A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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# **Cuba in Turmoil**

by Ellen Ward

The Background

Cuba, the "Queen" of the Caribbean, is the largest island of the West Indies, with a population of three and a half million spread over a territory only a little smaller than our own state of Pennsylvania. It lies 100 miles from Key West, Florida, a distance bridged in a few hours by boat and in a little over an hour by airplane.

Cuba is famous for its luxurious tropical beauty, for its lavish natural gifts. The great heat and humidity produce a vegetation of rare richness, sufficient to nourish and sustain at least three times its present population—if produced for use. It has 13,000,000 acres of uncleared primeval forest-enough to satisfy each land-hungry peon.

Cuba An Agricultural Country

Cuba lives by agriculture. Its dominant crop is sugareighty percent of the value of her and cigar manufacturing come next. So good as profitable have we found this fair land that "we" have invested to date over oneand-a-half billion dollars in Cuban sugar, tobacco, railroads, public utilities, real estate, merchandising and banking.

In addition to our economic in terest we have a very vital politi-cal interest in Cuba. Its dominant position in the Caribbean and its closeness to the Panama Canal make the island a strategic point in the continental defense of the United States. Long before the end of the 19th century we had fixed our covetous eyes upon that

"Pearl of the Antilles." In 1898 we snatched Cuba from Spain because it fitted into our dream of Empire. We were "liberating" the Cuban people from the "tyranny" of Spain and, to foster the illusion of freedom, we permitted the Cuban people to draw up a constitution modelled on our own and to call their land a Republic. But lest they take that illusion too seriously we told them that they had to accept the Platt Amendment along with the Republic-that in fact they couldn't have the one without the other.

amendment tells the Cuban people that: 1. They can make no treaties with foreign countries without our consent. 2. They can borrow money from no one without our consent. 3. They must grant us such territory as we desire for naval bases and for coaling stations. 4. That we have the right of armed intervention whenever we deem it

The words "Republic of Cuba" remained a hollow-sounding name but the Platt amendment became a most effective instrument in our rule of Cuba. We moved into the island with an alacrity and a hun-ger that quickly monopolised all hand, definite radicalization can sources of wealth. Our investors be noted (U.S., England). In this and financiers instituted a system sharp struggle the CI continues which for calculating brutishness front policy—theory of social fas-

won the envy of competing imperialists the world over.

Sugar yielded the greatest profits so we made Cuba into a one crop country. We imported Ne-groes from Jamaica to compete against Cuban peons and to force their miserable wages below the starvation level. Each year the end of June brings the end of the grinding season in sugar. Thousands upon thousands are then dropped from the payroll. These workers face unemployment and starvation for the remainder of

EDITORIAL ON GERMANY SEE PAGE 8

Due to lack of space we were forced to emit a number of articles

each year. Only a very small number is kept on by the sugar mill during the "dead season" for the cultivation of the new cropand periodically hunger stalks through the land. Hunger on the one hand and swollen profits on the other. Hunger for the Cuban people and profits for the Amer-(Continued on Page 3)

# **Big Struggles Loom**

Constantly longer becomes the | The San Francisco and Portland class blood has been shed. To Toledo, New Orleans and Minnea-polis must be added San Francisco and Portland. Determined to beat back the rising tide of resentment against five years of hunger and misery, the employing class is resorting to war measures—tear gas, vomit gas and bullets. The order to the National Guardsmen, in San Francisco was "Shoot To Kill!"

Yet, the workers stand firm.

list of cities in which working strikes of longshoremen have been strengthened by the walkout of 4,000 teamsters in San Francisco, who struck despite all coercion by the local Labor Board. Pacific coast commerce is completely tied up and the movement for a gen-eral strike is still gathering momentum. Also in Minneapolis and St. Paul strike sentiment among the teamsters is running high. The gains, supposedly won, thru the May settlement of the Minneapolis strike, are still in the files of the Labor Board. The city fathers have announced that martial law will be declared, if another strike occurs. Instead of improved conditions the workers are again to receive hot lead and cold steel.

> The heroic struggles in the midwest and the west are but the forerunners of still greater battles to come, for they are bound to exert a powerful influence upon the workers in the automobile, steel and other industries.

The "settlements" in the auto and steel industries merely postponed the reckoning. Such cases as the refusal of the Republic Steel Corporation to renew its agreement with the Amalgamated Ass'n; the cynical abrogation of the most elementary rights of labor by Weirton Steel; the war-rants of arrest, issued on demand of Weirton Steel, of all officers of the Blue Eagle Lodge of the Amalgamated Association these are but accumulations of explosives which, when set off, will shake these giant trusts to their very foundation.

In increasing number, workers are beginning to see thru the sham "cure-all"—the NRA. The recent bitterly fought strikes have dimmed the halo of liberalism with which liberals and socialists so confidently surrounded Roosevelt. The New Deal government is emerging more and more openly as the old strike-breaking instrument of capitalism. The illusions of the masses are being dissolved in the very blood, shed during the recent strikes.

# C.P.O. National Committee In Session

50 comrades from all over the inability to capitalize adequately country gathered together at the the favorable objective situations National Plenum of the C.P.O. for the purpose of evaluating the U.S. The bankruptcy of the group, since the 4th National Convention These 6 months. of the group, since the 4th National Convention. These 6 months have seen important events in the annual produce. Tobacco raising labor movement, in the light of which to test the correctness of and decisive proof.

The ICO the net immune from the genera' line of the group. Districts represented outside of N. Y. were Paterson, Boston, Albany Troy, Hartford, Philadelphia, Ft Wayne, Chicago, Detroit, Nebras-ka, Montreal, Toronto.

> The Plenum was opened with the reading of letters from Austria and Germany. The letter from Austria noted the developing in-fluence of the ICO there. That from Germany described the increasing terror against our Ger man comrades, falling especially hard against the Leipsic district where the leading comrade was murdered by the hell hounds of Fascism. The plenum voted the immediate sending of \$250.00 as an expression of Communist solidarity with our German comrades in their difficult underground work in Germany.

Comrade Lovestone then reported on the world economic and political situation. He stressed the fact that the general decay of world capitalism persists in spite of a temporary upturn in production which was neither general Stripped of its extremely thin for all countries or all industries wnich affect world unemployment which still persists on a mass scale. The bitter conflicts for markets continue and around them the war danger is rooted more sharply than ever, the armament race as suming ever more amazing speed. On the other hand, the Soviet Union continues its building of socialism, and continues its vigorous peace policy. The international class struggles continue to sharpen The drive toward Fascist reaction increases (Latvia and Bulgaria) arousing the increased re sistance of the working class oppression and exploitation its ultra-left sectarian line (united

On June 30th and July 1st, about | cism), inevitably resulting in its | International has been confirmed by all recent world events, the Austrian situation giving complete

the crisis affecting the world labor movement generally (the crisis in relations between it and the Alsatian section) has considerably improved situations to record in Germany and the U.S., progress in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and India as well as forging a possible base in England.

On the situation in the U.S.A. Lovestone stressed that in spite of the continued (the lessened) personal popularity of President Roosevelt disillusionment with NRA develops apace as evidenced by the continued wave of militant strikes (Toledo, Minneapolis, Dock Workers) and the continued rumblings in steel, auto, textile, etc. The official CP because of its continued sectarian line is completely isolated and plays no part whatsoever in these developing strike struggles. The crisis in the TUUL is growing ever sharper it having lost in the recent period some more of the few remaining bases (mining, auto, needle) and its bankruptcy (Continued on Page 2)

# **Mass Arrests in Germany**

C.P.G.-O LEADER MURDERED

Recent reports from Germany indicate that new, widespread arrests of communists are taking place. The letter below shows what awaits many of them.

Hitler fascism has added another crime to its long list of savage deeds. During the month of May a number of workers both men and women, were arrested and accused of being members of the CPG-O. Among these was Comrade Heinrich Plaas who was taken to police headquarters in Leipzig.

On May 28th Plaas' wife went to inquire the fate of her husband. She was not allowed to see him. She went again that same evening. Now she was shown a photograph and asked whether it was that of her husband. When she recognized his picture she was told that he had committed suicide. She was not allowed to see the dead body of her husband. Nor was she allowed to see him prior to cremation.

Meanwhile however, the secret of this sudden death has leaked out. Comrade Plaas was subiected to the most brutal maltreatment during the police exremained firm. He was actually beaten to death.

The dead body of the murdered comrade was kept in a "No Admittance" room of poheadquarters on Monday May 28th. Our keyman could only see the face of the dead comrade which was completely covered with blue and brown spots, the neck was made invisible by a stiff collar. Because of these external marks of the bestial murder, the widow of the comrade was not permitted to see him.

Comrade Heinrich Plaas was to die for the cause. In the CPG he had been an active functionary and he has constantly fought for the aims of the CPG-O from its inception. Comrade Plaas is survived by his wife and two children aged 9 mos. and 4 years respectively.

The loss of comrade Plaas is a severe blow to the Leipzig district of the CPGO, of which he was organizer.

As an expression of our solidari ty with our fighting German comrade the National Committee of the CPO has decided to raise a fund of \$250, in order to help strengthen their work.

We appeal to all units and to all amination, in an attempt to wrest from him the names of other comrades. Comrade Plaas their contributions to this fund. friends and sympathisers to send

#### NIGHT OF NIGHTS! PARTY AND DANCE

A moonlight dance and party for the students of the Communist Party USA (Opposition) National Training School and national organizers going into the field, will be held on Sunday, July 22nd, at the Lido Roof Gardens, 160 West 146th Street, (Near Lenox Avenue).

Unique features? — We'll say! For 35 puny pennies, comrades and friends, you dance in the de-lightful cool of Harlem's pet roof garden to the hot and tuneful music of an ace Negro jazz band. For the very same pennies you will

But above all you can meet our comrades from all sections of the nation and inspire our organizers to greater and more successful ef-

PICNIC - Sunday, August 5, 1934

**ULMER PARK MUSIC HALL** Foot of 25th Avenue., Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Detroit Laundry Workers In Organization Drive

by R. G. and W. M.

The laundry workers, who are the lowest raid among workers in the City, are at last moving in the direction of organization and crash some 18 months ago. Even are already beginning to learn concretely the advantages to be gained in that direction.

The Lorentz was a solid as ever.

The Laundry Workers' Union, Local 129, which has recently been granted all the demands made by reorganized and is showing re-newed signs of life, concentrated on the Grand Laundry. A series of meetings were held, each bigger and more enthusiastic than the last, until finally the workers there decided to try out this new power

A list of demands were drawn up and presented to the boss. The answer was the usual plea of povdeal only with its employees. This

The enthusiasm was so great reply was always the same: "See slight gain. We sincerely hope that workers in other laundries will follow their lead and that we break the united ranks of the shall soon see the Laundry Workworkers, the boss finally decided to mand for the laundry workers and indicated these as important that workers in that direction were before, the weak-ness of our work in the official CP and indicated these as important tasks for the future.

Tire tutting considered or determined by powerful financial groups. First, I hope you will agree with sibilities in that direction were better than ever before, the weak-ness of our work in the official CP and indicated these as important tasks for the future.

contained not only the current week's pay, but three weeks of back pay that had been withheld; from the workers since the bank

Later the boss capitulated and

promise was made on the question of hours and the following agreement was reached: 5c increase of the hourly rate, a 45 hour week with time and a half for overtime, recognition of a shop committee of seven and no discrimination for union activities.

that those not already in the been striving to better their mis- rades, the insufficient politicaliza-Union were swept inside. The boss erable conditions as individuals, tried all the old tricks, that have but it was only after they turned been used in the past, in an effort to divide the workers, but the been able to achieve even this divided by the secondary of the low level of recruiting constitutions. The poor function of the units, the poor function of the units, the poor function of the units, the poor function of most fractions, the index of a secondary of the low level of recruiting constitutions as individuals, the poor function of the units, the poor function of most fractions, the index of a secondary of the low level of recruiting constitutions as individuals, the poor function of the units, the poor function of most fractions, the index of a secondary of the low level of recruiting constitutions as individuals, the poor function of the units, the poor function of the units, the poor function of most fractions, the individuals, the poor function of the units, the poor function of most fractions, the individuals, the poor function of the units, the poor function of the units, the poor function of the units, the poor function of most fractions, the individuals, the poor function of the units, the poor function of most fractions, the individuals, the poor function of most fractions, the individuals of the poor function of most fractions, the individuals of the poor function of the poor function of most fractions, the individuals of the poor function of the poor func

outside was stressed as an impor-

noting the increase in the circula-

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tion of the "Age" he indicated

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Notices were posted that all wages and conditions at least as Discussion on Comtheir former employees were fired, good as those workers in other in-that they should call for their pay dustries.

## C.P.O. Nat'l Comm. Session | new branches in Montreal, Ft.

(Continued from Page 1) is manifest. The recently launched Wayne, Chicago and Philadelphia draft organizational thesis was other land. To the Central Amer-(i.e. in slogan form) "Independent and the impetus the National Federation of Labor" seeking to Training School would give the restore the TUUL is bound to fail work in this direction amongst because of its lack of any sub- others. The increase of the litebecause of its lack of any substantial base for it.

with the consequent increased knowledge of the group position As to our group, the CPO, Comrade Lovestone indicated our growth both as an organization and our influence in the labor movement generally (needle, textile, shoe, mining, metal). stressed our constructive role as contrasted to the official CP's disruptive one toward the genuine left developments in the SP, and the necessity of our continuing to help the lefts in the SP to break completely with Centrism and complete the journey to Commun-ism. In concluding Comrade Love-stone welcomed the fact that the CPO is in a healthier condition today that at any time in its history. Objective developments have borne out the general correctness of our tactical line. Our work along that line has enabled us to grow numerically as an organization as well as extend our influence substantially in the labor movement. Consequently we are in a better position than ever before to realize our main objectives, for the return of the CI to a Leninist and reunification of the Commun ist movement all over the world. The discussion on Comrade Lovestone's report involved nearly all the comrades present. The discussion was on a high level thru-

Comrade Benjamin then dealt with the organizational situation in our group. He stressed the growth of our organization (250 new members since winter), the fraternal affiliation to the ICO of the Lithuanian Opposition, our creased prestige in the labor move-ment. He indicated the need for the assimilation of the new comrades, and in this connection the importance of our educational work. He noted the increasing influence of the New Workers School

immediately. To their surprise they found that the pay envelope gram "Voice of the Americas" over Station WNEW, Newark, N. J. The subject given Comrade Wolfe was "Cultural Relations with Latin America."

> heritage: Hispanic-American, An- Americas. glo-American, and Indian. What

was taken up at a well attended meeting of the workers with the result that they decided to following morning, June 15th. The following morning, June 15th. The response was a 100 per cent.

We compliment the workers of Laundry on their courations of the up with our increased influence. Compliments the workers of that it was hardly commensurate with our increased influence. Complete that they decided to following morning, June 15th. The following morning, June 15th. The response was a 100 per cent.

We compliment the workers of Laundry on their courations of the up increased influence. Complete the decided to following morning, June 15th. The following morning, June 15th. The response was a 100 per cent.

The enthusiasm was so great

We compliment the workers of that it was hardly commensurate with our increased influence. Complete the laundry on their courations of the organization of the organization generally; the insufficient activization of all the complete the three sources for the well-with our increased influence. Complete the decided to follow this up with a walk-out the following morning, June 15th. The following morning, June 15th. The response was a 100 per cent.

The enthusiasm was so great

These workers in the workers of the well-with our increased influence. Complete the following interests, American bankers and investing to the well-with our increased influence. Complete the following interests, American bankers and investing to the well-with our increased influence. Complete the following interests, American bankers and investing interests,

Discussion on Comrade Benjamin's report was concrete, thorades especially from out-of-town presented the organizational achievements and problems of their dis-

The draft political thesis was inanimously adopted with the ad-

unanimously adopted. The plenum as a whole workman like from start to finish. What emerged was the vitality of we must give guarantees that the rature gotten out by the group tant aid in recruiting. Altho

**DELICIOUS FOOD?** 

RESTAURANT 523 Sixth Avenue

# ANNUAL PICNIC

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## WOLFE ON LATIN AMERICA

Radio Address delivered by Berton D. Wolfe, Director of the New Workers School, in the promid. He can only make his full contribution to the culture of these hailed as a big step forontinents and of the world, when ward. But it still makes Cuba a he is raised from his present position to one of economic and social It does nothing to lessen Cuba's equality and freedom. Nor can economic subjection. It does noththe Hispano-American and Anglo- ing to alter the economic agree-American culture streams fully ment on the loans made by the Nafructify each other, so long as there tional City and Chase banks. These is any suspicion or distrust, and loans were made not to the Cu-Culturally the two Americas, inequality and injustice, in the re-North and South, offer a three-fold lations of the peoples of the two government of ex-president Mainequality and injustice, in the re- ban people but to the tyrannical

the workers with the exception of the one dealing with hours, which in the original demand called for in the original demand called for marvelous ruins of Mayan and marvelous ruins of Mayan and interviewed their popular interests to Machado were of such character that when they were in-Inca civilizations, the colorful pop-spokesmen, and followed their li-character that when they were inular arts, pottery and blankets and basketry, or the great Mexican movement in painting that has movement in painting that has that the United States is not a produced such men of grains as produced such men of genius as very popular neighbor. It is not there uncovered, have never been Diego Rivera and Orozco and has made Mexico today the artistic center of the modern world.

Diego Rivera and Orozco and has our culture or the great mass of the cuban people or the people of the United States.

Americans are passing judgment.

Third, the right of each land They know us chiefly through must be recognized to exploit its We compliment the workers of that it was hardly commensurate American bankers and investing own natural resources for the wel-

These workers, in the past, have ficient activization of all the comto those south of the Rio Grande. sing the conviction that such genurades, the insufficient politicalization of the units, the poor function of the units, the poor function of the units, the poor functioning of most factors that said gentlement of the units, the poor functioning of most factors that it is about what we Americans should ples will always be hampered so

> our tactical line, the increased our tactical line, the increased marines will never invade their territories again. Self-determinan the general labor movement, the tion means self-determination rehigh morale and feeling of unity gardless of the size of the land. in the group—good sign for our the nature of its products or its work in the coming period.

GOOD SERVICE?



N. Y. C.

# Have You a Nephew in Hoboken?

cooperation as neighbors and producers generally. For that

Second, there cannot be such or the subjection of land by land.

equal and neighborly cooperation Then full cooperation and a free

or any threat of intervention, any cultural effort will be assured and

economic or political or military the peoples of this continent will

pressure by the strongest power live together in friendship with

on this continent to influence the each other and all the world.

while there exists any intervention

form of government or the internal

affairs and economic life of any

ican and Caribbean peoples that

have been visited 30 times within

-OR A SISTER-IN-LAW IN PEORIA OR EVEN A COUSIN IN THE BRONX?

chado. He used them against the interests of the Cuban people till

economic pressure or intervention,

union for common economic and

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## munist Opposition) in New York, the establishment of PATRONIZE BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA, 535 6th Ave.-14 St., ...

# CUBA CONTINUES IN TURMOIL

one people of Latin America.

Gerardo Machado 1, 15 a common saying, through-

presidents are made in the Amer- in a few days manouevered him ican Empassy. Gerardo Machago out of the presidency. certainty served a faithful apprenucesnip there. A member of the Carlos Mendieta "Liberal" party of Cuba. (We After Grau came Carlos Hevia must always bear in mind that in who ruled Cuba for some 40 hours Laun-American politics "Liberal" and then the United States graand 'Conservative" are as meaning- clously indicated its approval of Iui as "Democratic" and "Republ Carlos Mendieta, who has remain-Incan" in the United States or ed "transition" president pending "Radical Socialist" in France). the drawing up of a new constiment, but no vestige of democracy ever appeared under Machado. He was Cupa's most brutal dictator. At the benest of American interesis he carried out a policy that destroyed an opposition forces, that place behind Mendieta. We shall stronger. outlawed all labor organizations that imprisoned, tortured and murdered anyone who dared criticize the brutanties and orgies of that butcher who ruled so long with the blessings of the American State Department. Millions upon mil lions in "loans" for his personal use—actually bribes except that Cuban people were expected to pay tnem back-were extended by the National City and the Chase banks at swollen rates of interest. This brutal dictatorship lasted 8 years until the starving and wretched masses could endure it no longer and in August 1933 they threw him

Much credit for the organization must go to the secret organization of the workers Age, is undoubtof Machado many leading trade searching examination by every chado, however, class differentia-

too much even for our State Department and the American government decided to "withdraw" its government and put in Grau San glorious extinction or else conversion into a mere skeleton, artifi-

ican wanker. And in this game of ed of Cuba's right to freedom prouts against numan lives the from American intervention. It American capitainst has found hu- now seems probable that all these merous alies and nenchmen among radical moves were largely gestures to consolidate his power and that later he would have proved quite amenable to "persuasive argument," but the State Department out Laun America, that Cuba's regarded him with suspicion and

A still\_uncertain\_factor is Ful-

gencio Battista. He supported Grau previously but soon decided to play on the winning horse, and at the head of the army took his certainly hear more from him later. So safe are American interests in the hands of Mendieta that he was accorded almost instantaneous recognition by our State Department. And in reply he stated

"I desire to lay stress on the point that foreign capital will receive the most ample protec

by Ellen Ward

public . . . the future of Cuba lies in her going hand in hand with the United States (N. Y. Times, Jan. 25, 1934). It is said of Mendieta that h

is an old-time Cuban "gentleman"

using the old guard politicians and the old policies. To cover up what he is handing over to Yankee Imperialism, he makes demagogi speeches to appease the masses He repeats hollow-sounding phras es about liberty and a free people of Machado and Ferrara, his com Machago was maugurated in 1920. tution and elections. He has been to the American banks, but non The title rresident might imply in office from Jan. 1934 until the of these gestures feed the people some sort of democratic govern-present. cy for over six months and he has not been able to solve any of the economic problems that confronte him on taking power. Each day the opposition against him grows

> The bulletins of labor unrest and governmental decrees speak for nemselves:

"Increasing agitation amon labor groups brought a walk-out today of 30,000 tobacco workers as well as omnibus em-

tion in the development of their legitimate interests in the Re

He issues warrants for the arrest mission repudiates Machado's debts

The threat of a general strike is being freely discussed as various unions have announced their support of the tobacco

workers and of the employee of the Cuba Northern Rail ways. Organizations pledging support are: Dock workers, transportation and workers. Mendieta faces a se rious situation unless the spread of strikes can be halted . . Left wing students at universi ties, high schools and normal schools help swell the protest." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 1, 1934).

ployees of Havana Province

"Electrical, gas and street car workers strike in sympathy with tobacco workers." (N Y. Times, Feb. 3, 1934.)

"Mendieta decrees all constitutional guarantees suspended throughout Cuba . . . Heavy penalties imposed on labor lead ers calling strikes . . . foreign agitators to be deported.' (March 7, 1934).

"Mendieta government an nounces that all strikes will be broken with full army protec-tion if necessary." (A. P. Mar-8, 1934)

"In answer to above officia

# Communists and the I. L. G. W. U.

The recent convention of the International Laules Garment Work ers Union, the main course of and the technics of the overthrow which I described in the last issue verdict. known as the ABC. Until the fall easy penng subjected today to Ut The L.L.G.W.U.! unionists, left and radical leaders tenuency or significance in the and the revolutionary students, American labor movement, by the worked with this group of intellect- ord-nine conservative readership of to escape the consequences of their uals who had organized on the the A. r. of L., by the leading own false dogmas, the official Cr basis of small secret cells. Of group commating the internationtheir membership of some 80,000, at itself, by the Socialist Party it said that almost 20,000 are in its various shadings, by the officer to agree with William Green in the various shadings, by the officer to agree with William Green in the Bankruptcy Of The armed. After the defeat of Ma- include Communist Party and, of and President Dubinsky in his more course, by the Communist Oppo- Hillmanesque moments, that it and tion set in among the heterogen-eous mass of the ABC supporters. Tuny deserves such careful and sition. And indeed the convention many-suged consideration for, in a certain sense, it provided a significant testing ground of the varlous programs and tendencies striving for mastery in the Internation-

The International came to the

51 W. 14 St., N. Y. C.

whose trade union movement. Can The A. F. of L.

The universal mass hatred o Machado, the defection of the army and the navy, the extraordinary tenacious activity of the ABC were at and, in a bloader sense, in the support from Machado, but to Unions Gain? make the "transition" to another president as painless as possible with the counsel of our State De- the whole sectarian trade union partment, decided to "ease in" de orientation of the Communist Par-Cespedes, one-time premier of ty. Only three years ago its most Machado; but he smelled so much authoritative spokesmen had conof his former chief that the people clusively proved from Losovsky's threw him out in less than a L.L.G.W.U., like the A. F. of L. as well as the control of the stumonth. The army and the students supported by another surge a whole, could never grow, that it

sion into a mere skeleton, artificially kept alive by the employers, to head off the overpowering in the United States refused to recognize Grau. The State Department and our fat boys din on at the TUU.L. (the famous Ack-Foster theory). The partment and our fat boys din on the system of tactics that heave the mous Zack-Foster theory). The partment and our fat boys din on the system of tactics that heave the partment of the masses too much in earnest. On January 10, 1934 Grau issue of land to each person (to be taken from government lands and from the confiscated estates of the former Machado officials). 2. A young the confiscated estates of the former Machado officials). 2. For the confiscated estates of the former Machado officials). 2. The Department of oxen, a milch cow and a plow for each peon; also seed to be furnished free. 3. The Department of Agriculture to supervise cultility attention of this land. 4. No taxes to be levied for two years.

Grau also signed a decree fixing the minimum wage of hauling sugar for the 1934 crop at 30 cates and official carries for 100 arrobas (in most sections as low as 20 centry in the and off the cultive report. Never was there a more more triking vindication of our the flux of workers into the "Red" union and the TuU.L. (the famous Age, Poster theory). The date of the Recovery Act are not in the Recovery Act are

for 100 arrobas (in most sections as low as 20 cents was being paid) of the Electric Company (a subsidiary of the American Electric NEW WORKERS SCHOOL Bond and Share) and reduced

by Will Herberg

Wnence The Growth

But whence came this sudden gigantic accession of strength to the International in an accempa came as the free gut of the NRA

tale to tell, a tale described in de- ed in the pithiul bankrupicy of the tall in the report of the general so-called "Left Group" (the C.F.executive poard submitted to the controlled opposition group within convention. The memorable strike the LL.G.W.U.) at the convention. ın Philauelphia, which really ini- This bankruptcy was most obvious tiated the reporth of the union organizationally; with many times months before the NKA was heard the numerical strength and reof, the magnificent strike of the sources of the despised Lovestone oressmakers in New York, the bit- ites, the CP could not effect the it as the conscious and determined ter and courageous battles in St. election of more than four or five champion or militancy, unity and Louis, Chicago, the Pacific Coast of its members or sympathizers to convention 200,000 strong, about and other centers, indicate the road the convention as against the sevfor American Big Business. Mr. four or five times in size as the the international took in reaching eral score who followed our policy Welles, America's representative in Cuba at the time of the overthrow, the whole sectarian trade union to the constitute a blasting refutation of the whole sectarian trade union to the international took in reaching leval score who followed our policy the international took in reaching leval score who followed our policy the international took in reaching leval score who followed our policy the international took in reaching leval score who followed our policy the international took in reaching leval score who followed our policy that the international took in reaching leval score who followed our policy that the international took in reaching leval score who followed our policy to the international took in reaching leval score who followed our policy is present position. we may leave to a future para-graph; for the present it is clear to the convention without any proenough that the tremendous growth of the l.L.G.W.U. and the improvement of conditions in the make itself ridiculous. Not a sinvarious markets came as result of gle important resolution did it invarious markets came as result of gle important resolution did it in"aggressive strike action and detroduce, neither on the NRA, nor
tics almost wholly unchanged.
The great idea still remains to dents supported by another surge of the masses, took control of the government and put in Grau San government gover sion into a mere skeleton, artifi-cially kept alive by the employers, more striking vindication of our "Left Group" delegate to open her the every striking vindication of our "Left Group" delegate to open her the "Rank and File Groups", etc.)

Portrait of America

By Diego Rivera

Text by Bert Wolfe

ment within the unions must be the ariving force to spar them to mailtant action, we were repeatedly toid that we were merely spread mg musions among the workers; that the A. F. of L. unions neither could nor would right; that they were "sociai-rascist" or plain rascist poules, reamy company unions in fact! Here again the tiseil gave the answer and the convention has seared and double-seared the ver-

"Left Group" ine complete shattering of the ideological pasis of the official But the lacis have a different of trade union policy was reflect-

Proceeds go to

WORKERS AGE

workers join the walkout in protest." (N. Y. Times, March The strike movement grows and

house workers, Cuban telephone

swells. Each days brings new forces out into the streets. roday's news (July 10, N. Y. Times) announces a general strike of 24 hours to begin immediately in protest against the government's refusal to release the political prisoners belonging to labor. These strikes are directed by the National Labor Confederation, the most powerful left labor organization. To all its pleas for support by labor it gives a political color by calling for the creation of government of the working

In addition to this great unrest the agricultural workers, impelled by misery and starvation, have seized sugar mills and have committed "excesses" against American properties. Left wing students continue demonstrating by the thousands against the repressive measures of the Mendieta regime and for the feeding of

ABC Bids For Power

The leaders of the ABC who had accepted posts in the Mendieta cabinet snowed dissatistaction with the President's "slow tempo." On June 18th they decided upon a parade as a demonstration of their strength (a bid for power at the next elections). Although they secured Mendie a s permission for the parade, there were no troops or police to protect the line of march which was attacked, presumably by former supporters of Grau San Martin. As a result of this attack 13 were kuled and many wounded. In protest against the governments "irresponsible' behavior in this matter, the ABC withdrew ail their members from the Mendieta capinet. This move considerably weakens the government and implies active opposition to it from now on. As a matter of fact the ABC has already begun an active, direct action campaign against all forces opposing it. The United Press reports that on June 25, an ABC group, armed, drove up to a radio station over which speakers were (Continued on Page 6)

a striking moral victory for the Progressive movement which eas-

The Fundamental Contradiction

The fact of the matter is that suffered at the hand of experience in the last year and a haif, have

Without doubt the most basic problem to come before the convention was the NRA. That it was

primarily a question of general es-(Consinued on Page 6)

# The Present Situation and

The following statement on "The Present Situation and the Tasks of the C.P.O." was adopted by the full session of the National Committee, on June 30 and July 1, 1934.—Editor.

#### I. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

1. Though the bottom of the world-wide economic crisis has been reached and in some countries production has risen, economic conditions continue grave throughout the capitalist world.

2. No general boom or "prosperity" period is in sight on a world scale or in any particular country. On the contrary, the costly consequences of many of the recovery measures taken by the bourgeois governments have, in recent months, been felt as additional aggravating factors.

3. Mass unemployment persists despite rising production. Revival of production is not general either in all countries or all industries within any country. Total world trade continues to stagnate or decline. Japan's inflated "prosperity" is becoming ever-more unsound and France's economic situation continues to worsen. Especially in Fascist Italy and Germany are conditions becoming very acute. In the U.S. the boom period of the NRA is over, the index of production has fallen sharply since last summer and the monetary policies as well as other features of the New Deal economic program have fallen

4. The general decay of world capitalism continues even in the process of recovery, as evidenced in the increasing interference in and direction of all social and economic life by the bourgeois state, (state as producer and investor-state capitalism), in the sharpening antagonisms among the imperialist powers, and in the violent methods increasingly resorted to by the capitalist class to depress the living standards to the levels of the lowest point in

#### II. WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION

#### The Danger of War

1. It is in this economic situation that the bitter conflict for markets and the rising war danger are rooted. (U. S. vs. Japan, England vs. U. S. and Japan, Germany vs. France, Japan and German vs. U.S.S.R.) The Versailles system has broken down. The armament race assumes evermore amazing speed as the sundry disarmament conferences and efforts go to pieces. Government budgetary deficits continue to mount to dizzy heights. Fear of the U.S.S.R. rises as the tempo of its socialist progress is accelerated.

#### U.S.S.R. Prolongs Peace Period

2. Thanks, in no small measure, to the strength and the vigorous peace policy of the U.S.S.R., world peace has so far been preserved. It is necessary and proper for the U.S.S.R. to protong this period of peace in the interests of socialist construction. Soviet foreign policy has successiulty maintained initiative and complete freedom of action through its consistent refusal to support any imperialist forces or objectives and through its being everready to support even the faintest effort towards the protraction of peace, regardless of its source. As it should be, in these Soviet maneuvers and relationships for peace, the exact form of capitalist class rule, the difference in state form in the various countries (Fascist, monarchist, bourgeois democracy), does not play any decisive role. There is not the slightest conflict of interest between The aims of both are identical (prevention of imperialist war and destruction of capitalism as a world system) but the tactics for the achievement of these identical aims are necessarily different because in the U.S.S.R. the proletariat has already captured power, while in the

#### U.S.S.R. and League of Nations

any bourgeois power, group of powers, or League of Nathat it indorses their colonial or mandated-area policies or their armament programs. This position of the U.S.S.R. simply means that it is prepared to work together with any and all forces, regardless of how temporary and skin-deep their desires to prevent an outbreak of imperialist war may be, for the preservation of peace even for the briefest period. In order to support most effectively the Soviet Union's peace policies, the proletariat of all capitalist countries must enhance its international solidarity of action and struggle against imperialism.

#### III. PRESENT POSITION AND DEVELOPMENT

OF INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE 1. The effect of the world economic and political situations, in all their varied manifestations, on the international class struggle differs for the various countries, depending primarily on the specific prevailing class relations in each country. Thus, we can register the beginning of radicalization of great masses of workers in the USA and England (organization and strike wave under A. F. of L. banner, successes of Labor Party in elections), while at the same time we can note a savage suppression of

the class struggle in the Fascist countries. 2. An international manifestation of great import is the growing tendency towards a declassing and proleta-

# Statement by the National Committee

rianization of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the lowest and middle layers of the farming masses.

3. Simultaneously with the victory of the Fascist counter-revolution and the advance of Fascist forces in various countries (Germany, Latvia, Bulgaria), there is to be noted the onmarch of the revolutionary proletariat and the toiling masses in other countries (Soviet Union, Soviet China). In France and especially Spain issues are rapidly coming to a head between the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the revolutionary forces of the workers and peasantry.

#### CI Sectarianism Continues

4. In this situation of sharpening class conflicts, the CI continues its ultra-left, sectarian, tactical line. In general and at best, confusion, wavering, and inconsistency have replaced definiteness in the non-Leninist tactical course of the Comintern. Thus, we see the continuation of the anti-united front policy with its insane theory of social-fascism (Germany, U.S.) simultaneously with some efforts at genuine united fronts (England, France). The sundry inconsistent bends, twists and turns have consistently reverted to the fundamentally unsound strategical course in the field of the united front and trade union activities. The crisis in the CI has been reflected particularly in the last half year in the Comintern's inability to capitalize adequately the extremely favorable situations in Austria, England, and the U.S. Only in the U.S.S.R. and China has the Comintern been able not only to avoid losses but even to make gains commensurate with or even beyond the objective possibilities.

Socialist economy in the U.S.S.R. has won an overwhelming victory in the successful first Five-year Plan. The 17th congress of the CPSU has correctly decided, thru the 2nd Five Year Plan, to wipe out the remnants of capitalism and to adjust the rate of increase of indusrialization so as to insure a substantial rise in the standard of living. A vital guarantee for the successful carrying out of this line is the eradication of all manifestations of hero cult in the CPSU and an energetic execution of the decisions adopted by the 17th CPSU Congress for the eradication of bureaucratism in the Party and Soviet State. In view of the anti-democratic centralist relationship prevailing in the CI and its various sections, (no ideological preparations, no free discussions, general non-critical atmosphere, rampant bureaucratism, etc.) the long overdue call for the Seventh World Congress has lost much of its significance and potentialities for correcting the wrong line of the Comintern. That the Seventh World Congress will mirror only in a distorted fashion the real situation in the CI is most glaringly evidenced in the fact that no steps have been taken towards an objective examination of the crisis and splits (U. S., France, Germany, Czecro-Slovakia, Spain) as well as the defeats of the CI (Germany).

#### Bankruptcy of Social-Reformism

5. The victories as well as the defeats of the international proletariat confirm the bankruptcy of social-reformism and its international organization, the L.S.I., the Second International. The whole trend of events in Germany, Austria, Spain, U.S.S.R., and China shows practically that the road of bourgeois democracy leads to defeat and Fascism while the road to Soviet power (work-Soviet foreign policy and the international proletariat. ers councils) leads to tremendous possibilities for revolutionary action and victories. Throughout the Second International we are now witnessing the repercussions of the smashing defeat suffered by reformism in Germany. The experiences in Austria only emphasize the bankrupicy of international reformism. This is true despite the uncapitalist countries the working classes have not yet principled attempts of the L.S.I. to exploit the heroic struggles of the revolutionary Austrian proletariat for the glorification of the Second International.

The Austrian revolt was an uprising (not politically 3. The momentary attitude of the Soviet Union towards prepared or organized) of the best elements of the Social-Democratic Party which pursued a policy of capitulation to the very last hour. Nor is this truth altered by the fact that some Austrian Social-Democratic leaders fought courageously as individuals. For the defeat of the Austrian proletariat, the principles, tactics, and leadership of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party are responsible. The Austrian experiences indicate beyond a shadow of doubt that organizational unity of the workers under the outright reformist or centrist-reformist (Austro-Marxism) leadership leads only to defeat. The events in Austria underscore the need of a mass Communist Party with correct tactics in order to lead, prepare, and insure the victery of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

But international reformism is far from being completely finished. In some countries (Belgium, Sweden, Holland), it is striving to maintain its hold on the workers by means of still more open collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In other countries it is seeking to hold and extend its influence by means of resorting to left phrases, to pseudo-revolutionary appeals (Prague program of German Sccial-Democratic Party, "New Beginning" in German Social-Democratic Party, Declaration of Principles in American S.P.).

#### Genuine United Front Needed

6. Significant evidence of the destructive role of socialreformism (Second International) and the sterility of the ultra-left tactical line of the Third International is to be found in the present tragic developments in Spain and France. Thus, we are witnessing a sharp right incline, with advancing reaction preparing the ground for Fascism, in Spain. Under cover of bourgeois democracy the forces of Fascism are forming serried ranks for brutal attacks on the French workers: The spontaneous militant resistance of both the Spanish and French workers is doomed to defeat unless the L.S.I. and the Comintern drop their present opposition to genuine united front action. Likewise, the CI will not be able to transform these scattered, defensive struggles of the proletariat into offensive, revolutionary, victorious conflicts so long as it persists in its present ruinous ultra-left sectarian strategical course.

#### The Role of Centrism

7. Centrism has experienced some revival in recent months. The reformist leaders have been resorting to more radical phrases to stem the leftward tide of the masses beginning to break with open reformism. The sectarianism of the CI has played into the hands of such left-sounding reformist leaders. Besides these factors, we must also note that Trotskyism, in its new role, has become a stimulant and co-ordinator of sundry manifestations of centrism, thus further confusing and halting the development of the awakening Social-Democratic masses towards genuine revolutionary socialism, that is, towards communism. Organizationally the international Centrist forces have suffered one defeat after another in recent months. The Centrist parties gathered in Paris last summer are now busily engaged in struggles against each other. In the I.L.P., where Centrism still has the upper hand, it has been unable, to date, to establish a base for international centrist co-ordination. In the Norwegian Labor Party, Centrist leaders are veering towards Fascism. The S.A.P. is practically dead in Germany. All attempts at the fermation of a Centrist Party in the U.S. have proved pitiful fiascos (A.W.P.). Finally, the heavy losses suffered by the Centrist bloc is to be accounted for by the reformist leaders in the Second International taking over a great many of their left phrases and centrist

#### Trotskyism Today

8. After the mortal blows dealt to reformism in Germany and Austria, Trotskyism became the most virulent source of new centrist-reformist ideology. It launched far-flung but futile efforts to found a new, a fourth, a centrist, international and new, centrist parties. These were consistently marked by a further sharp development of Trotskyism on its anti-Soviet road (betrayal by C.P.S.U. and C.I. and pro-civil war in the U.S.S.R.). To lend a pseudo-theoretical justification for his allegation that the Third International has betrayed and collapsed Trotsky has developed the theory that we have entered upon a period of blackest reaction-"the epoch of Fascism and reaction." But with the dismal failure of all their maneuvers for new parties and a new international, the Trotskyites are developing the "theory" that the hope of the working class lies in the fictitious regeneration of the Social-Democratic Parties and in some cases are therefore preparing to go headlong into the S.P. Simultaneously there is to be noted stagnation and disintegration in the camp of Trotskyism (splits in U.S., Canada, Rakovsky

#### Life Confirms ICO Line

9. The general analysis of the international situation and the evaluation of Trotskyism and the CI made by the ICO have been confirmed by recent events. The tremendous progress of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the victories of the Soviet Chinese forces, the wave of strikes and organization in the U.S., the notable headway made underground revolutionary organization in Germany and Austria all give the lie to the one-sided Trotskyist conception of the world entering an epoch of reaction and Fascism. At the same time, the CI conception, threadbare thru mechanical repetition, that we are on the eve of "the inevitable approach of a new wave of revolutions," has been refuted by objective developments. The ICO has correctly underscored the increasingly favorable objective conditions for revolutionary struggles and victories and urged the CI to return to the Leninist tactical path in order to utilize adequately these opportunities.

Furthermore, recent events in the French and Czecho-Slovakian Communist parties (Doriot, Guttman) have refuted the Trotskyist and Social-reformist contention that the situation in the CI is so frozen, really dead, that there is no vitality or hope there.

The National Committee indorses the proposal of the Buro and the decision of the first underground Convention of the CPGO to have the ICO request to be permitted to send a fraternal delegation to the Seventh World Congress of the CI. At this congress the ICO delegation is to fight for the complete discarding of the ultraleft line, for the restoration of democratic centralism, and for unification and reconstruction of the world Communist movement. In this fight, we, of course, underline our conviction that the Communist parties cannot be reformed through winning over the puppet leaderships but only by winning over the membership for the line of the ICO.

#### Present Condition of ICO We are glad to be able to note that since our conven-

# the Tasks of the Communists

# of the Communist Party Opposition

its position in Germany and the U.S. Important progress of sections of the middle class into a sort of "lumpen can likewise be registered for the ICO in Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark and India. In England we have succeeded in winning a base of influence through enhancing the revolutionary clarity of the R.P.C. in the I.L.P., to the point of substantial agreement by the R.P.C. with the principles and tactical line of the ICO.

However, we must frankly declare that the ICO has not been immune from the crisis pervading the labor movement. Only where the sections of the ICO have adhered to its line, have remained firm proponents of Communist principles and Leninist tactics, have we been able really to go forward (Germany, U.S.). In our former Swedish section, the leadership has gone over to centrism, dropped the name of Communist and adopted the name Socialist. Under these circumstances the break with the ICO was unavoidable. This has played into the hands of the official CI section in Sweden and strengthened the ultra-left course there. The National Committee unreservedly condemns the action of Mourer of the CPO of Alsace in voting for the Doumergue government in the French Chamber of Deputies. We greet the numerous deliberate efforts of the ICO to win over the CPO of Alsace to a correct position in the coming municipal election campaign in Strassbourg. As against the policy of an election bloc with the nationalist Volksfront, constituent sections of which have gone Fascist, the CPO of Alsace should seek to develop the proletarian united front against French imperialism and Fascism. Holding even the highest offices in the municipal government is not an end in itself. In the truest comradely fashion we stress to our Alsatian comrades that it is impossible to carry out simultaneously an anti-Fascist proletarian united front policy and a coalition policy with the Volksfront parties which are going

#### IV. THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES Stagnation-The Economic Outlook

1. The marked slowing down in the process of revival indicates that another reversal in the economic trend is at hand. General economic activities and industrial progress have been slowing down. Since the beginnings of revival in midyear of 1932, recovery has run a zigzag course with ups and downs being limited to 3 and 4 months. Production has just begun to turn downward from this year-end spurt which at best did not equal the immediately preceding brief upward swing.

2. The general economic index is today at least thirty per cent lower than last mid-summer. Stagnation and the deflation of the optimism of some months ago now pervade the economic outlook. At the end of the first year of the NRA, its popularity has begun to sag due to its failure to solve the economic difficulties and due to its aggravating effect on certain phases of the economic situation, (stimulation of monopoly, artificial shifting of industry, organization of scarcity, credit inflation, collapse of monetary policy, persistence of mass unemployment, etc.). The government program to secure quick absorption of the unemployed army has failed. There is nothing in sight to warrant any fulfillment of these Roosevelt plans. Foreign trade development and prospects are anything but a source of relief here. No expansion of the constructive industries is at hand to reduce the army of no-occupation. Finally the industries producing means of production (machine building, agricultural implements, etc.) continue critically stagnant. It is in such a situation that 16,000,000 people are still on the relief rolls. The government now admits that the problem of relief is permanent in view of well over 10,000,000 still being fully unemployed.

#### \* \* \* Is The New Deal Fascist?

3. Roosevelt's great personal popularity still persists and the outlook for the Republican Party in the coming nings of disillusionment with the NRA. The disillusionment is especially evident amongst the farmers who are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the workings of the AAA. The rapid extension of State Capitalism and the constantly increasing interference by the government in economic relations have caused some Communists and Liberals to evaluate the New Deal as Fascism. This is untrue. There is no profound social and political crisis in the United States, and we do not yet have a revolutionary class-conscious movement to challenge capitalist rule. The foundation of the New Deal is a mass parliamentary party (Democratic Party), making blocs and coalitions with sections of other parliamentary groups. The labor organizations are not yet being singled cut for destruction. Parliamentary rights and capitalist democratic institutions are still intact, the illusions about them are still intense and widespread. The tendency of the New Deal to strengthen the executive arm of the government and to extend State Capitalism are not in themselves Fascism. However, it must be recognized that there are already numerous objective factors at work making for Fascism; likewise, some subjective factors have already begun to manifest themselves (Silver Shirts, Silver Rangers, etc.). Besides, the international spread of Fascism, the growing impotency of parliamentarism, the continuing economic crisis and the increasing possibility of discontent being transformed into revolutionary spirit,

tion six months ago, the ICO has considerably improved the changing class composition and the transformation bourgeoisie," the trend towards violent nationalism in politics and economics, and the inevitability of the failure of the sundry purging schemes of the New Deal, are ominous signs on our political horizon. The most serious source of Fascist menace in this country at present is the marked tendency towards company unionism and the multiplying proposals for quasi-public unionism, for "statization" or government ownership of unionism.

#### NRA and Labor

4. In the ranks of the working class the disillusionment with the NRA, though still far from complete, is already serious. Even the A. F. of L. is already openly dissatisfied with the labor phases of the NRA. A wave of strikes continues and now and then assumes the most militant forms (Toledo, Pacific coast waterfront strikes, Minneapolis). These strikes assume special significance beyond dramatic militancy. Of greatest import here is the higher level of class consciousness attained by the workers in these battles which have served to stimulate sympathetic and general strike sentiment on a local scale. Besides, these battles have taken on greater political content because of the open ruthless strike breaking role played by the government (use of National Guard) and the extralegal bands of strike breakers (Citizens' Committees). The steel strike has been temporarily averted by the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. burocracy and the tricky maneuvers of President Roosevelt, but dissatisfaction continues to develop rapidly among the steel workers. The automobile workers have taken further steps towards the organization of a national union. In the textile indusiry, the workers are preparing to strike against the onerous provisions of the NRA and only the outright treachery of McMahon has so far prevented a national silk strike. The trend towards progressive unionism and new realignments in the A. F. of L. were evident at the I.L.G.W.U. Convention. The significance of the more than 900 Federal locals in the A. F. of L. is inestimable primarily because of their general industrial basis and their consisting, in the main, of semi-skilled and unskilled

5. At its last convention the Socialist Party evidenced its first leftward winds in nearly fifteen years.

6. The various splinter grouplets from the Communist movement have degenerated still more into worthless sects because of their wrong political line and their consequent failure to participate significantly in the wave of strikes and organization under the A. F. of L. banner.

#### CP Persists In Sectarianism

7. The official CP stubbornly persists in its costly ultraleft sectarian line despite twists and turns and loud and prolonged shrieking about its generally fictitious achievements. The critical situation in the official CP is most glaringly evidenced in its terrific turnover in membership, in the complete bankruptcy of its "red unions," and in the most inconsequential role it is now playing in the leftward developments in the SP. The TUUL is now the shadow of its former pitiful self. It has played no part in the great wave of strikes. It has not been the slightest factor even in such dramatic struggles as those at Toledo and Minneapolis. Its former foothold in such industries as needle, auto and mining is now practically nonexistent. For this reason, the CP is now maneuvering to sccure a revival of its "red unions" and more successes in its dual, union-splitting policies under the guise of organizing a new, an independent federation of labor. The basic contradiction in the CP red trade union policy continues to be: While it does not deny membership to non-Communists in its "red" unions, it insists that these unions must recognize the CP as their leader. In its work in the bona fide unions the CP cannot overcome the contradiction between organizing constructive opposition groups and the building of dual competing unions. The tragic bankruptcy of the CP united front policy operating under the single code of social-fascism was brought into bold relief in recent months (Madison Square Garden, isolation from and incapacity to understand SP developments).

#### Condition of CPO

8. Since the National Convention the CPO has reached a new position in the American labor movement and class struggle-enhanced prestige, greater and more widespread influence. Though we are now, more than ever, a distinct positive force in the labor movement, we are still primarily a propaganda organization with mass influence only in isolated sections of the working class (needle, shoe, textile). In the last half year we have had a generally correct application of our trade union and united front policies. Though we have grown numerically and attracted new forces to us (Lithuanian fraternal affiliation, etc.), yet the numerical size of our membership has been lagging lamentably behind our general influence in the labor

#### V. SOME PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

1. In view of the inner situation in the CI and CP, it is urgently necessary for the ICO and CPO to raise the ideo- a Labor Party assumes special importance and must be logical level, not only of the workers already class-con-

scious but of the labor movement as a whole. We must put in the foreground of our tasks the systematical Marxian analysis of American conditions in the light of the international and domestic situation, particularly because of the political sterility of the ultra-left leadership of the CP and because of the confusion in the ranks of the SP membership and followers. It is the job of the CPO to contribute decisively towards an understanding of the basic principles of Marx. Engels and Lenin. The growing general interest in Communism affords us a most favorable opportunity and indicates the most urgent necessity for enlarging and extending our educational work.

#### United Front Work

2. We must intensify our united front activities. United front actions with impotent sects (AWP, Trotskyites, etc.) are of no special value, since they do not serve to set any masses in motion to struggle against employers and do not help attain revolutionary unity. Furthermore, we must be on guard against such united fronts giving the appearance of being anti-CP blocs. We must rather move the center of gravity of our united front actions towards mass organizations (trade unions, fraternal organ zations) and towards some significant political organizations (C.P. and S.P.).

#### Attitude To SP Developments

3. In the present situation in the Socialist Party we must maintain a constructively critical attitude and lend commadely encouragement and revolutionary leadership to the leftward-moving socialist workers. Especially because of the failure of the centrist leadership of the S.P. and even of the organized left wing in the SP (RPC) to emphasize sufficiently fundamental principles in their Party referendum, it becomes our duty to enlighten the SP members about the basic principles of revolutionary sccialism, about Communism. We must work out the necessary effective transitional stages, each stop of which will objectively and definitely lead the Socialist Party membership more and more to the left-that is to Communism. In all our activities among and relations with Socialist Party members, we must make clear to them the necessity for the destruction of all species of reformism and their breaking not only with open reformism (rightwing) but also with hidden or left reformism (centrism), as exemplified by the "Declaration of Principles." The National Committee underscores the fact that the influence which we have won among Socialist Party members and the constructive role we have played in aiding them to move towards the left have been due to our energetic execution of the political line laid down by the National Convention towards reformism and centrism. The progress we have made in this field bears out the correctness of the policies adopted by the National Convention.

In principled questions we will continue to refuse to make even the slightest concession. No Communist can conclude that the leftward-moving members of the Socialist Party have already completed their process of revolutionary development. At best they are still en route to Communism. To consider that their leftward development is already completed, means to halt their full development towards Communism and to prepare and assist their eventual return to open reformism. We, however, emphatically repudiate the tactics of the official CP in denouncing these Socialist workers because they are not yet fully Communists. The official CP tactics here play into the hands of the reformists, halting the leftward developments and even tend to drive Socialist Party members back into the arms of open reformism. The National Committee further categorically declares that it is impermissible in principle for Communists as individuals, or as organized groups, to merge with the Socialist Party which is a reformist organization with a leftward development in its ranks. To do this would mean to accept the Social-Democratic ideological levels and principles and to undermine and destroy the possibility of s mulating and insuring the winning over of masses of socialist workers to higher levels of class consciousness --to Communism.

#### Communists Can Work In Reformist Unions

4. The successful practical activities of the CPO in the trade unions since the National Convention (needle, textile, shoe, mining, metal) shows emphatically, not only that Communists can work in the trade unions, but also affords many lessons as to how progressive groups and constructive oppositions are to be developed inside the labor unions. In all our trade union work we must keep in mind that while trade unions are non-partisan organizations they are not united front organizations. It is essential to remember this in order to avoid opportunism as well as ultra-left mistakes. The CPO must take steps to enlarge the scope of its trade union work, to enhance the class content of the issues raised by us. Towards this end the development of effective fraction work and genuine progressive groups in the central trades councils and the organization of national progressive groups in certain unions is of paramount immediate importance. We must energetically utilize our present position in the trade union movement to intensify the fight against company unionism and fascism, for unemployment and general social insurance, against race prejudice as well as for industrial unionism, trade union democracy, higher wages and better working conditions. In this respect, our agitation for (Continued on Page 6)

# Statement of the Communist Opposition

(Continued from Page 5) transformed, on local scales, into practical organizational activities. In general, we must intensify our activities as Communists working constructively inside the conservative A. F. of L. unions for their transformation into militant industrial unions. Likewise, we must show strengthen these tendencies and plays into the hands of the maximum desire, ability and industry in mobilizing the revolutionary and progressive workers for taking the leadership in educating and assimilating the millions of new A. F. of L. members. Only in this way will we be able to defeat the drive of company unionism and efforts of government-ownership of unions which would be the first step in the construction of corporate or fascist and weld them into a common front against the common unions. By intensifying our trade union work along the above lines we will be able to lend the necessary revolu- the serf-conditions of the farmers in the South. They tionary leadership at this moment when the American must fight for the complete equality of the Negro in inlabor movement has entered upon a new period of develop- dustry and the smashing of the barriers against the Nement.

5. Because of the changes in the economic situation and some of the steps taken and maneuvers made by the Roo- be won for revolutionary action. sevelt Administration, (CWA) all organizations of unemployed have recently declined in strength. The National Committee herewith instructs the Buro to reorganize the unemployed work, to appoint a new National Unemployment Committee and to prepare a concrete program of action in this field for the coming fall and

#### Work Among Negro Masses

The unbearable condition of the Negro masses in the crisis continues in ever-sharpening form. The tendency of the N.R.A. to raise somewhat the levels of the most depressed sections of the working class, tho making no fundamental change in the situation of the workers as a whole, found an exception in the case of the Negro. Here unemployment actually increased, the raising of the lowest levels resulting only in the displacement of Negro by white workers. The resulting discontent of the Negro masses has been insufficiently steered in the direction of Communism in spite of the signal lesson of the Scottsboro

the growing discontent into reactionary channels (Japanideas of racial solidarity, strong amongst the Negro masses, which must be turned by Communists into ideas of solidarity of the oppressed Negro and white masses against the common enemy is being dissipated into "seifisolationist" channels by Negro reformists. In this connection the "separatist" tendencies inherent in the of icial party theory of "self-determination" can only tend to troversies in our ranks. reactionaries inside and outside of the ranks of the Negroes. The C.P.O. must therefore all the more present a clear Communist line on the Negro Question on the U.S. The Communists must demand the complete social and political equality of the Negro race. They must break down the barriers between the Negro and white worker enemy. They must champion the abolition of peonage and gro workers in the trade unions. They must take up the struggle against lynching, Jim-Crowism, and every type of discrimination. Only in this way can the Negro masses

#### Inner Situation of CPO

6. The inner situation of our group is today healthier than at any time in its existence. Objective developments and our activities have borne out the general correctness of our tactical line. The fundamentally healthy condition of our group is especially evidenced in its ability to ward off all attempts of the official CP to drive us to accept

#### IN THE NEXT ISSUE

There will appear a

Supplementary Resolution on THE TRADE UNION QUESTION

case. On the other hand, tendencies are developing their ultra-left, non-Leninist, tactical course. In this amongst the Negro masses which threaten to sidetrack sense we must also greet the fact that the group has been able to defeat all attempts and maneuvers from reformist ese imperialism the "friend" of the Negro masses.) The sources to drown it in the morass of centrism. We have contributed substantially to the annihilating defeat inflicted upon the elements agitating and working against Communist unity thru the creation of new centrist parties and a new centrist international. Since the convention, the CPO has practically wiped out all remnants of factionalism and clique struggle arising out of previous con-

#### Problems of The ICO

7. We must take further steps to build the ICO. We cannot expect the new forces coming to us from the CP, the trade unions, or the Social-Democratic movement, at the very outset of their joining us, to have clarity and correctness of viewpoint to the extent that we have it today after years of struggle and practical communist activities. In holding our forces together, we must also recognize the great difficulties which we as an ICO face, because of the very nature of our struggle, (CI persistence in ultra-left course, wave of centrism, social democratic left phrases, no rapid numerical growth). We will make headway precisely to the extent that we make no concessions in principles and do not deviate from our general tactical line. To aid in the building of the ICO centre, the National Committee herewith decides to send, within a few months, one of its members as a permanent worker in the ICO Buro. Our activities in behalf of the underground work in Germany and Austria must be considerably improved Our work for the relief of the victims of the fascist terror must be organized nationally and far more effectively. Immediate steps should be taken to co-ordinate and extend our contacts in Latin America and lend greater assistance to our Canadian comrades in the interest of extending the influence and organization

The National Committee reaffirms the adherence of the CPO to its perspectives as adopted at the National Convention and pledges itself to an intensification of our struggle for a return of the Communist International and its American section to the Leninist tactical path and the rebuilding and the re-unification of the world party of Communism—the Communist International and its Sec

broadcasting their opposition to the ABC, forced each one to drink a large dose of castor oil. The ABC includes in its program of active opposition all leaders of left and Communist movements. It left and Communist movements. It accepts the principles of Fascism of the principles of Fascism of the large dose of castor oil. The accepts the principles of Fascism of the large dose of castor oil. The ditorial comments of the capitalist press should have made instructive reading for our liberton case are the following. The Weirton Steel company, employing over 12,000 workers, had signed the steel code, which was adopted by about 95% of the steel industry, and which included Section 7a nation against the members of the workers. accepts the principles of Fascism with "special modifications suitable to Cuba." Recently it has begun anti-semitic propaganda.

The force opposing the "semi-fascist" demonstration of the ABC included a section of the Navy, still loyal to Grau, the Communis Party of Cuba, the Anti-Imperial ist League, the revolutionary students and the ABC "left wing." A call for a general strike by the Communist Party and the Cuban Confederation of Labor on the day of the demonstration, did not ma-

This violent unrest, the unprecedented series of strikes, the mass protests and demonstrations, the struggle for political control by the ABC and Mendieta's Nationalist Party, all these have produced general chaos in Cuba. Not an hour passes in a Cuban day without a bomb exploding somewhere to dramatize hunger and mass protest. But Mendieta is still in termined that he shall remain.

The Statement of the Communist Party of Cuba on the abrogation of the Platt amendment was calculated that there exists in Cuba a condition. The way the company of this sociation. The way the company of the company that there exists in Cuba a condition of the Platt amendment are condition. to smooth the way for Mendieta phasises that: and to create a breathing spell and to build him a certain amount of prestige in the estimate of the will continue to be exploited by the use of the court, and which the court are constant.

#### The Meaning Of Abrogation

Liberals like Ludwig Lore on the Post and Ernest Gruening in naval base.
the New York Times hailed this 3. The n "great event" as the beginning of the end of our imperialist policy; but to anyone with eyes that will see, this "abrogation" is only a gesture which costs us nothing and which is calculated to win us Latin American good will so essential to our preparations for the coming war. We see from daily despatches Japan's manouvers throughout Latin America to win political advantage in preparation for the seem of the position of the reactionary Mendieta government which has been unable to secure better economic conditions for the seem our State Department and big business would be just as willing to play the game with them. They are a more uncertain element at present merely because of their greater mass base. Nevertheless, better economic conditions for the masses see, this "abrogation" is only a vantage in preparation for the masses. coming struggle. After, as before, Roosevelt Speaks this "abrogation" Cuba is bound The American this "abrogation" Cuba is bound to us hand and foot economically, and Liberals please take note—we keep our naval base at Guanta-

"Such surrenders of privilege in Cuba are more of a concession to Latin American tempermental international rights . . . amendment) is an act of wise policy. But it remains true, that with or without a treaty, at Guantanamo is a clear indication that Cuba is embraced within the plans of the U.S.

President Roosevelt's summer jaunt to the Caribbean and the an embargo on shipment of arms,

American bankers and sugar in-

2. The danger of intervention is in no way lessened since the Cuantanamo Cuban sugar by 50%. In addition U. S. retains the Guantanamo to that the U. S. government will

3. The move is aimed to lull the anti-interventionist movement.

4. It is a fake gesture of "generosity" which aims to reinforce the war front in the Caribbean and in South America.

3. The move is aimed to lull the Mendieta clique to keep it in power. If, however, the ABC should take control of Cuban destinies, there is no doubt but that our State Department and big

American plans for Cuba will be

# CUBA IN TURMOIL | The Weirton Steel Decision

mental international rights . . . on the provisions of Section 7a, the union. The strike was called which gives them the "right to or- off and it was agreed that an electhat with or without a treaty, the American government may last that they "shall be free from of the workers, the Amalgamated the interference, restraint or coerprotect its own nationals or cion of employers of labor, or their Workers, or the company union. their property . . . Moreover the retention of the naval base

> not bolster the Mendieta regime for an indefinite time and it is

On June 30th Roosevelt declared countries bordering on the Pana- munitions and explosives to Cuba, ma Canal are in line with this except under license of the State the request of the Cuban governthat there exists in Cuba a condition of domestic violence which is

American business. Whether these

Our government also proposes a conference on tariffs in the imme-3. The move is aimed to lull probably extend heavy loans to the themselves the trusted friends of

as a guarantee to the workers. union. The strike which resulted However, while doing this, the was successful and the company company through its officials adophad to shut down its plants for ted a plan for a company union, several weeks. The National Labor and organized such a union through Board then stepped into the situaits officers and paid organizers. The tion and called a conference of the workers on the other hand, relying employers and representatives of ganize and bargain collectively tion be held in the shops of the through representatives of their Weirton Steel company to decide held under the supervision of the National Labor Board.

Immediately after the conference determined on further measures to however, the company officials preserve the shaky structure. the grounds for the "election." stead of adopting the rules and regulations for the election as worked out by the National Labor gesture to recapture Latin AmerDepartment to be issued only on rules and regulations, without anyone who supported the Amalgathe request of the Cuban govern-Board, the company made its own prepared for the elections can best the company union "received" be visualized by quoting affidavits 9,336 votes out of 11,443 votes

> discharges, lay-offs, demotions and changes in conditions of employment, and threats thereof; it threatened the closing of plants, the transfer of work and the reduction of experience. The large and against the injunction and against the dual and collective solicitation for an injunction. and urging, held mass meetings, It is interesting to note that the gave special inducements and judge based his decision for the made coercive speeches; it endenial, on the Norris-La Guardia

defendant is continuing the ac-

tivities in this bill complained of, is threatening to continue them in the future and is defeating the right of the employes to organize and to bargain col-lectively." (New York Times, May 30,

After reading all the affidavits the case, Judge Nields, states

"It is true the company took an active part in advising its employees to vote for the nominees of the company union. During the period from the settlement of the strike in October to December elections there was active campaigning. (my em-

"The president of the company appeared at a number of meetings, as did other officers and foremen of the company. Such meetings were held nearly every night for three weeks prior to the election." (my em-

There were also other activities carried on, such as parties for various employees, dismissal of

"Defendant (Weirton Steel tional Labor Board brought action "Defendant (Weirton Steel Company) employed various against the company for violating the provisions of the code, and to tion and interference, including restrain it from further violating

the reduction of operations. The management engaged in indivi-

gaged in misrepresentation and Act which was purportedly designspionage." ed to help the trade unions in their struggle against injunctions. The blue that the struggle against injunctions are struggle against injunctions. the discharge of all employes injunctions shall be issued in an who signed election petitions or industrial dispute except upon an who participated in any poll open hearing in court with wit-conducted by the National Labor nesses. Basing himself on this bill Board. At the date hereof the the Judge denied the injunction.

### The Theatre In Review

by Lee Mason

perception of social currents. This "theoretical" question under de-spokesmen remained so silent! year, however, has proved a bril- bate, without any significant pracliant exception. The submerged tical consequences. For it is in the coming period of increasing the first time and in plays like tension between organized labor the convention. The position of the convention the convention that the convention that the convention the convention to the convention that the c "Stevedore" and "Peace On Earth" and the NRA, that a realistic gave their highly literate answer "theoretical" estimate will be of to the NRA and Roosevelt. More, immense practical importance, per-vention was a Socialist gathering. their organization, the Theatre haps even a life-and-death matter Union, has demonstrated how piti for many organizations! And pre- of the delegates probably had red fully bourgeois are the "radical" cisely on this question there emerging of the Theatre Guild. Now, even such plays as "They Shall Not Die" show frightened and pale countenances to the world when the Theatre Living takes the Daily a few weeks ago (June 15), at the unresisting delegates and the the Theatre Living takes the Daily a few weeks ago (June 15), at the unresisting delegates and the theory with dutiful appliance. when the Theatre Union takes the Richard Rohman analyzed very were met with dutiful applause. floor. As for the escapist "Mary of penetratingly the two clearly de-But it would not be totally absurd Scotland," "School for Husbands," fined and consistent attitudes to to inquire if, after all, as an orself-indulgent expressions of a Hillman . . that, without the NRA civilization whose head is in a there would be chaos", so that the linsky openly renounced all party

fashion. His quixotic fight for "justice," in a region where the "nigger must spit white," brings the final curtain down in a blaze

The land that the strictly refer to it only to castigate the SP as "visionary"! As a party, the SP did not even make its existence felt. In fairness, however, it must be supplied to the strictly refer to it only to castigate the SP as "visionary"! As a party, the SP did not even make its existence felt. In fairness, however, it must be supplied to the strictly refer to it only to castigate the SP as "visionary"! As a party, the SP did not even make its existence felt. In fairness, however, it must be supplied to the strictly refer to it only to castigate the SP as "visionary"! As a party, the SP did not even make its existence felt. In fairness, however, it must be supplied to the strictly refer to it only to castigate the SP as "visionary"! As a party, the SP did not even make its existence felt. In fairness, however, it must be supplied to the strictly refer to it only to castigate the SP as "visionary"! As a party, the SP did not even make its existence felt. In fairness, however, it must be supplied to the strictly refer to it only to castigate the SP as "visionary"! As a party, the SP did not even make its existence felt. In fairness, however, it must be supplied to the strictly refer to it only to castigate the supplied to the strictly refer to it only to castigate the supplied to the supplied

with a minimum of creative genius.

son, is acquainted with the A B C's of his profession and so his story = worries himself a pale green over greatly." the plight of the sweet queen?

#### "School for Husbands"

"School for Husbands" resemles "Mary of Scotland" in two reles "Mary of Scotland" in two re"School for Husbands" resemtion and liberal adoration of the limiting the radicalization of the "Peace On Earth" bles "Mary of Scotland" in two respects. Both are costume plays and both take place in the days of old when knights were bold and . . . Crowism. To do this, they present the mating the radicalization of the bush of the past. In "Stevedore" the authors is highly commendable. They do not permit their wishes to distort the characters they introduce. Thus we have that superbounds and well written: Minehan is to be constructed in the days of old written. when knights were bold and . . . Crowism. To do this, they present But "School for Husbands" has the picture as they see it. They this advantage in attracting the entertainment trade: it has more colorful costumes and plenty of "cute" songs. Besides, it offers "delightful" airy dances. This color of the minute they be the burning subject before them. but the struggles of our day and draws "delightful" airy dances. This courter are released to the struggles of our day and draws of fiction.

# Communists and the I. L. G. W. U.

manding equal representation for problems associated with it, there movement!

The Theater Union scorns the the most rudimentary form.

(Continued from Page 3) ... labor on what are, according to is no guarantee that, under the uttimation and long-range perspection their own testimony, the leading terly different conditions in which In this country, under the rule timation and long-range perspectory of Morgan, Rockefeller and Co., tive rather than of immediate politive rather than of immediate politics. the theatre has been an embarasicy, should not deceive us and lead c.sm! Perhaps it was better for all creasingly finding itself, the agsingly blunt instrument for the us to believe that it was merely a concerned that the "Left Group" gressive practical course will be

another angle. Ostensibly the con-A good section, if not a majority "Ah Wilderness" and the coward- the NRA prevailing in the labor ganization the SP had so very have come largely from the dressly "Days Without End," these make movement. On the one hand, is much more influence in the conmakers in New York and other the "optimistic attitude of Sidney vention than the CP or perhaps as makers. In general composition der the lash of economic crisis, much as the CPO. President Dubwhirl.

"They Shall Not Die"

When turned inside out, the Theatre Guild is found to be spotty with the rugged individualism of pre-crash days. Not one of their plays shows the slightest consciousness of class forces. "They Shall Not Die" it is true, hints at the role of the workers in the liberation of the most part it boosts Nathan G. Rubin in good old Rotary fashion. His quixotic fight for "intege" in a vacine where the state of the workers and at least once upbraided Zimmerman for that grave fault. The Socialist Party convention in Detroit had just unanimously adopted a radical, if somewhat too they have been given a top to tally inadequate representation and have been relegated to less than a backseat, while the discretation of the state of the Socialist leadership of the International but no one seemed to pay much attention to this unfortunate fact. Not quite no one; seemed to pay much attention to this unfortunate fact. Not quite no one factories as ordinary employer bodies, treating with them strictly along class war lines."

S. Zimmerman, which, the position of the workers in the leadership of the International but no none seemed to pay much attention to this unfortunate fact. Not quite no one; seemed to pay much attention to this unfortunate fact. Not quite no one; seemed to pay much attention to this unfortunate fact. Not quite no one; seemed to pay much attention to this unfortunate fact. Not quite no one; seemed to pay much attention to this unfortunate fact. Not quite no one; seemed to pay much attention to this unfortunate fact. Not quite no one; seemed to pay much attention to the leadership of the International but no one seemed to pay much attention to the leadership of the International but no one seemed to pay much attention to the leadership of the International but no one seemed to be quite in confl

The leadership of the Interna- be recorded that a number of So- marks on the convention with a of their life. The crafty techniques 

maintained. Indeed, is there not great danger that, in the absence of a clear chart and reliable compass, a change in the direction of the wind may bring a sharp change The position of the Socialist Party was equally curious, tho from of course? The stubborn refusal

is a sign of great foreboding for ca's youth is beginning to receive discovered between the entirely organizations to a degree unknown new position of the union and the in the recent past—portent of the stagnant character of its leadership. And this is not merely a formal or organizational question. The great accessions to the union and leadership, the dressmakers undoubtedly represent an unusual- roads. Minehan dressed as one of

I want to close these few re-

the collective emotion of the the other of these clear-cut views audience on fire, but this is hard- and to adopt a middle-of-the road tion and thus did something to balaudience on fire, but this is hardly an effective method for freeing class prisoners. Liberal indignation has no basis in economic facts and is easily blown away. Thus Wexley should never have permitted the cocky and self-appreciative Rubin to handle the case on its own merits.

and to adopt a middle-of-the road tion and thus did something to ballon ance accounts for their party.

The Great Discrepancy

The Great Discrepancy

The most significant thing about the whole NRA debate. it seems to me, was the marked discrepancy as an invited speaker before an to me, was the marked discrepancy between the International leader-was the dutiful assurance of sup-ship's theory and practise. In preciative kubin to handle the case on its own merits.

This manifestation of bourgeois ideology leaves its traces on an ideology le ideology leaves its traces on another part of the play. Wexley must account for the change of heart of the pitiful Lucy Wells and consequently introduces a handsome "salesfeller." It is done also little and some "salesfeller." It is done also little and consequences of its own actions in the consequences of its own actions and great sympathy for Communism and great sympathy for Communism. "I'd rather be a course of "aggressive strike action and dependence only on the forces of the union." It refused, however, to accept the theoretical however, to accept the theoretical consequences of its own actions was the only speech taken consequences. consequency incroduces a name some "salesfeller." It is done also brusquely and eventuates in such brusquely and eventuates in such fantastic behavior (for her) that no one is taken in.

Aside from these pitfalls into which his background led him, Wexley has done at the best only a bit of good editorial writing.

The position of the official Command, instead committed itself to a general standpoint opposed in many respects to its own practical to the minutes. In striking form the sum and substance of all Daily worker "analyses", the "Left to be bad and its practise good a bit of good editorial writing.

Aside from these pitfalls into whole guestion was general standpoint opposed in many respects to its own practical to the minutes. In striking form to the minutes. In striking form the wind our views on other important is our views on other important is our views on other important is sues. including Fascism and the sum and substance of the situation, utterly, "oblivious" to the fact that such camps in the trade union question as well as our views on other important is sues. including Fascism and the surprised, upon reading "There standpoint opposed in many respects to its own practical that it is far better for its theory to be bad and its practise good that it is far better for its theory to be bad and its practise good that the reverse. But I believe sues. including Fascism and the surprised, upon reading "There surprised in the situation, utterly, "oblivious" to the minutes. In striking form the minutes. In striking form the trade union question to its being included in the minutes. In striking form the trade union question as well as our views on other important is surprised. deadly silence on the whole questhat this is not the whole story. Soviet Union. His address did a Shall Be Laughter" that Bordages His character reading is all very perfunctory; he relies too much on physical effect and in general, has transfused the Scottsboro case has transfused the Scottsboro case of the pressure of circum-stances and to some extent, unstances and to some extent a "Mary of Scotland"

The reactionary character of the more strongly in Mary of Scotland.

The playwright Maywell Ander
The playwright Maywell Ander
"Mary of Scotland"

The playwright Maywell Ander
"The playwright

of the tragedy of a queen is well, if simply made. He has provided dramatic contrast in the persons of Elizabeth and Mary, the former in the midst of a rotten system. of Elizabeth and Mary, the former hard boiled and resourceful, the latter charming and improvident. But one wonders and legitimately whether Anderson is not unwise to place his head in the ground of the past. Isn't the man afraid he will be storaged by a stronged on by either the American They found it in O'Neill's spunk The colored workers are made of the past in the latter and warm, sunny he he bargains with God for his soul. The critics. Protestants' and notentially Ku Klux Klanners. mistrusted the adverse rities and looked about for a peg on the sither the American They found it in O'Neill's spunk The colored workers are made in the latter and warm, sunny he dramatic defiance by the two fluxes and Whitey, two of the vagabonds, to he determined attempt of Sam, as he acterization and folklore. If the murder of Sam, as he acterization and folklore. If the pears in the light of the lamp to appear in the light of the lamp to a peg on all these incidents are made in the ground at the determined attempt of Binnie and Blacksnake to keep Lonnie hidden from the leering the tribe. past. Isn't the man afraid he will be stepped on by either the Aryan or Bolsheviki hordes while he worries himself a pale green over alternative. To them the arrival the solidarity felt by the Negro kel. a Finnish bov. become Reds, of the union spells "help" in only workers.

"Peace On Earth" is feebler note of rebellion. But the conser-"delightful," airy dances. This ought to tickle the fancy of the solid citizerry.

O'Noill had at least the decrease with the decrease with the decrease with the stringeles of our day and draws after all a woman or a joke takes after all a woman or a joke takes the stringeles of our day and draws after all into the texture after all a woman or a joke takes strength therefrom. Thus, to name the decision of the solid citizerry.

We go crazy over the bubbling the German scabs to join the reading for an adequate undero'Neill had at least the decence of the content of

BOOKS

BOY AND GIRL TRAMPS OF AMERICA, Thomas Minehan. Farrar & Rinehart.

THERE SHALL BE LAUGHTER, Asa Bordages. William Godwin.

Here are two books that answer hose questions that you have had in mind about America's homeless youth. Both books constitute one of the International leadership to of the most damning indictments raise its official theory even to the of capitalism recently penned. It level of its acknowledged practise, is significant that at last Amerithe attention of sociologists, novelists, social workers, and political

> Thomas Minehan, a professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota, broke thru the academic tradition to get the living facts took to the highways and rail-

> cidents, snatches of conversation and short descriptive pieces organized so as to illumine every aspect for obtaining food and clothing, sex relations, attitudes toward re-ligion, government and related questions are all dealt with. An excellent job in the organization material. An unforgettable

Minehan found little of racial prejudice, "no more religious life than a healthy colt," an absence of patriotism and great sympathy

the homeless vouth. It is surprise ing how ably Bordages has divined certain psychological aspects of the felt that the author had taken an unwarranted liberty and was

artificially attempting to strike a

# Workers Age

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July 15, 1934

# The Real Trend in Germany

TN the course of its efforts to perpetuate its class rule, the bourgeoisie resort to sundry methods, to various forms of capitalist dictatorship. When capitalism is in decay, when the toiling masses are desperate, when the parliamentary fabric has been worn threadbare, and the actual or potential menace of the revolutionary proletariat is serious, the owning class resorts to a brutal, open but indirect dictatorship. This is Fascism. Both in Italy and Germany the owning class has been compelled by socio-economic conditions to resort to rule thru one party (Fascist) having a monopoly of the state apparatus which is supplemented by special anti-proletarian bands of select gangsters and armed mercenaries. No form of political, trade union, or cultural organization is permitted to the workers who are made to bear a still greater portion of the burdens of the acute crisis. In short, the capitalists turn to the Fascist Party as their last hope for a solution of the plaguing contradictions of the apitalist system.

For some time, Italian developments, and recently, particularly events in Germany, have shown that precisely this Fascist Party which was set up to solve all capitalist contradictions is not only unable to do so but is inevitably pursuing a policy which only aggravates them. In fact, the Fascist Party, the white hope of rotting capitalism, is itself a monstrous contradiction, a sort of funnel thru which all capitalist antagonisms seek to pour but only clog to become really only the concentration or focal point in the sewer of capitalist contradictions. In an attempt to deny and crush the class struggle, it vainly seeks to harness conflicting class forces pulling in opposite directions. Desperately trying to bring "order" and rejuvenation into capitalist economy, Fascism reverts to brute force as the decisive factor in the economic process, to backward methods which capitalism has either long outlived or superseded. Seeking to preserve the fiction of national honor, prestige, unity and interests, it drives headlong to wars which destroy the physical and economic foundations of the nation. Finally, battling to maintain capitalism solely thru savage force, it leaves open, without question, but one solution to the proletariat—armed force against the bourgeoisie, their lackeys, and the whole system.

It is in the development and maturing of the above social and economic process, the class expression of these basic forces, that an explanation and an understanding of the present complicated German events is to be found. It is the movement of classes, the trend of class forces, and not the intriguing of marionette Cabinet ministers, not the wish-thinking of neurotic liberal journalists, nor the sterile hopes of parlor or talk-revolutionists fatigued by their exciting hopes and dreams, which is decisive in these tense and crowded hours in the life of the German people.

Undoubtedly, Nazi Germany is in a desperate crisis. Its immediate economic outlook is anything but bright. Its plight, acute enough because of the world crisis, because of its own anaemic economic constitution, has been further aggravated by a number of its own policies, remedies, and cure-alls. With the worsening of the own policies, remedies, and cure-alls. With the worsening of the economic situation the huge army of Storm Tracopers (S. A.) set up to maintain the Fascist regime becomes a crushing burden on the Fascist system itself. Within the S.A. the lower middle class and proletarian forces begin to chafe with disappointment, disillusionment, and distrust. As the economic difficulties multiply, the condition of the lower middle class and working class tends to become unbear-able. Despair rises. The myth of Fascist invincibility begins to vanish. Yesterday's source of strength (Storm Troopers) become to-day's source of infection. The Nazi regime is unable to meet the heavy cost of the maintenance of its huge private army. From reduction of the S.A. stipends, Der Fuchrer travels inexorably to a reduction of the S. A. army itself. Personal and clique jealousies flourish in such a situation and atmosphere. The political friends of the night become the assassins of the dawn. In the flotsam and jetsam of capitalist decay, Nazi morbidity and degeneracy—mobilized to save and revive the dying social order—come to the fore, no longer are concealable. The Junker class and their menarchist showmen see their hopes revived. Even some industrialists, disappointed by the prospects of shrinking dividends and frightened by the menace of falling profits, are on the alert for something new and different to stave off currency collapse and total economic paralysis.

This is Germany today. We warn against the workers entertaining any illusions that the end of Hitlerism is at hand because Hitler has shot Roehm yesterday and may shoot Goering tomorrow. We warn against illusions that even the possibility of Goering's shooting Hitler will prove the undoing of Fascism and the beginning of the victory to socialism. We warn against the illusion that von Papen's coming to life or Hindenburg's going to death will laurch the proletarian victorious onmarch or the overthrow of Fascism. We are in the midst of a situation in which class relations are decisive and not clique quarrels, personal jealousies, individual corruption or monarchist ambitions. Only the working class following the principles of Communism and led by a Communist Party with sound tactics, can exterminate Fascism. At this moment we must frankly say that the revolutionary proletarian forces in Germany are still too weak to perform this very urgent and hoped-for task. There is no question that the grave economic crisis facilitates the revolutionary work in underground Germany today. No doubt, the explosion within the Nazi party has not only served to wipe out the lure of Fascism in Germany and elsewhere, to an appreciable measure. but has also positively aided the Communist cause in the Third Reich.

What is happening now in Germany has, in essence, happened in Italy in the first stages of the Mussolini regime. Except, that what it took Italy years, it takes Germany months to go through. The Storm Troop army must be reduced. It must be purged of those forces who took seriously Hitler's demagogic proneses. The proletarian

# Trade Union Notes

Hartford "Sclves" The Trade Union Problem

in the trade union movement, there appear from time to time unique plans for leading the working popular to the muddle they find canadan trade union movement. themselves in today. We take up says our correspondent. Hartford, a plan being hailed in A Divided the local press as revolutionary Labor Movement both in organization form and in So we look at its philosophy.

it was who took the workers out among three distinct trade union of the A. F. of L. because it was centers, among which rivalry and too conservative. The same La bitter hatred reaches the level of Vista then set up fraternal relations with the TUUL and called strongest of these centers is the in the I.L.D. to handle defense A. F. of L. with a membership of work. So close was the coopera-tion between the CP and this La comes the All Canadian Congress Vista that he even appeared at a of Labor with a membership of CP mass meeting in St. Nicholas Arena to appeal for support for the Catholic Syndicates (confined the strikers. In view of this rela- primarily to the province of Quetionship it is rather interesting that the CP has no comment to 25 000. To complete the picture we make on the La Vista plan.

#### Industrial Form As The Basic Structure

There is little fault to find with the organizational scheme for trade union organization. It is neither new nor original. It calls for the organization of the work-Political Complexion ers in Connecticut into industrial | Of Canada's Unionism unions. These are to be coordinated by a "Worker's Council" consisting of one from each industrial union.

#### Class-Collaboration The Philosophy Proposed

The relation between this "Worker's Council" and the employers is to be one of friendliest coopera-tion. It would "meet with the employer, go over his books, and make its demands high or low as the employer made big or little profits." No consideration whatever is to be given to prevailing wage rates and decent living levels, it is stated. The sole consideration in determining wage demands would be "the capacity of the employer to pay." Different wage scales in different plants of the same industry is provided for since the workers would be "cooperating with the small profit plants by reducing its demands."

Paging Mr. Green.

Little need be said here of the basic fallacies of this philosophya philosophy developed and glori-fied by Mr. William Green, under the euphonious name of the higher strategy of labor, during the height of "prosperity". In actual practice all such proposals make unionism—whether craft or industrial—impotent and chains the workers to the profit chariot of the industrialists. Economically it spells starvation for the workers because wage levels, in all cases. would sink to the level of the least productive unit in the industry.

The scheme, it must be emphasized is not new. What is new is the combination of a progressive orm of trade unionism union philosophy.

An additional lesson to be learned from this plan is that the existence of a union independent of the A. F. of L. is not necessarily an indication of its radical character. This is something which the C.P. and the T.U.U.L. have still to

#### A Perplexing

Canadian Problem A Canadian worker writes in to inform us that he can't for the

trade union center revolutionary workers should be in. Can there In these day of stress and strain be any question, he asks, when

So we look at the trade union movement in Canada and find, in The proponent of the plan, a certain La Vista, was the leader of the Pratt and Whitney strike. He Next in strength bec) with a membership of about must mention the Railroad Brotherhoods, independent of all centers, but affiliated to the Railroad Brotherhoods in the U.S.A. and of course the Worker's Unity League of Canada (little brother

of our own T.U.U.L.)

Outside of the CP-controlled Workers Unity League, there is little to choose between them, in the sense of progressive trade unionism. The A. F. of L. trade unions in Canada are in no way different rom those in the U.S. The only d'fference between the A.C.C. of L. and the A.F.L. is over the independence of Canada's trade union movement from that of the U. S. The Catholic Syndicates do appear to have basic differences with both. Where the other centers, tho reformist and reactionary in leadership, do participate in economic struggles and not infrequently, in quite militant struggles. the Catholic unions are opposed to the strike as a weapon and openly resist every effort at economic strug gle. These unions, priest ridden and under church control, are mutual aid societies rather than economic organizations of the workers. In a rumber of recent strug-Catholic workers had to break with their union and align themselves with either of the other centers in order to engage in strikes for the improvement of their conditions.

In industries where more than one of these centers have a foothold disastrous results ensue. Take for instance the recent strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in Toronto. The A.C.C. of L. immediately set up a competing union and filled the shops with their own members. Indeed not an encouraging situation for the Canadian trade unionists.

#### What's To Be Done?

In such a difficult set-up it apthat the first ears to us reactionary and discredited trade all genuine progressives is to develop among the mass of trade unionist and unorganized workers, who suffer from this division and dissension, a movement for joint action in any and every impending strike situation.

The further, and of course, the more difficult task is the merger of all genuine trade union centers into an all-inclusive new, united Canadian trade union movement (This would exclude the Catholic unions which, in the main, are not trade unions at all.) The demand life of him understand why there for trade union unity must become s so much confusion here in the the battle cry of all progressives U.S.A. over the question of which in the Canadian labor movement.

elements must be cleared out; the lower middle class forces must be wiped out. The Nazi party itself must be reduced. This is the way in which Hitlerism will try to maintain and strengthen its hold for some months.

What next? The answer to this question will continue to rest with the proletariat and not with the von Papens, the Hindenburgs or such illusions as the complete independence of the Reichswehr apart and above class relations. The objective situation for our struggle is more favorable. We must correct our tactics to make them more suitable. Will the German C.P. learn? When?

## Marxism vs. Methodism

by T. T. D.

In Grandville furniture workers were battling hunger, a vicious court injunction, and the police; in Detroit MESA pickets kept their ranks solid around the Burroughs Adding Machine Co.; thruout the state drought-ridden farms struck another blow at helpless farmers: but in Battle Creek the Socialist Party of Michigan met in convention and formed a united front with higher life. It elected the Rev. Arthur E. Larsen, D.D., its gubernatorial candidate for the state elections.

This farcical selection, seriously engineered by the Krueger lieutenants in Michigan, reveals in all its impoverished outline the utter lack of principle and position of the "militants" now in control of the Socialist Party.

The Reverend Larsen had been a party member four months. He spoke with a syrupy, ministerial cadence. He sweated sweetness and light and exhaled the dew and the sunshine. Early in the Spring, at a conference of Methodist ministers in Lansing, he had concurred with that body in endorsing the statements of its keynoter, Kirby Page, who said that if the Socialist movement in America was to be kept from going the way of Communism (i.e. atheism, i.e. dialectic materialism), it was up to the ministry of America to go into it and capture it.

Because of the selection, Francis King, state secretary, resigned his office. Sound Marxists refused to run on the ticket. Small, left infantilist upstate locals muttered about a split. But Larsen had neither the good grace nor the tactical sense to withdraw.

Despite the capitulation to Christian Socialism, despite the failure of the party to place a single farmer on the ticket, the convention revealed a strong, revolutionary minority that battled Krueger centrism at every step. It defeated the "militant" platform and adopted the one presented by Fagan of the RPC. Vigorous debate and fast floor work by Fagan and Klein of Lansing and Strachan of Detroit, inserted the sections on War and The Road To Power from the RPC platform in place of the same sections in the Declaration of Principles adopted by the national convention in Detroit. A motion was also pushed through to offer these sections as alternative choices in the national referendum.

The effect of the Larsen selecion, really put through by a parliamentary trick, on the member-ship was a sad sight. Michigan has about ten outstate locals that possess everything but leadership and direction.

# MOONLIGHT

For students of National Training School and national organizers

SUNDAY, JULY 22 at 8 P. M.

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NEGRO JAZZ BAND ADMISSION 35 c

COMMUNIST PARTY (Opposition)