are not interested in Union to the Communist Interna- opposed to peace, security and hap- sympathetic to the CP and YCL oiness for the capitalist class. The Read the theses and resolutions for the Communist International of AWP criticizes the SP for reform- the six congresses of the CI and ism, legalism and parliamentarism those of the RILU. One will be and then adopts the very same anazed at the scathing criticism principles itself.

On every basic principle of the plex one. The AWP will be con- Hook who refused to defend and proletarian revolutionary movecerned to do all that is in its power toward its solution, and retions in the Teachers Union in centrist and therefore basically The AWP just as the SP not only value its program has is that was not dual unionism, at that (Emphasis mine-D. B.) The AWP only takes a parliamentary apfeels a kinship with those parties proach to the basic problems of scious worker who reads it care-| Congress, Nov. 1922): that are for the formation of a the working class, but blurs class fully that the AWP is not a revo-4th or centrist international. It lines even in that approach, in fact lutionary party.

(Continued from Page 8) by the present reactionary tendency of the labor unions, but take part actively in the daily struggles of the union and win them over to the cause of Communism in spite of all resist-

In reference to the U.S.A. the

"Communiste should on no get into the old trade unions in ported order to revolutionize them.

It is not our desire here to fill of any dual unionist lines such as juse of the German comrades in A Party Of Centrist Confusion | 1922-1923, before the line was so

What To Do If Expelled In the YCL especially, the favorreformist character. Its entrance ite explanation for the existence of into the political arena will simply dual unions is that comrades were result in more division, more confusion, and the strengthening of the influence of reformism. The consideration. But its conclusion

> "Those expelled should remain isolated for one day.

The forms of their organizations may change in accordance with local conditions. But whatever the form of organization of the expelled may be, they must carry on a steadfast struggle for readmission.'

"We Never Split A Trade Union"

more significant quotat count leave the ranks of the on the question of union-splitting reactionary federation of Lab- and we may go on. In 1924, Zinoor. On the contrary they should viev, at the 5th Party Congress re-

"In spite of all political splits we (the Bolsheviks) never split a trade union; neither before nor after the revolution. This is something to think about, comrades, 25 years splitting on the political field-the Mensheviks called us professional splitters—and not a single split on the trade union field. This is a fundamental fact in the history of the Russian revolution and in the history of Russian Bolshevism. Why did we not split a single trade union? Because we love the Mensheviki or because we regarded the trade unions as something holy that must not be touched? No! Because we understand that the trade unions are the point of concentration of the proletarian masses, of the entire working class." This indeed is something to

think about comrades. (To Be Continued),

May Day Greetings to the Workers Age

GREETINGS TO THE WORKERS AGE

INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

"Training for the class struggle"

Betram D. Wolfe, Director John Phillips, Associate Director

Ray Michael, Secretary

Detroit Unit-CPO

Boston Unit-CPO.

51 WEST 14th STREET NEW YORK CITY Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

REVOLUTIONARY MAY DAY GREETINGS

Workers Age

GROUP OF MONTREAL WORKERS

Revolutionary Greetings

Workers Age

DRESSMAKERS UNIT C. P. O.

Fraternal Greetings

WORKERS AGE

JOINT COUNCIL FURRIERS UNION Affiliated with A. F. of L. 28 Wes 31st Street, N. Y. C.

International May Day Greetings to

WORKERS AGE

For the solidarity of the workers of Canada and the U. S. A. in the struggle for emancipation

WORKERS LEAGUE OF CANADA

International Solidarity Greetings THE WORKERS AGE

Revolutionary Greetings

THE WORKERS AGE

Revolutionary Greetings

THE WORKERS AGE Hartford Unit—CPO.

Communist Greetings

THE WORKERS AGE Chicago Unit-CPO.

Communist Greetings

THE WORKERS AGE Philadelphia Unit-CPO.

-: Greetings:-

We call upon all workers to lock hands with us in this May

With combined vigor, we must raise our voices against fascism, against Hitlerism and against reaction!

With concerted strength of all workers, we must rededicate our energies in the fight.

AGAINST

Unemployment - Wage - Cuts - Imperialist War

FOR

Life - Freedom - Peace

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT

Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union

J. HOCHMAN, Gen. Manager. I WASILEVSKY, President Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treasurer

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY DAY reetings to the

WORKERS AGE Inthracite District—CPO.

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS PITTSBURGH UNIT C. P. O.

Revolutionary Greetings to

WORKERS AGE

Fort Wayne Unit-CPO.

Communist Greetings WORKERS AGE

Fort Mayne Youth Unit

For Communism Against Capitalism

Los Angeles Unit

Fraternal Greetings

WORKERS AGE

GROUP OF SHOE WORKERS

May Day Greetings THE WORKERS AGE From a Hartford Friend.

SOVIET **AMERICA Bronx Unit C.P.O.**

May Day Greetings from the

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

LITHUANIAN WORKERS' SOCIETY

M. MATULIS, Secy.

For united action against DOWNTOWN UNIT 1

New York District

FOR UNITED ACTION WAR AND FASCISM

Downtown Unit—2 C. P. O.

For a Struggle Against War and Fascism BROWNSVILLE UNIT

New York District

Against Imperialist War Against Militarism

For a Soviet America YOUTH SECTION, C. P. O. New York District

Revolutionary Greetings

Workers Age HARLEM UNIT C. P. O.

Revolutionary May Day Greetings

WORKERS AGE

NEW YORK DISTRICT—C.P.O.

Revolutionary Greetings S. SCHLEIFER

MAY DAY GREETINGS Dr. S. Berkowitz DENTIST 990 Hopkinson Ave. Brooklyn, N. Y.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

WORKERS AGE

FURRIERS PROGRESSIVE GROUP

A LETTER TO THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

National Executive Committee Proletarian Party of America Chicago, Illinois.

mands as well as on the question of allies the Party ignores the teachings of Lenin. Although it claims not to be opposed to partial demands in principle, the Party takes every precaution to exclude them rigidly from Party practice, not only in the present but also far into the future.

There was much evidence in the conditions which are not community into conditions which are not community which are not community who serve well seem immune to this sort of criticism. The follows or does it indicate a desire to fossional revolutionists has been in effect to limit the number of them actually guiding the day-to-day affairs of the Party to a single one. The Party to a single one.

There are Social-democratic.

There are Social-democratic, study circle tendencies in the Party, which perhaps find their most obvious expression on the West Coast. One of the results of these tendencies is the attitude that nothing really worth while can be done until broad masses of workers have been given a fairly complete understanding of theoretical Marxism. The study of tactics and Lensing writings in general together. in's writings in general, together with their application to present conditions, are thus relegated to a position of minor importance.

Letter Andadiii

Sam Berman

Sam Bail

Dr. S. Berkowitz

The Party's attitude on the Al. Berkowitz

The Party's attitude on the Negro question is another example of the tendency to reduce Marxism to a stereotyped formula.

The Party's attitude toward unity and toward the C. I. is one of utter inconsistency. The importance of unity and discipline is continually stressed when Party discussions become too critical to suit the Party leadership, still no move for communist unity in the United States has been initiated, or even honestly supported by the Party. The Party is outside the C. I. and contemplates remain.

Al. Berkowitz Albert Bell
D. Benjamin
Barish
E. Butkus
D. Bulanka
Borin
Beckie Berkowitz
Julius Betcher
Mania Bieber
Harry Bumble
Morris Burnstein
M. Bailowitz the C. I. and contemplates remaining so, yet it has never expressed any theoretical or practical disagreement with the C. I. itself to

agreement with the C. I. Itself to justify this separation.

Neither has it pointed out any of the mistakes of the C. I. although it is common knowledge that the C. I. forced upon the C. P. of A. several tactics which the Party has rightly ridiculed the C. P. of A. for adopting. It is not consistent to criticize the C. P. of A for tactics given to it by the A. for tactics given to it by the C. I. and at the same time to adopt an attitude which amounts in practice to an unqualified endorsement of the C. I. except in regard A. Elnick

Flocker

Harry Fox

Wm. Fogel

V. Fay

Millie Flora

B. Friedman

S. Friedman

N. Forman

A Friend

M. Frank

V. Gelo

Galasso

S. Gillis

Gordon

L. Gaskin

Goldberg

L. Gassner

Ginsberg

T. Grunes

Clare Greene

Sarah Gross

W. Harris

E. Hochberg

S. Hertz

A. Hirsch

Isadore Gross

Mollie Ğurkewitz

Abe Gurovitch

B. G.

Frances R. Fox

Chicago, Illinois.

Comrades:

When I resigned from the Proletarian Party at the National Convention in Detroit on September 7th, arian Party at the National Convention in Detroit on September 7th, written statement of the principal reasons for my resignation. Briefly greated they are as follows:

I mention specifically only one condition which reads as follows:

The mention specifically only one condition which reads as follows:

The National Secretary has hystarily demanded the greatest in a bourgeon which reads as follows:

The National Secretary has hystarily demanded the greatest in the July 1933 bulletin made the smallest detail be handled by compared they again that the structure of the Party is not a Compared they are as follows:

The National Secretary has hystarily demanded the greatest in the July 1933 bulletin made the smallest detail be handled by compared they again that the structure of the Party structure of the party structure of the party structure of the propertical level in a bourgeon structure of the new Party.

The National Secretary has hystarian province of democracy in minor poeritically only one condition.

The Attitude of the Party toward they are the attainment of numerical fight the attainment of numerical structure of the new Party.

The National Secretary has hystarian province of democracy in minor poeritically democratic Party, structure of the new Party.

The National Secretary has hystarian province of democracy in minor poeritically only one condition.

The Attitude of the Party toward they are the Attainment of numerical fight the attainment of numerical structure of the new Party.

The National Secretary has hystarian province of the new Party.

The Attainment of numerical interval influence.

The Attainment of numerical fight the cross structure of the new Party is tructure of the new Party.

The Attainment of numerical influence.

The National Secretary has hystarian influence.

The National Secretary has hystarian influence.

The National Secretary has hystarian influenc

R. Iannutuno

Martha Jacobs

Jean Imber

. Kuvdis

. Karelitz

. Kasten

Peter Kutt

Ben Lander

I. Leonard

R. Linder

Eva Levin

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Ioan March

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Louis Rosenthal

H. Rabinowitz

Samuel Spiegel

Max Schuster

Sam Sinensky

Bobby Sachstein

Bertha Rothstein

Pelozzola

Phillips

Noto

stated, they are as follows:

First, the Party's position and procedure is not Leninist, and in some respects it does not correctly son advanced for rejecting such large that the large that the form of the large that the stated the greatest individual sassumed the

Sam Schwartz

Robert Strong

Sheba Strunsky

Mollie Stone

M. C. Stewart

H. Schlachter

Jack Smith

R. Shluger

Schwartz

Sckolnick

Solomon

D. Shantzro

Louis Shapiro

L. Steinberg

Jack Taksen

Paul Tauber

Bill Turner

E. Taylor

Amor Tillman

I. Titiefsky

Ellen Ward

F. Zweibon

Zarieff

Thomas

I. Sherch

Nathan Stilnick

Celia Silverman

instead of the P. P. as its American section. A Communist organization may have justification for being temporarily outside the C. I. mention specifically only one conditions to the condition of the property of the condition of the property of the proper

procedure is not Leninist, and in some respects it does not correctly interpret the earlier teachings of Marx and Engels.

Although some of the Party's most flagrant departures from Leninist democratic centralism were patched up at the last convention, making it less easy for the National Secretary to act arbitrarily, still, the structure and operation of 'the Party' are not those of democratic centralism.

The Party's attitude in regarding the small farmer and other poor, non-wage-earning elements of the workers, is mechanical and will become increasingly reactionary as the class struggle matures.

On the contrary, there was a law and supplied to the convention, no one made any definite attempt to denventing, no made any definite attempt to denventing made any definite attempt to denventing that communists should not allow made any definite attempt to denventing that communists unity of the required from the made any definite attempt to denventing that communists with National Secretary the National Secretary was not subject to the class struggle by too much particularly those pertain that communist mity of the required degree of purity. However, I suspect that the unity proposed in the contrary, there was a location of the National Executive Committee.

On the contrary, there was a location of the National Executive and the commitment will be changed. This was provent the sum of the Willespread agreement that the midting to Party structure was wrong and by the casting of eleven votes its own discredit or disadvantage, at the Convention for a communist into of the National Executive Committee.

In fact, the efforts of the National Executive National Secretary was not subject to the direction of the National Executive Committee.

In fact, the efforts of the National Executive National Secretary was not subject to the Committee.

In fact, the efforts of the National Secretary to keep Party, without consulting the working class under capture the vote of the Chairman to retain the advertigation. The here of the Wi

fort, the National Secretary stress-ed the need for strong Party dis-cipline. Lenin says that Communist discipline is based on two things, unity of action, and freedom of discussion and criticism. This means that unity of action should be stressed at the expense of dis-cussion and criticism when there is a special need for united action and when freedom of discussion and criticism is of lesser immediate importance. Contrary to this, the National Secretary raised the issue of discipline and unity at a time when freedom of discussion and criticism should have been emphasized for several reasons: First, it was during the Party's period of open discussion. Second, because there was a decidedly critical attitude toward the leadership, and a decided disagreement as to program and tactics, which could best be removed by discussion and criticism. Third, there was no special activity in which the Party was engaged or about to be engaged which called for united action, or which would have suffered as a result of discussion and criticism. Raising the issue of discipline to limit discussion and criticism under these conditions was a clean

distortion of Leninism In conclusion, I find myself now even more than when I resigned at the Convention in disagreement with many positions taken by the Party, and I am particularly more than ever opposed to the individualistic Party leadership, which is not only unsound and futile, but, in my opinion, by no means free

from hypocrisy.

Although I have previously regarded the Proletarian Party as the best expression of Communism in the United States, I can no long-(Continued on Page 12)

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May 1, 1934.

MAY DAY OF STRUGGLE

The World In Crisis

MAY FIRST 1934 dawns upon the capitalist world in its most severe economic crisis. Tens of millions of working people unemployed, starving and in rags constitute a real threat to the very existence of capitalism. Faced with this menace, its economic structure rocking on its very foundation and its political superstructure -democracy-a smouldering ruin, capitalism resorts to the naked sword-Fascism.

Thruout central Europe Fascism's march to power has left ruin and devastation in its wake. The labor movement of Germany and Austria is crushed, its organizations and hard won conditions ruthlessly uprooted and its best fighters tortured in the dungeons of Fascism.

In the rest of Europe it is a race between the rapidly swelling ranks of Fascism and the earnest beginnings being made to weld against them an iron proletarian fighting front. A race upon which the life of the labor movement depends.

In the United States the impetus for organization into the American Federation of Labor has already resulted in its becoming stronger than it ever was. But under the banner of the NRA, the Roosevelt New Deal for capitalism has meant powerful, national manufacturers' associations, the sanction of monoply control of industry (suspension of Sherman Anti-Trust Law), recognition of company unions (Auto agreement) and the abridgement of the right to strike, thru administrative orders. The company unions have far outstripped the A. F. of L. in recent growth.

The A. F. of L. faces this condition, archaic in its craft form of organization and die-hard reactionary in its class collaborationist policies and leadership. Both will have to go, if progress is to

Despite all boasts of the New Deal, 40,000,000 people continue to starve in this the richest land there ever was. Relief doles are being slashed and a vicious system of repression begun to beat the unemployed into submission. Lynchings and brutal terror against the Negro masses are on the increase. The exploitation of colonial peoples, under American "benevolent" rule, has been tremendously intensified in order to replenish the coffers of American capitalists. A Fascist movement is beginning to spring up.

The Soviets March On

May First 1934 finds the proletariat over one sixth of the globe continuing to strengthen and insure the gains of its 1917 revolution. As against unemployment under capitalism, we have a shortage of labor in the Soviet Union. As against falling wages and starvation, we have a rising living standard and constantly shorter hours in the land of proletarian rule. As against insecurity and despair of the workers under capitalism, we have the most farreaching system of social insurance. As against the chaos of capitalism, we have the planned building of a socialist society. Destruction, decay and despair under capitalism-construction growth and inspiration in the land of Soviets.

The Soviet Union stands as a living proof that the toilers of the world can build a socialist society without masters, without exploiters. Respected and feared by its capitalist foes, it is a source of inspiration to the proletariat of all lands on its difficult road to

On May First 1934 we pledge ourselves to the unconditional defense of this citadel of the world revolution, the Soviet Union, our ist fatherland

The Danger of War

Hard-pressed for new markets by the ravages of the economic crisis, the fires of national hatreds fanned into flames by victorious Fascism, the world is again facing a new imperialist world slaughter.

In an immediate sense the sword-rattling policy of Japanese Imperialism in the Far East may be the spark to set off this world conflagration. The frankly stated Japanese designs on Siberia may result in war despite the most desperate efforts of the Soviet Union to avoid it. The recent pronouncement of Japan, declaring its "protectorate" over China, endangers the imperialist interests of the U. S. A., Great Britain, etc. and may result in war.

It is the working masses who fight, bleed and die by the millions in these imperialist wars. We must resist all war plans of our own government. If war comes nevertheless, we must be prepared to utilize the lesson taught us by our Russian brothers—we must turn the imperialist war into a civil war against our own oppressors.

The Revolutionary Labor Movement The severe economic crisis and the victories of Fascism have un-

covered the weaknesses of both the Second (Socialist) and the Third (Communist) Internationals—the betraval of the former, the sectarian isolation of the latter. Both have suffered severe de-

Germany has proven most decisively that, paralyzed by the tactics of ultra-leftism and isolated from the masses, the German Com-

No Peace in Auto Industry & BOOKS

WHEN Roosevelt put over his auto settlement, the more gullible believed that it spelled a period of peace in the motor industry We never for a moment felt that so great a betrayal as the Roosevelt-Green pact would go unanswered by the workers. Scarcely had the ink dried on this Versailles Treaty of American labor, when a wave of resentment swept the workers' ranks and a series of stormy strikes broke loose.

To us these are no ordinary strikes. If any strikes ever deserved the support of all labor, these, still isolated, strikes of automobile This industry has been considered sacrosanct by the most powerful open shoppers. Crisis and prosperity had hitherto left it unscathed, even untouched, by the hand of organized labor. For the first time trade unionism looms seriously on the horizon of this hitherto "untouchable." Therein, lies the great significance—and equally great danger. What labor will do in the auto industry will determine a good deal for labor in other industries, especially in those basic industries as yet either totally or scarcely organized.

The auto magnates have sensed all that is involved in this conflict, in this drive of organized labor to win a foothold in America's most concentrated, most developed and most symbolic industry. Hence, the huge and costly advertising appeal by the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce thruout the press, inclusive of the most pow erful Socialist Party paper in this country—the Jewish Daily Forward. Nor is it an accident that this yellow socialist sheet should feature an appeal against unionism in the form of an advertisement (March 17th appear against unionism in the form of an advertisement (March 17th issue) very well-paid for by such vile open shop corporations as General Motors Truck Corporation, Chrysler Sales Corporation, and Packard Motor Car Co. This is the historical and typical role of the Socialist Parties through the world in decisive moments. It is then that they are decisively against the most elementary interests of the working class. In this particularly crass case, we wonder why the honest workers in the SP keep quiet about this outright treachery.

But there is no peace in the auto industry. And, those of us who have the slightest spark of class-consciousness should see to it that there shouldn't be. The labor movement is facing here a decisive test. Let no one be trapped by Roosevelt's petty tricks nor be fooled by his large and empty sentimentalities. Icy distrust must be labor's answer especially to its double-crossing friends. Redoubled efforts at organization and boundless solidarity alone can bring victory.

munist party was impotent to strike a blow against the Fascist ad-

Germany and Austria have proven that the Socialism of the Second-International had decayed in the putrid air of the bour geois republican cabinet chambers. Its theory of class peace (Burgfrieden), its revulsion to socialism thru revolution, and its holy veneration of the dogma of democracy, had destroyed the substance of socialism leaving but the shell, the name.

The revolutionary labor movement stands confused and undecided in the face of these heavy blows. A process of crumbling has set in from both directions. The one moving away from the Socialist International but repelled by the tactics of the Comintern. The other in some cases moving away from Communism as such. The efforts to corall these conflicting elements and congeal them into a new, a Fourth International is bound to be wrecked upon the rock of unprincipledness.

The burning need of the hour is the unification of all genuinely revolutionary forces around the program of the Communist International and a continued struggle to change the tactical line of the Communist International.

The Road Ahead

Many difficult tasks lie ahead for the working masses. These can be realized only thru the united efforts of all political tendencies, of the trade unions and other working class organizations-

thru a united labor front.

The Communist Party (Opposition) extends its revolutionary greetings to the communists and all other working class fighters suffering the hell of Fascism in the concentration camps. Our fraternal greetings to our comrade, the valiant Indian fighter, M. N. Roy, who, from the Indian jails of British Imperialism, continues to lead and inspire the oppressed colonial masses of India in their struggle for emancipation.

We express our solidarity with and demand the release of Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys and all other political prisoners in the jails of the "democratic" U. S. A.

This May First we raise our voice

AGAINST Fascism!

AGAINST Imperialist War!
AGAINST Company unionism and the open shop!

AGAINST Capitalist reaction!

FOR the 6-hour 5-day week!

FOR unemployment relief and insurance!

FOR full Social and Racial Equality for the Negro! FOR International United Action against Fascism and War!

FOR the defense of the Soviet Union!

FOR the unity of the Communist and revolutionary labor move-

ment!

FOR a Soviet America!

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FINANCING FASCISM

In London, there has recently appeared a book by Johannes Steel, formerly a close collaborator of Hitler's, now a fugitive from Germany. In this book Steel lays bare the manner in which the Nazis collected huge sums of money in recent years for maintaining brown-shirted mercenaries and the party.

Steel calculates that in the last five years more than 350 million marks (85 million dollars) came to the Hitler movement from various capitalist groups all over the world. In view of the tremendous expense involved in recruiting and maintaining the Storm-Troopers, this sum does not appear to be ex-

The author declares that for years a whole army of paid agents have been roaming Germany, England, Sweden, the United States and France, collecting money for Hitler. These people are not necessarily Nazis. They work on a purely business basis, for salary and commission. These paid moneyraisers were financed by Goebbels. Under the direction of Dr. Shacht, the American agents were shown how to "prove" to Wall Street that Nazi Germany would bring prosperity back again and so save American investments in Germany. These arguments proved effective enough to get several million dol-lars from the United States. It is reported that the Morgan interests contributed \$50,000 and then \$35,-000. The greatest single contribution was made by the General Motors Corporation, which had bought up the Opel concern in Germany.

The writer maintains that the most powerful ally of Hitler in America was Henry Ford who spent \$40,000 at one time in publishing German translations of the anti-Semitic articles appearing in his paper, the "Dearborn Inde-pendent." Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, a son of the ex-Crown Prince, worked in the Ford plants and was the connecting link with the Hitler organization. Ferdinand gathered great sums also from Germans in America and was able to raise considerable contributions from Italian bootleggers. This money he sent to Germany, thru Prince August Wilhelm (Auwi). Most of the contributions to the Hitler war-chest came from the German munitions concerns, which did a good job on the side in equipping the 400,000 Storm-Troopers. Immense sums were given to Hitler by Ivan Kreuger and a big Swedish firm which had close relations with Krupp.

Several weeks ago, a group of us visited two Negro colleges in Arkansas and we were amazed to find such a deep interest in social and economic problems. Some of us are fairly well acquainted with small white colleges in this state and their stagnant atmosphere, but here among the Negroes we found an alertness and an understanding which did not find its origin in the accepted bourgeois texts. In some instances their interpretations on social issues were frankly revolutionary, but their thought has not yet been crystallized sufficiently for them to see that action is the next necessary step. We found no liberal or radical organization of either teachers or students, in spite of the fact many of the individuals we spoke to had no illusions about capitalism.

> The Proletarian Party (Continued from Page 11)

er so regard it. I do not consider the Party the worst in the Movement or entirely without merit. It is at least not seeking to destroy existing Communist organizations as are the adherents of Trotsky. However, I believe the Party requires extensive reorganization if it is to be of any further service to the Communist Movement.

Comradely Yours, EDGAR ANDERSON.