(See Page Six)

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL. 3, No. 22.

NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 15, 1934.

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Income Tax Shows Wealth Is Concentrating

The redistribution of wealth promised by the New Deal proceeded rapidly in the year 1933 according to the figures on income tax returns for that year just released by the Bureau of Internal

"Redistribution" however mean two different things. Those who fed on the ballyhoo of the Biue Eagle looked for a "square deal" for the forgotten man, a better break for the little fellow. But the Bureau of Internal Revenue sees things more realistically. Here is the essence of their report:

Net income of corporations increased by \$654,502,697 in 1933 over 1932 or by more than 35 per

Individual incomes of over \$25,-000 a year rose but individual incomes under this amount fell.

Wages and salaries dropped by \$567,000 in 1933 from 1932.

Income from business, sale of real estate, stocks and bonds, government investment etc. all

The number of those receiving incomes of over a million a year rose from twenty in 1923 to fortysix in 1934-more than double.

Is this the trend of the New Deal? The Workers Age has always contended that the Roosevelt policies were building up monopoly capitalism to a hitherto unheard of peak. This is in confirmation our viewpoint—the fact that even in its first year under the NRA business was able to increase its profits greatly at the expense of a hundred thousand people who dropped out of the income tax class entirely.

Defenders of the Rooseveltian economics say this is a premature conclusion—that recovery reflects itself first in corporation incomes. A recovery that manifests itself by widening the gulf between big and little incomes augurs badly for those at the bottom of the heap.

C. P. O. Plenum Opens Dec. 28

The New Year's sessions of the the proportions of a national conference. Besides the members of the committee, coming from every part of the country, there will also be consultative delegates from every organization of the C.P.O.

The opening session will be held on Friday, December 28, 8 P.M. in Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, with comrade Lovestone reporting on The Present Political Situation and The Tasks Before Us. In this report Love-stone will deal with the situation in the international labor movement; the political situation in the country and our attitude to the growing movement for a Labor Party. C.P.O. members will be admitted free on presentation of a membership card in good standing. Admission to others will be 25c.

On Saturday, Decmber 29, 8 P.M. Charles Zimmerman will report on The Situation In The American Labor Movement. This session will be held at Rivera Hall 51 West 14th Street. Rules of admission are the same as for the first session. All other sessions

HAIL AND FAREWELL!

With this issue the Workers Age ceases to appear in the form familiar to its readers for more than two years, to be replaced by the new Weekly Workers Age.

We close the pages on two historic years in the labor movement. The Workers Age has faithfully recorded that history, torecast a good deal of it, even made some itself. But we close the pages without regret because we are advancing—the labor movement is advancing—to a new epoch of greater achievements.

With the advent of the Weekly Workers Age-you can find more details on Page 8—the new chapter opens. The Workers Age has always been dedicated to the service of American labor. In its weekly form that service will be multiplied many times.

Support, build and strengthen the Weekly Workers Age!

Taking Profit out of War Means Preparation for War

The whole nation is expected to military authorities to concentrate wind out of the sails of the Nye Committee investigating munition manufactures.

The whole investigation of the munitions industry arose because of the desire on the part of the

stand up and cheer, for Roosevelt the manufacture of munitions into has announced his determination to the nands or the government. That take the profit out of war. Cynical this is a war preparedness move Republican Senators have already is made doubly certain by the raised the cry that it is a political haste with which President Roomanouver in order to take the sevelt assures us that "the question of preparedness is not under consideration" and that the investigations and his own cry of taking the profits out of war were not prompted by the "danger of international strife." The recently settled controversy between Jugosiavia and Hungary merely emphasizes the fact that Europe stood upon the very brink of a new world war. Ine settlement has not removed the causes for this conflict and the postponement of war is of short duration indeed.

> Another espect of Roosevelt's new crusade, throws some light on what we may expect when war comes. "The poys in the trenches," says our very "liberal" President, "got \$1 a day and the boys in the munitions factories got \$8 to \$10 a day." No proposal is made but the implication is clear. Profits from war are to be removed thru the militarization of labor, thru paying labor a soldiers wage. The cries against war profits and the synthetic indignation against the munitions manufacturers will be forgotten under the soothing phrase-mongery of our eloquent rresident, but what will remain, unless labor prepares now to battle effectively, will be the shackles of military slavery for industrial la-

bor, when war looms.

Perhaps not unrelated to this question, is the proposal of Attorney General Cummings, for the establishment of a Scotland Yard. This is of course being proposed under the flag of an offensive against crime, out class conscious workers wno remember the role that the Department of Justice played in 1919-20, will know what to expect from a national Scotland Yard. Under the cry of racketeering and gangsterism, the attack will be directed against the trade unions and other working class organizations. The organizations of the Democratic and Republican and racketeering, will of course be left untouched, for it is upon these that the two party system rests.

Already the cry for the suppression of the communist movement has been raised by the National Manufacturers' Association and Congress will be called upon soon to act on a bill to this effect.

Under the guise of liberalism, the executive powers of the government are being constantly strengthened and new methods worked out for a renewed offensive against the labor movement.

Communist Opposition Calls on C. P. For United Front Action

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S.:

We address this communication to you as an appeal for united action on one of the most important issues facing the American workers today as well as for cooperation in striging about a better politicat understanding between our organizations with a view to uitimate Communist unity.

There surely can be no question as to the vital necessity of a mass movement against war and fascism in this country at the present time. To be at all effective such a movement must be a workers movement primarily, based on the existing mass organizations of labor, with the support, of course, of all other sections of the population opposed to war and fascism. Consequently, its program, its approach, its methods of operation must be such as to appeal to the American workers in their organizations; certainly they should not be such as to repell and alienate them. Unfortunately, those responsible for organizing the American League Against War and rascism have utterly disregarded these elementary considerations with the result that the American League is now a very narrow organization, practically divorced from the labor movement, embracing hardly more than some Communists and sympathizers together with a 1ew liberals and pacifists. Its mintant program or its good intentions should not blind us to the undenlable fact that the American League is not today nor can it become in the future the organizational vehicle of a real movement against war and fascism. Only a new movement, on a new and sound basis, can hope to organize the widespread anti-war and anti-fascist sentiment among the working masses. It is manifestly National Committee, Communist the duty of the Communists to mobilize all their Party (Opposition) are assuming forces to stimulate the development of such a movement, in cooperation, naturally, with all other workers organizations committed to the same end. If we agree as to the necessity and possibility of such a broad, non-partisan movement, rooted in the mass organizations of labor, then it should surely be possible for us to get together to work out ways and means of encouraging its development among those sections of organized labor where we have influ-

But we should not be satisfied merely with cooperation on this issue. Never was the unity of Communist forces so essential as it is today, with the truits of disunity so obvious. Would it not be of the greatest value if we could join in a common effort to bring about a better political understanding between our organizations so as to pave the way to complete unity? Between the Communist rarty and the Communist Opposition there is no disagreement on the fundamental principles of Com-

munism. We have repeatedly condemned the vicious political slander of those who, like the Trotskyites, deny the genuinely Communist character of the C.P. and the C.1. What separates us are very serious difterences on questions of strategy, tactics and methods, such questions as the united front, policy in the trade unions, estimate of and attitude to the Social-

in movement and the 114. In representation of these issues has been greatly nampered by the obstacies placed in the way of frank and comradely discussion of our differences, especially in the light of recent events in this country and on a world scale. And yet we must all agree that only such frank and comradely discussion can lead to real unity in the Communist movement, which we all desire so earnestly. We therefore suggest that a joint committee be set up to encourage and regulate the mutual discussion of the disputed questions. In particular, we would propose the exchange of discussion articles in our papers, joint discussion meetings, etc. Certainly this suggestion should meet with your approval today in view of the broad discussion the Communist International has urged in preparation of the Seventh Congress, a discussion in which Socialist workers and even members of Catholic trade unions are invited to participate.

We make these proposals to you because we are convinced that they would greatly benefit the Communist and labor movements of this country, to the furtherance of which both our organizations are dedicated. The trutful cooperation that our comrades of the C.P. and C.P.O. have succeeded in establishing in Germany, should be an inspiration and a guide to us in this country. We hope that, putting to one side all narrow factional prejudices and considerations, you will see your way clear to acting favorably upon our proposals, thus greatly advancing the consolidation of the forces of the class conscious proletariat of this country.

In connection with this appeal, we would suggest that a delegation of our National Committee be permitted to appear before your plenum so as to explain our proposals in greater detail. We take this occasion also to invite a delegation of your plenum to appear before the full session of our National Committee to be held on December 29, 30, and 31 in this city with a view to presenting to us your attitude on our proposals. We may also advise you that a copy of this communication has been sent to the Executive Committee of he Communist International with the request that it use its influence in obtaining the favorable consideration of our proposals by you.

Fraternally, NATIONAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. (OPPOSITION) JAY LOVESTONE, Secretary

Committee will close on Monday ranged and dancing provided for headquarters, 51 West 14th Street. night December 31 (New Year's into the wee hours of the morn-Eve) with a rousing banquet. A ing. Tickets for the banquet are issue). rich concert program has been ar- 60c. and can be secured at C.P.O.

The sessions of the National Jay Lovestone

"WHAT NOW IN SOCIALIST PARTY?" December 23, 8 P. M. — 51 W. 14 St.

TOTAL	MITTE	CDA
JUIN	IDE	CPO —

JAY LOVESTONE 51 West 14th St. New York City

Please send information about the CPO to

Address

Canadian C.P. Expels Breslow For Unifying Workers' Ranks The writer of this statement, for years a leading and active member of the Communist Party of Canada, has been extelled from the party for his statement, for the Communist Party of Canada, has been extelled from the party for his to the party for his is so why is it that for almost three years this was tole erated and not brought before the attention of the cutters? Wouldn't that be betraying the interests of the dressmakers on their part? However, the cutters know differently as is proven by the support I have.

to state the following; Not until a few minutes before the vote was taken, which resulted in a three to one decision for affiliation, did I intimate in any way, my stand to the leadership of the International or even to the executive of the Cutters Union. With regard to the meeting referred to which I left before it was over and after I left before it was over and after conditions. I left before it was over and after which I was supposed to have plotted with the International that throughout the existence of and form a local of the Industrial position, by delivering the cutters to them, the incident actually happened as follows: Comically enough it happened to be that instead of meeting the International stead of meeting the cutters brown the majority sentiment of the International to the International Dress Cutters Local and how I failed them on many a problem to the International Intern

remove the Executive for applying to the International for a charter without first consulting the membership, happened as follows: At the Executive meeting where the elected manager of the union, Local 205.

—Editor

by Frank B. Breslow

In the issues of the Worker and Der Kamf of December 8, two official C.P. of Canada papers, an article was published dealing with the present campaign of the International. However, before any steps are taken in this direction was used as the ing to consult the membership and get their decision." When this article I am accused of betraying the interests of the cutters and the dresembles between the first general strike of the dresenders of the International for a charter without first consulting the membership, happened as follows: At the Executive meeting where bership, happened as follows: At the Executive meeting where the Executive meeting where the first general strike of the dress cutters in the Fall of 1933, which was successful, I, together with the leadership of the cutters organization as well as the cutters and the necessity of taking drastic steps to combat this craft ideology. We proposed to the Party leadership to call a conference of both unions, namely the Cutters Union and the Dressmakers Section of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was defeated 10 to 1, I said that should the Executive act without consulting the membership and get their decision." When this motion was defeated 10 to 1, I said that should the Executive act without consulting the membership and get their decision." When this motion was defeated 10 to 1, I said that should the Executive act without consulting the membership and get their decision." When this direction was a section of the International Ladies of the cutters and the necessary of the cutters and the necessary of the Executive act without consulting the membership and get their decision." When this direction i article I am accused of betraying the interests of the cutters and the dressmakers by coming out for affiliation with the International. In this article there is mention made of certain differences between myself and the C.P. during the course of building the Dress Cutters Union and the Industrial Union. There are also a number of slanderous accusations made against me.

said that should the Executive act without consulting the membership ageneral membership to have the Executive removed. However, I wish to make it clear that I did not threaten the removal of the Executive act without consulting the membership and appeal to the membership to have the Executive removed. However, I wish to make it clear that I did not threaten the removal of the Executive act without consulting the membership against such a union, a sentiment for which was prevalent amongst many dressmakers, including the cutters. We realized then that the vast majority of the cutters were definitely against such a union as the Industrial Union. There are also a number of slanderous accusations made against me.

influence the membership accordingly.

In order to clarify the present situation in Montreal amongst the dressmakers, and my differences with the official C.P., it will be necessary for me to write an article on the whole situation. However, in this statement I wish to confine myself merely to answering a number of slanderous accusations and lies which have appeared in a later issue of the Worker, of December 12th. This article I must admit, is a masterpiece and could, no doubt, take first prize in any exhibition of slander and lying. In it there are the following statements made which must be clarified to the workers in Montreal and particularly to the dress cutters:

influence the membership accordingly.

3. My remarks, at the special membership meeting where the referendum was taken on the question of craft unionism, were interpreted to mean that I placed my personal interests above the interpreted to mean that I placed in years of the dressmakers strike cultivers at the dressmakers strike cultivers with the dressmakers and a strike cultivers with the dressmakers and a strike 1. I am being accused of play- proven conclusion that as a craft national; of coming to an under-standing with them in so far as my position is concerned, and that then only did I come out for the International. To prove this the writer gove that the strike been successful and the Industrial Union strengthened with a few thousand members and mem International. To prove this the writer says that towards the end of a certain meeting of active cuttor in the shops, the cutters would at this time have on the agenda the question of affiliation with the Dressmakers Section of the International leadership. In answer to this I wish to state the following; Not until

leadership to assure myself of a the Montreal Dress Cutters Union Union or come in to the Interna-

It Sounds Very Familiar

All the quotations printed below capitalist organization just as are taken from "The Bankruptcy much as the standing army of the of the American Labor Movement" United States."—From the speech the needle trades workers in Montby William Z. Foster. It is pre- of James P. Thompson at the real, my stand fairly and squarely cisely against the theories ex-pressed in these quotations that Foster argued so earnestly and so Weavers.

Everett, Washington convention of 1. I am now, as in the past, for a policy of class struggle as against class collaboration. convincingly. We call the attenconvincingly. We call the attention of our readers to the striking similarity between the sentiments expressed below and the theories the capitalist class."—From the the capitalist class."—From the the capitalist class."—From the capitalist class. Party, after 1929, when it entered upon a course of dual unionism.

Labor is not now and never can thompson, Everett, Wash., 1911. ter from what direction they may become a labor movement."—From * * * * the speeches of Vincent St. John.

"The United Mine Workers is a

the Communist Party of Canada, has been expelled from the party for his advocacy of unity with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. It is this attitude on his part which has called forth a bitter tirade from C.P. ranks.

Comrade Frank B. Breslow is the former manager of the Montreal Dress Cutters Union. Since the affiliation of without first consulting the mem-

tarian policy and remain isolated from the masses of workers and their struggles, or to actively paring a double game and dealing with the leadership of the International: of coming to an undermeeting when I used the term "martyr," I did not mean personal sacrifice, as my past nine years activity in the labour movement

ters, two weeks after the vote for affiliation was taken and with an active campaign already under way. What do they propose to do

to bring about unity in this trade?

2. I am for amalgamation of

eveloped by the Communist speeches of William D. Haywood.

2 rty, after 1929, when it entered * * * * *

1 am for a militant, con-"When it comes to strike breaking the A. F. of L. has Farley daily struggles of the workers and beaten 1,000 ways."—James P.

AMERICAN LABOR?

B. HERMAN FRIDAY, DEC. 21, 8 P. M. Boro Park Labor Lyceum 1377 - 42 St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

For **Breakfast** Lunch Dinner Southern

Waffle at

Midnite Patronize Bradley's Cafeteria

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MONDAY, DEC. 31

8 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA HALL 15th St. and Irving Place

New York District

Admission 60 Cents

"The American Federation of Labor is neither American, nor a (Continued on Page 6)

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Workers' Democracy or Dictatorship? On Hook's Revival of Kautsky's Theories

In his book, "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx," Sidney Hook asks: "What doctrine is essential to Marxism in the sense that it can be used as a touchstone of allegiance to his thought? . . . It can be categorically stated that it is Marx's theory of the state of Class Struggles in France. criterion. And, according to this very criterion, Hook's recent article on "Workers Democracy" in the Modern Monthly of October 1934 shows him to be a thoroly false Marxist for, in all except superficial phraseology, he breaks with the Marxist theory of the state in its most essential aspects. Judging by this article, it is no longer possible to regard Hook as a Marxist; all his learned and undeniably useful studies of certain aspects of Marxist theory cannot save him, any more than they can Kautsky or Hilferding. He has taken the decisive step.

An Echo Of The Past

"The essence of the Marxist theory (of the state)," Lenin tells us, "is the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat." It is this which Sidney Hook now rejects, openly as far as the term itself is concerned and covertly with regard to its substance. His arguments are not new, altho they seem to have just occurred to him for the first time. They are the well-worn arguments of Kautsky, Paul Levi and Otto Bauer, cast in a somewhat novel form and embit-tered by Trotskyite venom. And if I examine them in some detail in these paragraphs it is not because they have gained anything in point or significance in the last fifteen years; it is only because they cast a rather curious light upon the Marxist integrity of the chief theoretician of the "new revolutionary party" in the United States, who at the same time mo-destly regards himself as the only one really "understanding" Marx

and the import of his teachings.
Sidney Hook avows a marked distaste for the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "prefers" the term "workers' democracy." Apparently it is not merely a matter of literary taste, about which, us, "does Marx use the expression that is, the very essence of Marx's 'dictatorship of the proletariat.'
It occurs only twice in his unpub-

statements of Marx forming the essence of his whole revolutionmistakeable. ary doctrine as a 'phrase' is to These words fall with equal force upon Hook, who apparently does not know that he is only past, like a posthumous work, so to

Marx On Dictatorship

"Only their (the workers)

provement of their conditions and "usurpation." remains a utopia within the bourgeois republic, a utopia which becomes a crime when it seeks realization. In places of demands exalted in point of form but petty and even bourgeois in essence . . . came the bold revolutionary watchword: Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the Proletariat." And in the third part of the same work he repeats:

overthrow of all privileged Relations of Party classes, their subjection to the And Class dictatorship of the proletariat in which the revolution is mainrealization of communism. . as not consulted his sources?

As a matter of fact, as Lenin hows, if there is a single concept, a single expression that recurs at every stage of the develop-ment of Marx's thought, from 1850 to 1880, it is the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Marx himself emphasizes the significance of this conception. "My contribution," Marx wrote in 1852 in a letter to Weydemeyer, "has been to prove . . . that the class struggle necessarily leads to the of course, there can be no dispute. For Hook suddenly discovers that the dictatorship of the proletariat and that this dictatorship is itself only projectariat" is of little import to Marxism and that only those who suffer "from the fetishism of without classes." To dismiss the whole matter as a constitution of all classes and to a society without classes." terminology and from the grip of whole matter as cavalierly as does verbal symbols" will insist upon it. verbal symbols" will insist upon it. Furthermore, it is only an accidental phrase, so to speak, with Marx himself. "In no public writing," Hook confidently assures "does Marx use the expression" Hook is not simply the result of ignorance, which would not be so serious. As the case of Kautsky shows us, it goes far deeper; it means the rejection of the substance, the content, of the phrase, that is the very essence of Marx's revolutionary teachings!

Revolutionary Marxists, follow heap contempt upon Marxism and to completely repudiate it." Lenin, have always maintained

* Reading like an echo of the dead echoing Kautsky somewhat bespeak, the incredible article of Paul
Mattick in the December 1934 issue of the Modern Monthly presents the viewpoint of the old German ultra-Nor should our learned historian lefts so uncomfortably close to Sidney be so careless with his facts. Marx Hook's contentions on all main points.

it is Marx's theory of the state of Class Struggles in France, tariat is possible only if it is exwhich distinguishes the true Marxist from the false." This is a true

"Only their (the workers) Sidney Hook is positively shocked Sidney Hook is positively shocked defeat convinced them of the truth that the slightest imnot hesitate to brand as "tyranny"

That it is natural for the Com-

munist Party, which has led the being realized by the soviet state, to be the directing and leading force in the workers government, is admitted by Hook. That the Communists should act together inside the soviet bodies and out-"The proletariat groups itself more and more around revolutionary Socialism, around Communism... This Socialism, around is the class dictatorship of the line party course in party course in the Communism of the seems to have his reservations even on this point, for he refers sneeringly to the "formulations of soviet line already represent the interests of the entire proletariat... They continually simple nor is the answer quite so represent the interests of the whole categorical. It depends on time, are provided in party camera" (party camera) and seek to stress and bring to the fore the communism of the evasion, "The Communism Mark declared replies after a little evasion, "The support these views, goes without saying, altho Hook seems to have his reservations even on this point, for he refers sneeringly to the proletariat... They continually represent the class dictatorship of the solution are party would submit and seek to stress and bring to the fore the communism. The communism Mark declared replies after a little evasion, "The communism Mark declared represents a support these views, goes without saying, altho Hook seems to have his reservations even on this point, for he refers sneeringly to the proletariat... They continually represent the communism of the community of t

Altho he does not succeed tained in permanence up to the has something else in mind in berealization of communism. . " rating the "dictatorship of the Can it be that Professor Hook party" and that something is the Hook's Democratic Fetishism essential Marxist conception of the

"Interest," says Hook, "is at the heart of policy and any policy which affects the working class as a whole must express the interests of the working class as it conceives them and not as a minority political party thinks it should conceive

theses on the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution, presented to the second congress of the Communist International in 1920, "can only lead to the greatest errors and confusion. Thus, for instance, it is clear that, notwithstanding the disposition or prejudices of certain parts of the working masses during the imperialist war, the workers party ought to have resisted these prejudices, defending the historical interests of the pro-letariat . . . The duty of the workers parties should have

been to combat such an attitude of the majority of the workers and to defend the interests of the workers at whatever cost."

Evidently Lenin did not believe that the real interests of the workrevolution and whose program is ers were what the workers themselves conceived them to be. He believed that a "minority political believed that a "minority political question: "Suppose there is a conparty" knew what these interests were far better than the workers themselves! Who

inside the soviet bodies and outside so as to spread their views the least idea of what a revolusional solution and their views the least idea of what a revolusional solution and their views the least idea of what a revolusional solution and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and their views the least idea of what a revolusion and the revo among the masses and secure the clection of those candidates who "The Communists," Marx declared replies after a little evasion, "The

The truth is that Hook betrays

expressing it very clearly, Hook has something else in mind in berating the "dictatorship of the party" and that something is the Hook's Democratic Fetishism

And bersecute it. This is the most elementary Marxism.

plain enough. What the party should do in the case of a conflict is not a matter of fixed principle Hook's entire viewpoint is the crudest sort of democratic fetishevolutionary workers party and ts relation to the working class, ism disguised in a Marxist mantle.

Let the reader ponder these words carefully, for in essence hey are an outright repudiation same results. not the slightest understanding of

"Nothing has been more odious to the ears of a Marxist the concrete situation under which than the traditional claim that the proletarian dictatorship takes a certain ruling group is a bet- place; he contents himself with ter judge of the interests of the manipulating abstract concepts. people than they are them- Never once does he approach the world of reality and its problems-

Is it true that the "working the position of the proletariat in the midst of the non-proletarian better judge of its interests than toiling masses, the ideological a "minority political party?" The heterogeneity of the proletariat "working class as a whole" was lished manuscripts... Therefore, why insist upon it?

Hook Paraphrases Kautsky

All this has a familiar if somewhat old-fashioned ring. In his has named to nothing thru contrasting it with to nothing thru contrasting it with the dictatorship of the proletariat to nothing thru contrasting it with the dictatorship of the proletariat to nothing thru contrasting it with the dictatorship of the proletariat to nothing thru contrasting it with the dictatorship of the proletariat to nothing thru contrasting it with the dictatorship of the party to overwhelmingly in favor of the imperialist war in 1917, of Harding in 1920 and Roosevelt in 1932.

Wat it a good judge of its own interests then? Who was the better judge of the workers the masses was a whole" was and the relation of the party to overwhelmingly in favor of the interest was in 1917, of Harding in 1920 and Roosevelt in 1932.

Wat it a good judge of its own interests then? Who was the better judge of the workers the masses of the workers the warm of the masses of the workers. what old-fashioned ring. In his pamphlet, The Proletarian Revolution, written a little over sixteen year ago. Lenin had to settle accounts with an identically similar argument coming from . . . Kautsky! Len'n wrote:

the dictatorship of the proletarian better judge of the interests of the workers, the masses of the workers, the masses of the workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know secondly, by making an open plea for a many-party system under the soviet regime. Let us examine the nature and implications of the working class as it conceives their own interests quite well! Unverbors and sollers the workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know volutionary Marxists? "A policy their own interests. After the restored its program and ousted the working them workers, the masses of the workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know volutionary Marxists? "A policy their own interests. After the restored its program and ousted them own interests. After the restored its program and ousted them own interests. After the restored its program and ousted them own interests. After the restored its program and ousted them own interests. After the restored its program and ousted them own interests. After the restored its program and ousted them own interests. After the restored its program and ousted them own interests. After the restored its program and ousted them own interests. After the restored its program and ousted them own interests of the workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know volutionary workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know

individualism and vacillation between moods of exaltation and And, as long as this continues

to be the case, the Marxist van-guard of the proletariat is still a better judge of the real interests of the class than the "working class as a whole." Will Sidney Hook challenge this?

Relations of Party To

With the air of one presenting positively devastating argument, Hook demands an answer to the submits to whom?" And he scores

Communism . . . This Socialism is the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transition towards the abolition of class divisions as such . . ."

And in June 1850 Marx and Engels signed a very "public writing," the statutes of the World League of Revolutionary Communists, (the fusion of the French Blanquists), which begins:

"The aim of the union is the overthrow of all privileged classes, their subjection to the content of the class dictatorship of the profession of the class dictatorship of the profession of soviet line already in party caucus, in party is categorical. It depends on time, placed the workers and circumstance! One thing passage but does not understand it. If it means that the revolutionary workers party, just because it is the bearer of Marxist theory, understands the real interests of the workers are the bearer of Marxist theory, understands the real interests of the workers are the interests of the whole in party caucus, in party caucus, in party in the categorical. It depends on time, placed the workers the movement." Hook quotes this passage but does not understand it. If it means that the revolutionary workers party, just because it is the bearer of Marxist theory, understands the real interests of the workers are the program of the workers are the interests of the whole in passage but does not understand it. If it means that the revolutionary workers party, just because it is the bearer of Marxist theory, u the this party may be a tiny minority and the workers may scorn
views of the soviet majority at any but rather of high expediency. Of cases, if we may speak in such The ordinary petty bourgeois democratic philistine declaims: "The voice of the people is the voice of the phisticated: "The voice of the working class as a whole' is the voice of God." Just as the petty bourgeois democrat converts the bourgeois democrat converts the mechanism for making the party word "people" into a holy fetish, viewpoint prevail thru convincing so does Hook do with the word the workers. Indeed the fundamental significance of the soviet system lies precisely in the fact that, thru it, the historical interests of the proletariat, as expressed

in the Marxist program, become he active will of the masses. Fundamentally it is a question whether, from the point of view of the ultimate interests of the evolution, it is more expedient to nake a concession to non-proletarian influences or to challenge he soviet majority in the name of the real interests of the proletariat! This is utterly different from the dilemma posed by Sidney

But the conflict may touch inerests serious enough to admit no elected soviet of Aronstadt came into violent conflict with the party, sky! Len'n wrote:

"How the 'Marxist' Kautsky does it (refers to the dictatorship of the proletariat) is the purest comedy. Listen: This concention 'is based on merely a word of Karl Marx,' that is what he says literally on page 20. And on page 60 he reiterates it in this form: 'Here we recall the phrase of Marx about the dictatorship of the proletariat which he once used in a letter in 1875...'

"To refer to these famous statements of Marx forming the whole revolution."

"To refer to these famous statements of Marx forming the whole revolution."

"To refer to these famous statements of Marx forming the sessence of his whole revolution."

"To refer to these famous statements of Marx forming the whole revolution."

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"To refer to the dictatorship of the proletariat which he once used in a letter in 1875...'

"To refer to these famous statements of Marx forming the sessence of his whole revolution."

"To refer to these famous statements of Marx forming the essence of his whole revolution."

"To refer to these famous statements of Marx forming the sessence of his whole revolution."

"To refer to these famous implications of the nature and implications of the searguments. In the first place it should be the working class as it conceives them," Hook teaches us. In 1917 a lath who whould have real their own interests quite well! Unfortunately the "revolution" is no wonder-working miracle, transforming class policy" in 1932, behind the "one of working class as a conscious and understand their own interests quite well! Unfortunately the "revolution" is no wonder-working miracle, transforming the tween thio working class policy" in 1932, behind the "one of working class as a conscious and understand their own interests quite well! Unfortunately the "revolution" is no wonder-working miracle, transforming mankind overnight. None knew this better than Lenin owen their own interests quite well! Unfortunately the "working class policy" "The confounding of these two conceptions of party and ism continue active long after the What right did Lenin have to tell class," Lenin wrote in the overthrow of the bourgeois state. the Kronstadt workers what was "They (the petty bourgeoisie) good for them? They knew their surround the proletariat on interests better than any "minorevery side with a petty bour- ity party," didn't they? Let Sidgeois atmosphere," Lenin wrote nev Hook figure that out! (in the fifth chapter of his

The fact is that, with his devaspamphlet on Left Communism), tating question. Sidney Hook devdescribing conditions after the revolution, "impregnating the he deliberately poses the question proletariat, corrupting and de- as a choice between the form of moralizing it, causing it to re- democracy and the substance of

lapse into petty bourgeois char-acterlessness, demoralization, (Continued on Page 8) (Continued on Page 8)

The Socialist Party - A Circus on Fire

Out of the welter of confusion and chaos gripping the sessions of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party one mittee of the Socialist Party one definite fact stands out strikingly:
The Centrist "new" leadership of the Socialist Party, anaemic at its birth, has become paralyzed. Its paralysis was brought about by a light of the Socialist Party one definite fact stands out strikingly:

Dy Jay Lovestone

by Jay Lovestone

The Centrist "new" leadership of the Socialist Party, anaemic at its birth, has become paralyzed. Its party one maive Hoan and Kreuger are not at the world that he, as the leader of the world that he, as the leader of the party, has refused to officiate at such marriage cerebration of the party, has refused to officiate at such marriage cerebration of the party, has refused to officiate at such marriage cerebration of the party, has refused to officiate at such marriage cerebration of the party, has refused to officiate at such marriage cerebration of the party, has refused to officiate at such marriage cerebrations. The Communist organizations.

The Centrist "new" leadership of the world that he, as the leader of the party, has refused to officiate at such marriage cerebration of the party, has refused to officiate at such marriage cerebration. The Communist organizations of the party has refused to officiate at such marriage cerebration. The Communist organizations of the world that he, as the leader of the world that he, as the leader of the world that he world that he, as the leader of the world that he, as the leader of the world the world that he world that he world the world the world that he world the worl paralysis was brought about by a lynchable east of Hoboken. Like- various parties. virile Right Wing perm, which has only begun to ravage the Thomas leadership.

ideological party hegemony in recent months. Under the impact of the blows struck by the Waldman-Oneal faction (The Jewish Daily Forward Corporation and its feeble English expression, The New Leader) the NEC, at its Bosnow it.

International, this American vanguard of yesterday's Left is now in the foreground of the Right. State organizations which are in favor of united front actions with the Communist Party can go ahead. State organizations which conduction in the foreground of the Right. State organizations with the Communist Party can go ahead. State organizations which conduction in the foreground of the Right. State organizations with the Communist Party can go ahead. State organizations which conduction in the foreground of the Right. State organizations with the Communist Party can go ahead. State organizations which conduction in the foreground of the Right. State organizations with the Communist Party can go ahead. State organizations which conduction in the foreground of the Right. State organizations with the Communist Party can go ahead. State organizations which conduction in the foreground of the Right. State organizations with the Communist Party can go ahead. State organizations which conduction in the foreground of the Right. State organizations with the Communist Party can go ahead. State organizations which conduction in the foreground of the Right. State organizations with the Communist Party can go ahead. State organizations which are in favor of united front action, made by the Communist Party Opposition. The NEC dealers of the Detroit Convention in the foreground of the Right. ton meeting, took steps to undo
much of what has happened, to
counteract sharply, if not consistThe United Front—
The Acid Test ently, the leftward developments in the SP during the last year.

Right Wing Scores

Boston Decisions Show Political Paralysis

to be intorduced into the SP. So | virile Right Wing perm, which has only begun to ravage the Thomas leadership.

Centering around the frankly reformist clique, gathered in the New York State Executive Committee, bossed by Louis Waldman, the Right Wing of the SP has made tremendous headway towards ideological party hegemony in recent months. Under the impact of the blows struck by the Wald-

Right Wing Scores

It is true that Abe Cahan, James Oneal & Company did not get all they asked for in their memorandum; it is equally true they never expected to get everything at one stroke. That would be too "revolutionary" even for these mustoms! These hoary solons of pure-and-simple, open social reformism, of putrid opportunism, really

Dushed the Committee, has pushed the Right? One must examine the political decision of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, but genuinely impotent democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the solution of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, the democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the solution of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, but genuinely impotent democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the solution of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, the democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the solution of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, but genuinely impotent democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the solution of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, but genuinely impotent democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the political decision of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, but genuinely impotent democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the political decision of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, but genuinely impotent democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the political decision of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, but is not bogus democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the political decision of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy, but is not bogus democracy of Socialist Party particularly in the political decision of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy of Socialist provides of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy of Socialist provides of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy of Socialist provides of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy of Socialist provides of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy of Socialist provides of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy of Socialist provides of the NEC, it is not bogus democracy of Socialist provides

by Jay Lovestone

It is significant that the SP of

are opposed can continue their opposition. State organizations which which provides for open and another their opposition. The Acid Test

In what way can it be said that the Right Wing of the SP has pushed the Committee, has pushed pushed the Committee, has pushed about this decision of the NEC, it was about this decision of the NEC, it was about this decision of the NEC, it was about the committee about the c

for taking steps towards an effective labor defence organization towards a broad anti-Fascist movement, towards a genuine labor party development

of December 8, 1934. Thomas tells

A Right Wing

stroke. That would be too 're it would be the seem of the united seem places of American reforms imm! These hoary solons of pure-sand-simple, open social reformism, really didn't expect to get even as much for putrid opportunism, really and cantialist reaction of putrid opportunism, really didn't expect to get even as much for putrid opportunism, really didn't expect to get even as much for putrid opportunism, really didn't expect to get even as much for putrid opportunism, really didn't expect to get even as much for putrid opportunism, really didn't expect to get even as much for putrid opportunism, really didn't expect to get even as much for putrid opportunism, really didn't expect to get even as much for putrid opportunism, really didn't expect to get even as much form the following chorus of dissatisfaction with the following chorus of dissatisfaction with the committee sessions. Surely, they are in the following the fol

where. It is small comfort to the Communist Party tactics towards the Empire State. The RPC will Soak The Poor

Imbedded in the favorable matrix of race oppression are ample evidences of the worst class oppression in the country. The military of the phenomenon represents an opposite of the pression in the country. The military represents an opposite of the phenomenon represents White And Colored Water

The drinking fountain bubblers serable segregated schools for are labelled "colored" water and well-are labelled "colored" water and well-are labelled "colored" water and Negroes in eleven states (and this well-are labelled "specific to the phenomenon represents an editorially that: "The CP did not powers Hapgood at the NEC sessions in eleven states (and this economic life altogether, a threat leaders." In early September sions for leftward policies should, are labelled "colored" water and white "water respectively. I had to go around the backway at the railroad station at Greensboro or a Negro delegate accompanying me would have been obliged to leave me when I entered the "white entrance." After a late session we imilar relative diftrance." After a late session we South show similar relative diffracing Negro and poor white work-trudged half way across town to a poor Negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a whole Relief in contribute in some negro section to get a cup country as a cup country a poor Negro section to get a cup country as a whole. Reflet in continuous in the Eighth Convention about its attitude towards developments of the CP, against the Revoluments in the SP. We have no something new under the Southern tionary Policy Committee. Profaction interest in the matter; we with netty claimed Browder:

wing, however, gives little characterless right-about-face unground for expecting it to lead principled tactics. In the interest the real leftward development of the working class of this country of SP workers towards the we would like to see as many united front with the Commun-ists and eventually towards uni-brace revolutionary socialism, that fication . . . In all probability is, the principles of Communism this effort (RPC) will also collapse into another contribution behalf of the working class, we to that 'left' social fascism, work for untiringly and with the whose object is to disperse and highest proletarian devotion.

of the workers."

the CP bamboozled some RPC

states: "I have never even proposed 'local companionate marriage' . . . The National Executive whelmingly adopted the declarations of the companion of the comp ration of principles, which despite its confusion and basic omissions on important questions, was an expression of increasingly leftward trend in the Socialist Party . . . The truly revolutionary forces in the party and the RPC will be 'constructively' expelled."

What the CP will say next no ne knows, least of all the puppet leadership now infesting the highest councils of the American section of the Communist Interna-

Expell The R.P.C. Demands Right Wing

One small matter is pertinent at his point. Gitlow, Zam and their one-sixth of a baker's dozen, thru their entry into the SP, have become a small, but scurrilous force for the Right. This is al-ways the case with those who are converted backwards. These little Socialists have attached themselves to the right wing section of the

are not concerned with petty "The composition of this left maneuvers; we do not resort to

Is the trade union line of the Communist International and the C.P.U.S.A. changing? Did Lovestone and his supporters, while in the leadership of the Communist Party, initiate the dual union policy? What is the theoretical premiser? What is the theoretical premiser? icy? What is the theoretical premise for the simultaneous liquidance of the simultaneous liqu tion of some industrial unions and the organization of others. These objective conditions. Why was it are some of the questions which the would-be trade union expert ory that the A. F. of L. could nevof the C.P., Jack Stachel, attempts to answer in recent articles. (Daily Worker, October 12 and Communist, November, 1934).

ory that the A. F. of L. could never a grow again, that it was bank-rupt and that therefore a new revolutionary trade unionism was necessary? To answer by claiming

Apparently the attitude of disdainful silence on questions we have raised have been found to be little factors in the factors unsatisfactory in the face of the disastrous collapse of the painfully constructed theories of dual unionism. Even the the discussion with us is one of the most scandalous distortion of our position and of patent falsification of the C.P. position, we welcome it nevertheneless. It offers the possibility of class and that therefore the coming to grips with a policy time had come for the organization of the discussion were would have us believe but all along those of the RILU. Comrade Foster accepted these conclusions were would have us believe but all along those of the RILU. Comrade Foster accepted these conclusions were would have us believe but all along the line.

The Communist International announces to the world in the was quite explicit in its meaning class and that therefore the was quite explicit in its meaning class and that therefore the line.

Communist of October 1930 that would have us believe but all along the capitalist state apparatus and were would have us believe but all along the capitalist state apparatus and were would have us believe but all along the capitalist state apparatus and were would have us believe but all along the capitalist state apparatus and were would have us believe but all along the capitalist state apparatus and were would have us believe but all along the capitalist state apparatus and were was quite explicit in its meaning class and that therefore the line.

The Communist International was quite explicit in its meaning class and that therefore the world in the capitalist state apparatus and were was quite explicit in its meaning class. It offers the possibility of line is to build inde
communist International and the capitalist state apparatus and were was quite explicit in its meaning class and that therefore the line.

Is There Or Is There

Not A Change? Comrade Stachel boils with indignation at the audacity of these "renegades" who claim that the "The Fifth Congress", (R.I.L. Fifth RILU Congress goes on to ist line of the C.P. dignation at the audacity of these "renegades" who claim that the line of the C.I. and to a lesser degree also the American Party is undergoing a change. That, says Stachel, is a "Tammany manouv-Stachel, is a "Tammany manouv-Today the revolutionary industrial unions in textile, mining and needle unions in textile u Stachel, is a "Tammany manouver" to cover up our own bankruptcy. The burden of his song then, appears to be that there has been no change whatever and that we have drawn upon our imagination when we state otherwise. In the Today the revolutionary industrial unions in textile, mining and needle trades have returned to the reformist unions. In the negotiations between the Brooklyn Alteration Painters (T.U.U.L.) and the A. F. interest of brevity we omit a de-tailed discussion of the fundament-al changes in trade union tactics as seen in Germany, where the C. A. F. of L. (the reformist unions) P G. has finally accepted the position of the "despicable Brandlerites" for organizing non-partisan, illegal trade unions; in France where the C.P. is prepared to merge its revolutionary trade union

Is anything prove the utter unionism as a sy Was The C.P. For Dual-Unionism? merge its revolutionary trade union center (C.G.T.U.) with the reformist C.G.T.; in Austria and Poland

We cannot refrain, however, from giving some quotations from Stachel's own articles:

"In this connection we have first to determine where and to what extent we have to change our tactics" (on the January 6, 1934 Stachel says:

where similar developments have

"I want to deal mainly with the question of our trade-union policy, where and to what degree we have made and must modify our tactics . . . " (in the trade unions)

"In the recent year or year and a half we have (very often with great hesitation, as in the 1934) we are told that mining field) changed our tac-

"This, as we have already indicated, is the reason for our present policy of putting main present policy of putting main emphasis on work in the A. F. with these quotations Stachel ttempts to prove conclusively that Conciliatory Role

These quotations are all taken from one article in the November Ve doubt however, that Stachel hard, the manager of the local en-terialize. The encouraging factor Communist. Despite all cries of convinced either himself or the tered into protracted negotiations in this situation was the stand of All-Embracing Or the "bankruptcy" of the Lovestoneites, life itself is forcing the nortem distortions, to suit the In the meanwhile, the workers who made possible improvements of With the under the stoneites, life itself is forcing the nortem distortions, to suit the In the meanwhile, the workers who made possible improvements of the cloakmakers in the shops which improvements of the cloakmakers in C.P. to undertake certain changes resent line, fly in the face of the were ready and willing to respond, conditions. Wage cuts were rejectof line. When Stachel speaks of the "present policy" of main emphasis in the A. F. of L. it is clear that there must have been a previous policy of main emphasis.

"Exemplification of the lace of the were ready and willing to respond, budly proclaimed policies of the were told every day that the strike is postponed. The result was extremely harmful. Disappoint-were depleted accordingly. The were told every day that the strike is postponed. The result was extremely harmful. Disappoint-were not the policy of the poli vious policy of main emphasis 'he R.I.L.U. in his rather windy re-ranks of the cloakmakers. elsewhere and that the "present ort to the Central Committee. policy" is a new policy. We can easily understand and even symnathize with Stachel's sensitive reaction to the term "change of re public property, for they serve sions of this agreement were conline," but it is still that regardless ery well to give the lie to comof what other label one may at- ade Stachel.

"We Change With Changing Conditions"

How to explain away these changes without losing face? The solution was found in the formula of "changing conditions" by which it is proved, to all who are sufficiently gullible to accept it, that it is not the trade union line solution was found in the formulation of the Communist Two days later, at a mass meeting where the strike was official ing where the strike was official whom they had been working in one group. The progressives altive progressives were declared.

Two days later, at a mass meeting where the strike was official whom they had been working in one group. The progressives altitle progressives altitle progressives altitle progressives altitle progressives were declared.

Analyzing Some Recent C. P. Changes

The Communist Party and Trade Unions

icy" of main emphasis on the A. doubly sure that this meant not TUUL unions? It stands exposed F. of L., which they had declared in any one industry but on a nafor what it is—a pure fabrication of the large transfer of t

Is anything more needed to prove the utter collapse of dualunionism as a system?

Was The C.P. For

But comrade Stachel denies vigrously that the C.P. ever support ed dual unionism as a general polcy. In fact Stachel shows extreme sensitiveness to even the term 'dual unionism' and refers to the inions organized by the C.P. as 'parallel unions'. We are not going to argue about names, the question is: how did these come to be? In the Daily Worker of

"The TUUL unions did not arise out of the fact that we no longer wished to carry on work to win the workers in the A. F. of L. for the class struggle program. They arose out of the mass expulsions of hundreds of thousands. . . . And in the report to the Central,

Committee (Communist, Nov.

tempt to build new unions.' "The reformist unions are daily

by George F. Miles

of the Comintern and the Fourtn Congress of the R.I.L.U. have recorded the fusion of the reformist trade union apparatus with the bourgeois state and with the large monopoly capitalist enterprises. During the last year, in connection with the unfolding of the class conflicts, this process has gone still deeper." (Inprecor, Vol. 9, No. 46).

This sounds somewhat different than Stachel's explanations. Such in the Theses of the Seventh Par-a characterization of the trade ty Convention (1930) "the A. F. unions supplies the basis for the of L. is outright fascist". than Stacher's explanations. The Comintern, echoed by the various C.P.'s, insisted in 1928 (before the crisis) that the radicalization of the working class was so in any one industry as Stachel in any one industry as Stachel the only logical conclusions were those of the RILU. Comrade Fostowers and the control of the stacker's explanations. The convention (1930) "the A. F. of L. is outright fascist". From such theoretical premises the only logical conclusions were those of the RILU. Comrade Fostowers and the control of the characterization of the trade unions supplies the basis for the only logical conclusions were the only logical conclusions were those of the RILU.

coming to grips with a policy which has wrought untold harm to the trade union movement and to the Communist Party itself.

time had come for the organization of the organization of dual revolutionary unions. Today after 5 years of deepest crises, when radicalization of the parallel red trade unions. " working class is on the increase, the C.P. proposes the "present policy" of main emphasis on the Adoubly sure that this meant not roughly contend to the contend of the con

> "It is already necessary to What Is The Line work consistently, consciously and untiringly for the organization of an independent revolu-

United States, for some "exceptional" reasons. In that case we must remind him that one of the unionist theories, which even organizers of the Trade Union Stachel finds so difficut to defend.

organizations." — (Communist tion of the employers' organizations" then your purpose can be

From such theoretical premises ment of your line.

announces to the world in the Communist of October 1930 that

pendent revolutionary unions and to combine them into a new trade union center.' In the light of these facts what

That these fabrications cover a change in a desired direction, we gle for the conquest of the trade tionary trade union movement appreciate and welcome but we in..." (emphasis mine—GFM) sist that the manner in which it is appreciate and welcome but we in-Perhaps comrade Stachel will done vitiates the purpose. Nor claim that this did not apply to the can this process of reorientation

Unity League, John J. Ballam, justified the organization of the TU UL on the grounds that:

"The A. F. of L. unions today have been transformed into a part of the strike-breaking machinery of the capitalist state and a section of the employers' organizations." — (Communist Total Communist)

Unlike the Trotskyist Workers Party, which sheds bitter tears over the liquidation of some of the TUUL unions, we say we welcome this act of the party and urge the speedy completion of this process. But when we say that we have not said all. We must ask what will you do in the reformist trade unions? If you still insist that the A. F. of L. is "fascist" and a "section of the employers' organization of the employers' organization.

April 1929).

In these words Ballam was merely echoing the general line of the C.I. and the RILU and was also the control of t expressing accurately the position of the C.P.U.S.A. which declared dual unionism into the very heart ant question is a damning indict-

There must be many members of the C.P. who are tired of this this maze of phrase mongery with which the Stachels handle the trade union question. Strike against dual unionism at its very roots— by demanding a repudiation of the by demanding a repudiation of the theories underlying the dual union-ist course. Insist that this repu-diation be made as openly and frankly as was the policy of dual unionism some years back. This must be done if the character of the C.P.'s work in the trade unions is to change from its present antiunion and destructive role to one of constructive and militant strug-

In the next article we will take

Union Developments in Montreal

It seems that the Montreal Cloakmakers have definitely passed out of the stage of season al unionism. All previous organization campaigns and strikes, although partially successful, never resulted in the establishment of a sulted in the establishment of a constructive policy but hever failed to exaggerate and engage in unfounded criticism. The cloakwere made against them and no makers, who are painfully building al unionism. All previous organpermanent organization. The last opportunity given to answer any their union, reacted against both organization campaign proved to charges. be the most successful the cloak-

makers had ever experienced.

Determined to avoid the errors of former campaigns, the progres rallying the support of the cloakmakers, be the enforcement of better conditions. As such demands they considered the 40 hour weck and minimum wage scales. These preparations proved to be success-Improvements were obtained in many shops and even many right wingers whole-heartedly sup-ported this drive. The union grew

The text of the agreement ar

placed before a special genera

membership meeting. The provi-

siderably lower than the demands

originally proposed. Discussion was stifled, after two progressives

vote was hurriedly taken.

"Only where the masses were

largely unorganized or where we could not conduct struggles thru the old unions, did we athe C.P. never went in for "paral-It is unfortunate for comrade rived at in these conferences, was Stachel that the documents of oth the Comintern and R.I.L.U.

becoming more and more openly criticized the agreement, and cab organizations." wrote comrade Lozovsky in November 1928 The Red International of Labour Unions, Vol 1, No. 2). And the Fights Militancy

by Jack Holtzman

Upon the return of the cloakmakers to work it became clear ganize the Montreal dressmakers that the agreement was not based on the minimum wage scales and ism in the forefront. The progressives insisted that the keynote for that the leadership had no intensives and "lefts" are definitely tion of enforcing it. As our manager stated before a meeting of operators: "the agreement is only for public opinion". Despite the for public opinion". Despite the shortcomings of this agreement, considerable improvements in conditions were possible, if it were enforced. This the progressives proposed in a leaflet issued to the been fighting hard, during the last workers. The same leaflet also five years, to build a union. Being

in strength and influence and the prospects for the general strike were favorable.

Called for the recall of the suspentions. The answer of the leader-ship was an additional suspension specific difficulties, the task of orship was an additional suspension. for distributing this leaflet. Contrary to all expectations the the time of the G.E.B. decision the season proved to be a very poor Industrial Union was the only or-Instead of utilizing this favor- one and extensive efforts at en- ganization that tried to organize unionism" as a general policy, able position to strike and strike forcing the agreement did not ma-

The Defeat Of The Progressives.

The operators local (No. 43) was considered as the stronghold and organizing some 500 of the of the progressives. In the recent elections, however, the progres-sives polled but one third of a rather small total vote. That the susnensions weakened the progressives is of course true, but despite that we must admit that the unions into an independent dressresults were not satisfactory.

The decisive factor for the defeat of the progressives is its failand clearly from the "lefts", with Isolation And The

policy and constructively criticized the defects of the union. The "lefts" half-heartedly supported suspended from the strike com- this constructive policy but never

The decision of the G.E.B. to or-

ganization is tremendous. Up to

With the ultra-left turn of the

Communist Party some years ago, Industrial Union and organized themselves independently. The cutters, after some hard struggles, succeeded in winning conditions 600 cutters in the trade. This union tho independent was under C.P.

Some time ago the cutters started a movement for merging both makers union. This, the leaders of the Industrial objected to, preferring a weak but "red" union to a strong but independent union.

At the beginning of last season

versity, was selected for the conference, for the Negro delegates could not have entered into any regular "white meeting place". In order that the delegates might

shaft that overawes all monu-

ments, dedicated "To Our Confeda poor Negro section to get a cup country as a whole. Relief in contribute in some measure to their ing a "colored restaurant". Ne- State has a sales tax of 3% on sun, and the character of its disgroes may not enter a "white restaurant" without subjecting themsities. On purchases under 30c. selves to arrest and even endang- in value, that is the purchases of of the next article. ering their lives—except of course, the very poor, the tax percentage if they enter to serve the patrons actually rises, for on any purchase A school for Negroes, Shaw Uni-

between 10 and 30c. in value one the South that when the present present

Economic Aspects of the Race
Problem was held over the Thanksgiving week-end in Raleigh, North
Carolina, a typical capitol of the
Capitol building has a small
monument to the soldiers who died
in the Spanish-American War, a
slightly larger one to the victims
of the World War and a towering
shaft that overawes all monuments

The Conterence unique—10r with
the conterence unique—10r with
the conterence unique—10r with
the southern Negro. Thruout the
south the slogan is being raised:
"No jobs for Negroes while a single
white sait sout of a job!" Just
before I arrived the swanky Hotel
Sir Walter, at Raleigh, fired its
entire staff of colored bell-boys,
of the entire structure of Southsame phenomenon crops up everyof the World War and a towering
shaft that overawes all monu
Economic Aspects of the Race
Problem was held over the Thanksthe exception of one "Damyank"
(the writer) all the white delegates
as well as the Negroes were of
South the slogan is being raised:
"No jobs for Negroes while a single
white saingle
giving week-end in Raleigh, North
Southern birth; and Southern
birth; and Southern
white sitting at table and sharing dormitories with Negroes, is
a phenomenon that flies in the face
of the exception of one "Damyank"
(the writer) all the white delegates
as well as the Negroes were of
South the slogan is being raised:
"No jobs for Negroes while a single
white saingle
formits into the hands of the extreme reformists in the SP.
C.P. Acrobatics Towards
of the Problem was held over the Communist
into the hands of the extreme reformists in the SP.
C.P. Acrobatics Towards
of the Problem was held over the Communist
as well as the Negroes were of
South the slogan is being raised:

C.P. Acrobatics Towards
and their takers, objectively play right
into the hands of the extreme reformists in the SP.
C.P. Acrobatics Towards
and into the Communist
party had voted for the Communist
and the into the hands of the extreme reformists in the SP.
C.P. Acrobatics Towards
and into the hands of the extreme refo

* It is symbolic of the situation

IN THE SEVENTH COMINTERN CONGRESS DISCUSSION

RAVAGES OF DUAL UNIONISM

spoke so eloquently against these dan of rebel effort are shown by the unionism dried up the very spring Secession gerous and harmful conceptions, him- dozens of dual unions started in of progress in the trade unions, it attitude to the trade unions which for those in the textile, food, and for the labor movement.

militants from the mass trade energy and idealism. unions, where they serve as the very main-spring of vitality and progress, and by misdirecting their Trade Unions attention to the barren and hope- The waste of rebel strength, sible, utopian industrial organiza- has reacted directly and disasall Organized Labor, political, industrial, co-operative, educational, depends upon the trade unions, the basic organizations of the working class, being in a flourishing condition. Dual unionism saps the strength of the trade unions, and when it does that it undermines the structure of the entire working class organization.

The Dual Unions Fail Since the dual union program was outlined almost thirty years ago by DeLeon it has wasted a prodigious amount of invaluabl rebel strength. Tens of thousands of the very best men ever prod-uced by the American Labor movement have devoted themselves to it whole-heartedly and have expended oceans of energy in order to bring the longed-for new labor movement into realization. But sand. The parched Sahara of dual industrial unionism swallowed up their efforts and left hardly a trace behind. The numerically insignificant dual unions of today are a poor bargain indeed in return for

the enormous price they have cost. Consider. for example, the Industrial Workers of the World: from top to bottom."—Tom Hickey The amount of energy and un- cited bu Brissenden, History of selfish devotion lavished upon that organization would have wrought miracles in developing and extending the trade unions; but it has been powerless to make anything substantial of the I. W. W. Today 17 years 1 after its foundation, that body has far fewer members (not to speak of much less influence) than it had at its begin-ning. The latest available official financial reports show a membership of not more than 15.000. whereas in 1905 it had 40 000. Even its former revolutionary spirit has degenerated until the is a mistake. We are here for the organization has now become little purpose of forming a labor organ-more than a sort of league to make iration."— William D. Haywood war upon the trade unions and to 1905 I.W.W. convention. revile and slander struggling Soviet Russia. The I. W. W. is a monument to the folly of dual unionism) offers no promise of

The One Big Union of Canada is no silver lining to the clouds of is another example of rebel effort darkness and desnair settling wasted in dual unionism. Four years ago 2 it started out with Manifesto of conference forming a great blare of trumpets and I.W.W., 1905. about 40.000 members. Its advent threw discension into the old trade "It might as well be said if the unions and shattered their ranks. fine energy exhibited by the They lost heavily in membership, I.W.W. were put into the Catholic the militants pulling out the more Church (instead of the trade active elements on behalf of the unions) that the result would be

ing unions and set up model revolutionary organizations.

We regret that he who wrote and
Similar records of disastrous waste

of robes of robes

unions became acquainted with the around idly for years in the trade need of rebuilding and rejuvenatprinciples of revolutionary union- unions while the reactionary forces ing by the progressive elements.

IT SOUNDS FAMILIAR

ederation, nor of labor."—Daniel De Leon, 1905 I.W.W. convention. "There is no case in the history of bygone organization in the labor movement where existing

(Continued from Page 2)

organizations have changed to meet new conditions."—Vincent St. John, Why the A. F. of L. Cannot Become an Industrial Union. "The first duty of every revolu

tionist is to destroy the A. F. of I There can be no revolutionary organization so long as it exists."-Joseph J. Ettor, Samuel Gompers

"We simply have to go at them (the trade unions) and smash them the I.W.W.

"I would cut off my right arr rather than ioin the A. F. of L."-William D. Haywood.

"We don't want to save the the nation: we aim at destroying it."—Joseph J. Ettor, cited by Brissenden, History of the I.W.W.

"It has been said that this convention was to form an organization rival to the A. F. of L. This

"This wornout system (trade improvement and adaptation. There

O. B. U. Yet, today, this organ-the workers' control of industry 1. This was writter in 1922.
2. The O.B.U. of Canada was organized in 1919.

—William D. Haywood, International Socialist Review, March, 1914.

The consequence was that as fast without a constructive program to Both organizations had lost big as the active workers in the trade apply to them, the militants stood strikes, and both were in critical

A Christmas Carol

Fill up the glass and drink a toast of Christmas cheer 'Cause higher bracket incomes rose and rose and rose last year. Give praise to God and NRA and Franklin D. For the income tax reports of 1933. Do vou remember '33? The banks closed down

Gaunt hunger stalked the countryside and town Starved men froze sleeping in windswept doorways Mothers from fire-trap tenements spent their days Rummaging in garbage pails for an evening meal.

This was the glorious year of the New Deal Incomes of over a million dollars annually Rose to forty-six in 1933

Forty-six rugged individualistic Americans Good he-men, kind to their wives, baseball fans

It was a swell year—a big improvement on '32 Fifteen million unemployed? "Just bums who shirk" Look what can be done by energy, ability and work.

So drink a cup of Christmas Cheer To incomes (forty-six of 'em) of over a million a year

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We print below excerpts from zation, despite the great effort put ism they also absorbed the idea of intrenched themselves and ruled as But just at this critical juncture Chapter III of The Bankruptcy of into it, has but an insignificant dualism. Thus they lost faith and they saw fit. Because of their the latter failed, and, instead of the strengthening the unions, set about

by William Z. Foster

A great secession movement typical for its disastrous effects.

self fell victim to the disease he fought. This, however, does not at fect in the least the basically healthy energies of the militants. Except the rank and file at the neglect of moralizing the militants piecemeal their grievances by the higher Foster defends in the following lines. shoe industries, which have se- A disastrous effect of this sys- has been ruinous enough, but the union officials. It was a critical —Editor.

Dual unionism is a malignant disease that sickens and devitalizes that sickens and devitalizes the sistence of the best elements almost entirely into the control of particular misfortune of the American many great secession movements in the situation and draining away of the militants is that it has given birth to have made the well-organized militant minority it has thrown the trade unions situation much worse. It is the disease that sickens and devitalizes the situation much worse. It is the given a constructive turn and used the whole labor movement. The among the workers and have yield- the organized reactionaries. In all ican labor movement that just when as a means not only to satisfy the prime fault of it is that it wastes the efforts of those vigorous elements whose activities determine of Labor's progressive elements whose activities determine of Labor's progressive elements within the long-continued dualistic progressive elements within the long-continued dua the fate of all working class organizations. It does this by withdrawing these rare and precious from the force. It is a
organize closely and wage vigorternal dissension, a lost strike, or
ous battle all along the line against
the dual union tendency breaks out
ganization of such a minority. militants must build machines to with unusual virulence and a se- Hence, leaderless, the movement fight those of the reactionaries. cession movement develops that ran wild and culminated in the But in the United States dual completes the havoc already, "outlaw" strike. Then, as usual, unionism has prevented the crea- wrought. Exactly at the time the the secessionist tendency showed tion of such progressive machines. militants are needed the most to itself and a new organization was less work of building up impos- caused so long by dual unionism, By its incessant preaching that the hold the organization together is formed. The final result was distrade unions were hopeless and just when they are the busiest pul- aster all around for the men. The tions. This drain of the best blood trously upon the trade unions. For that nothing could be done with ling it apart. In such crises those strike was lost, many thousands of of the trade unions begins by many years practically all the enormously weakening these bodies radical papers and revolutionary militants who did stay within the friends become its worst enemies. and ends by making impotent every branch of the labor moved their program the ideas of their program t secessionism and progressive by dual union pessimism about the unionism were welded into one. old organizations and altogether with such breakaway movements.

William Z. Foster. The written more is about in proportion. It was a proaches the question of dual union. It was a from the standpoint of the basic the main has worked have to the main the mintants to the mintants to the mintants the mintants to the mintants to the mintants attitude to the trade unions as instru- Canadian labor. The Workers' In- sale turning away of the progres- fast in the grip of a stupid and izations and fighting among themments of the workers in the economic ternational Industrial Union, and sive minority was to divorce the corrupt bureaucracy, totally in selves all traces of unionism were struggle, and chastises mercilessly other universal dual union, has octation of the second tionists who would destroy the exist- Labor Party's active spirits for 14 shopmen's unions.

> was the famous "outlaw" strike of the switchmen in 1920. That 1920 was one of the heavy penalties American workers have paid for their long allegiance to utopian

It is one of the saddest facts of American labor history that the Western Federation of Miners was finally destroyed by the very men who originally built it and made it one of the joys of the working class. What the Mine Owners' Association, with all its money and power, was unable to accomplish the militants obsessed by dual unionism, brought about with little or no difficulty. Their allegiance to an impractical theory has broken up all organization among the metal miners. And the ravages that were made upon the W. F. of M. have been visited to a greater or lesser extent upon every other trade union in the United States, for all of them have had to suffer the loss of their most active workers and to confront as bitter enemies those very fighters who should be their main reliance. Further illustrations might be

cited almost indefinitely to show the baneful effects of dual unionism upon various working class organizations. By pulling the militants out of the trade unions and wasting their energies on futile utopian separatist organizations, dual unionism has robbed the whole working class of progressive leadership. It has thrown the great labor unions almost entirely into the hands of a corrupt and ignorant bureaucracy, which has choked out their very manifestation of real progress. And in stultifying and ruining the trade unions, dua unionism condemned to sterility every branch of the entire labor movement, industrial, political, and otherwise; for if the workers in general have not been educated to n understanding of capitalism and the class struggle, if they have not developed a revolutionary ideal. i they have not yet organized politically on class lines, if they have not yet produced a powerful cooperative movement-in every instance the cause may be directly traced to the paralyzing influence of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, which dual unionism intrenched in power. The persistence, for a generation, of the fatal dual union policy is the true explanation of the paradoxical and deplorable situation of the United States, the most advanced capitalist country in the world, having the most backward labor move-

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December 15, 1934

As to "Red Terror"

THE tears shed by sundry individuals over the execution of three-score or so White Guards, monarchists, and varied enemies of the Soviet Union are in themselves most unimportant. What is, however, occasionally significant is the pedigree of the tear shedders.

It is in this light that we ask our readers to turn to Norman Thomas' "Timely Topics" in the New Leader of December 15th. Hardly having had a moment's rest after his latest masterpiece, "Human Exploitation," Norman Thomas turns with great energy and even greater fury to the "Soviet Terror." This leader of "militant" socialism in the United States is heartbroken over the fact that the Soviet government acted with such promptness and vigor in disposing of some of its blood-enemies. It is very peculiar that when Kiroff was murdered neither the New York Times, nor the New Leader, nor the Wall Street Journal, nor Simon Strunsky. nor Norman Thomas, burst a single blood vessel over this dastardly crime against the U.S.S.R. However, this is only one individual. "Why get excited, if you are a revolutionist, over the death of one individual? With the Soviet government it is almost four score individuals."

Here's the rub to this line of reasoning by the above galaxy. To have gotten excited over the murder of Kiroff would mean to get excited over a loss by the Soviet government, by the Russian people, of one of its most trusted and capable workers. To get aroused to white-heat over the instant meting out of full and irrevocable iustice to the White Guard assassins and to the imperialist spies would mean to get aroused over the enemies of the Socialst Soviet Republic. That's why silence in the case of Kiroff and raucous anger in the case of Soviet justice.

Nor is it an accident that Norman Thomas is instantly ready to close his eyes to the danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union, to the multiplying and intensifying plots within and outside of the Soviet Union by the Hitler government, and, instead, seeks to find the cause of Kiroff's assassination in an inner-Party controversy. Thomas betrays woeful lack of the slightest knowledge of the situation in the Soviet Union today when he says (perhaps upon the advice of some of his latest recruits to the Socialist Party) that: "There seems to be some evidence that behind the assassination was an intra-Party fight of considerable political and economic importance . . . All this looks uncomfortably like Hitler's terrible bloodbath of June 30th." This is the reasoning of a "pure" bourgeois democrat, pure in the abstract but violently anti-working class in the concrete.

The proletarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union is to Norman Thomas just another dictatorship like the fascist dictatorship of Hitler Germany. At these conclusions we are not surprised. But let the workers in the Socialist Party draw another conclusion from this. Given Norman 'thomas' loyalty to and faith in "genuine" and not "bogus" capitalist democracy, one cannot but be opposed in principle to a working class dictatorship as well as a capitalistclass fascist dictatorship. Such pseudo-socialists can only be for the so-called democratic rule of the bourgeoisie which is, in substance and in reality, only another type of exploiting class dictatorship over the workers and poorer farmers.

Even the most politically purblind might be expected to see that the assassination of Kiroff was not tied up with any economic difficulties in the Soviet Union or any political difficulties inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet economic situation has been improved considerably. With all criticisms and shortcomings that can be registered in the evaluation of inner-Party life in the Soviet Union taken for granted, it must be recognized that the factional struggles in the Party are over, at least for the present and for some time. Witness the decision of the 17th Russian Party Congress for the extension and not the reduction of Party democracy. Besides, given an improvement in the economic situation. given increasing proof of the correctness of the general line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. in the U.S.S.R., where would there be a basis political inner-Party fight to reach manifestations of a kind not reached in the Soviet Party even in the most bitter days of the most violent factional struggles of the past? Russian Bolshevik Party history does not show a single political assassination in its factional struggles which have been numerous and bitter. All assassinations (Volodarsky, Uritzky, the attempt on Lenin's life) were made by outright opponents of the Soviet regime.

Thomas and his colleagues are to be condemned in the most unmistakable terms by all honest socialists for their attempt to cover up the trail of the imperialist ring and its hired assassins banded agains the Soviet regime. Every class-conscious worker can only hail the swift and complete justice accorded the culprits in the Soviet Union. Very likely if Judge Panken were to be in charge of the trial of these sworn enemies of the Soviet Union they would be given a trial more fair in the eyes of Thomas and Oneal. We, as class-conscious workers, as Communists, are more than satisfied with the accurate and complete justice instead of the bogus democratic justice that our Social-Democratic tear-shedders are

R. P. C. and United Front

THE report (Daily Worker, December 7, 1934) of the so-called "united front" entered into by Nat Ross, Communist Party organizer in the South, on the one hand, and certain outstanding revolutionary Socialists, on the other, must bring grave concern to "Sailors of Cattaro" is the story of a bold brave fight—a mutiny of men upon a battleship—their temporary success—their ultimate wrong.

"Sailors of Cattaro" is the story of a bold brave fight—a mutiny of men upon a battleship—their temporary success—their ultimate wrong.

all sincere advocates of the unity of labor. For it is precisely the | failure. It is of the heart-rending kind of "united front" that is no united front at all, that can serve only to discredit the idea of a genuine united front and to strengthen the hand of its enemies in the Socialist as well as the Communist movements.

What really happened in Chattanooga, if we are to place even the slightest trust in the Daily Worker report? Apparently, hair a dozen or so members of the Socialist Party in the South, some of them leaders of the organization in their States BUT ALL ACT-ING AS INDIVIDUALS AND NOT IN ANY OFFICIAL CAP-ACITY, got together with Nat Ross and reached an agreement on a "program of specific issues." Was this in itself a united front as the Daily Worker announces? Of course not, it only because of all those involved, only Nat Ross officially represented his organization! All the rest were there as individuals. In tact, if it was anything more than a mere discussion, it was the notorious "united front from below," the very negation of the genuine united front and the greatest obstacle in the way of its realization. How much irreparable damage the confusion of the two has caused in the last few years, we know from sad experience. Perhaps it is only natural to find the official Communist Party relapsing into such sectarian tactics, for its much heraided return to sound Communist sense is unfortunately still almost altogether superficial in this country. But it is somewhat more surprising to find men who supposedly know better, participating in an irresponsible adventure of this kind!

And the issues themselves on the basis of which the "united front" is to be formed? According to the Daily Worker, the first is: "The struggle against war and Fascism." How it is possible to have joint action here as long as the official C.P. Insists on hanging on to the narrow and thoroly impotent American League Against War and Fascism as its "united front" in this field? 'The indispensable prerequisite for cooperation with the official C.P. in the struggle against war and Fascism, it seems to us, is surely the initiation of a NEW movement on a new and sound foundation.

The second issue is the "election of the delegates to the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance." What is this "National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance?" Nothing but the latest puppet organization of the C.P., just another name for the bankrupt Unemployed Councils? It is merely another "Red" paper organization today and can never, in the nature of the case, become anything eise! Sponsoring it are the Trade Union Unity League, the center of dual unionist disruption in the United States, as well as a whole string of "Red unions," each with a notorious record of disruption in its own particular field. Collaboration with such organizations on any issue at all is just simply out of the question to any one really interested in building the labor movement in this country. As the case of the American League Against War and Fascism shows, "united fronts" on the basis of the hopelessly narrow and stillborn "mass" organizations of the C.P. can lead only to confusion and disillusionment and, in the end, to a revulsion of feeling against the very idea of any sort of united front.

It is not necessary to examine all of the other issues in detail. Consider the fourth one: "A campaign to unionize the South and develop an aggressive rank and file trade union movement in the A.F. of L. . . ." To "unionize the South" into what—into the dual unions of the T.U.U.L. or into the A.F. of L.—or perhaps into the "independent federation of labor" about which we used to hear so much a little while ago?. To "develop an aggressive trade union rank and file movement in the A.F. of L. . . ." on what basis-on the basis of the disruptive union-wrecking program sponsored by the C.P. in the A.F. of L. unions or on the basis of the program of constructive union-building championed by the progressive forces in the unions? Silence or evasion on a fundamental question of this sort is positively fatal, for it means virtual capitulation to dual unionism. That is exactly what has happened in the so-called Southern "united front!"

This whole incident is all the more puzzling in that the Socialists who participated in it are known to support the Revolutionary Policy Committee group in the S.P. and the position of the R.P.C. on the united front, as expressed in its program and in the editorial in the recent issue of its magazine, has been fairly sound on the whole. Without doubt, it is a case of the strong desire for united action, in itself certainly to be welcomed, breaking thru the ambiguous decision of the Boston session of the Socialist executive but breaking thru it in a reckless and ill-considered manner, bound to strengthen the position of the right wing enemies of the united front, who can point to his "horrible example" to discredit the idea as such. And yet never was a genuine united labor front, a fighting block of workers organizations of all shades of political opinion, more vitally necessary than today. Let us hope, therefore, that this unfortunate incident will prove to be an isolated one and that those involved, recognizing the gravity of their error in a matter so vital, will profit by it in the future.

Stage and Screen

by Robert Arthur

The Theatre Union has gone command. It is not enough. Let Mr. Atkinson, bored with the usual

ganization of an audience which written something more than a assured it a run, was ready to dis- self-conscious diatribe against the into action again. In a season of regard the bourgeois critics' almost plays which, with but a few exunanimous dispraise of "Peace on eptions, have brought forth Earth," it is in a better position of his own achievement. mountainous groans and abundant now to turn its back on those eeth gnashing, the Union comes critics and what it then called a to give us a play of extraordinary adroitness and power. Moreover, "Sailors of Cattaro" is a challenge to any producing unit and the producers of "Peace on Earth" and its ammunition fails, let it admit the revolution will not be won in "Stevedore" have met that chalit, and correct the errors, which a day. It is fought on countless lenge with all the sincerity they enabled someone to fire a blank fronts at every hour. On that not cartridge.

battle a few sailors wage in a desperate struggle for peace and freedom, and it follows the actual facts of the incident which it recounts of a mutiny which broke out in the Austrian navy at Cattaro and Pola during the last year of the war.

In this department's opinion "Sailors of Cattaro" is the most mature and important play the Theatre Union has done to date, a play of deep significance in the class struggle, written by an exile from Germany with the class consciousness of an artist. Meiodrama tho it may be, its author, Dr. Wolf has seen life in the heart of action and he has given his play the abundance of living, that universality, which theatrical work can only possess as a synthesis of experience. Plans are made thruout Austria

for a general strike to end the war and capitalistic exploitation of the masses. A comrade brings the news to the sailors aboard the cruiser St. George. In their quarters and as they scrub the decks, the sailors furtively plan a revolt as part of the general uprising. On February 1, 1918, at the opportune moment they surprise the captain in the chart room and take over command of the ship. For three days they have the upper hand but they cannot seem to reach an agreement with the men on the other boats in the harbor. Having entrusted their leadership to a wavering sailors council, which, blundering and indecisive, betrays its true leaders, the mutiny fails. Persuaded by the promises of amnesty made by the captain, and against the better judgment of the leader of the revoit, the men surrender. The red flag is pulled down, and, in complete violation of the captain's original promise the ringleaders are shot. A few valorous heroes chanced their luck on death or freedom, and partly thru an inordinate impracticabiliy, lost.

Here is a play written at white heat of human conflict in emotional terms and vet neither the acting nor the adaptation is equal to the task set for it. At least one of the actors brings to his part neither the vigor nor the conviction it requires. And the rest are what heir adaptor made them-figures in that unhappy twilight zone between one language and another. In scenes of sentiment the adaptation is puerile. In scenes of vigor it lacks clarity. The humor of the play is not only not made colloquial, it is not even understandable. In adapting the play for America the gentieman who performed the job seems to have nistaken the electric precision of the play for primness!

And yet, with the aid of an exciting direction "Sailors of Cattaro," despite the language barrier, has an upright vitality that no self-conscious playing or writing will down. The difference between this and another famous version of a mutiny is that Potemkin had its Eisenstein but Cattaro needed an adaptor.

But don't let our disappointment dishearten you. "Sailors of Cattaro" should be seen by all means. It is an allegory of revolution. In this mutiny all the phases of re volutionary experience have their minor counterpart. Long after the memory of the play is gone its lessons will remain. Bottled up in the harbor, the sailors of the cruiser St. George offer us a practical lesson in revolt. Not only the cry for leadership but the understanding to follow it verdict as a final judgment. If the Theatre Union, thru the or- of deep import. Because Wolf has forces of oppression his work deserves a treatment that is worthy If "Sailors of Cattaro" is no

far distant day when the Theatre Union can match its skill with its

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Hail the WEEKLY Workers Age



Union Developments In Workers Democracy Or Montreal

(Continued from Page 5) the Industrial Union, supported by the cutters, called a general strike of the dressmakers. The response was excellent—about 3500 workers walked out. The militancy on the picket lines and in demonstrations was exceptionally high. Within five days of the call the strike was at its height and—within the next five days it was prac-

tically all over. There were of course many factors operating against the success of the strike: the season was not opportune and the lack of proper preparations. But let us assume that the Industrial Union knew what it was doing. Any honest worker with common sense, who knows the situation, must admit that the Industrial Union, lacking in resources and without the support of the general trade union movement, could not conclude the strike successfully.

When the support of the rest of the trade union movement was most needed the Industrial Union the I.L.G.W.U.

The Future Of The Industrial Union

The Industrial Union has lost all control in the shops. The local meetings of operators and finishers are very poorly attended. The pressers, mostly men, were hardest hit because they were replaced by girls. The cutters decided by an overwhelming majority to affiliate with the I.L.G.W.U. and have already been admitted. With the cutters in the International the Industrial Union loses all hope of organizing the dressmakers. is only a matter of time before the dressmakers become part of the general trade union movement.

If the ultra-left leaders would give up definitely their sectarian policy of "red' unions and recognize the all-inclusive unions as labor and not "bosses unions", they could, within a short time, win considerable influence in unions. On the other hand if they continue their suicidal policy they will themselves be isolated and re-

Dictatorship

(Continued from Page 3) chooses . . . the form of democracy.

Relation of Soviet To Proletarian Dictatorship

To Hook the proletarian dictatorship is simply and solely "workers democracy" thru soviets. He regards this as so obvious that he doesn't even bother proving it. But does Hook really believe that, with a policy opposed to the program of revolutionary Marxism, the soviets would still be organs of the proletarian dictatorship? Were the Russian soviets such from March to October 1917? Were the German soviets such in December 1918? They were certainly soviets of workers and soldiers deputies, democratically elected the authentic expression of "workers democracy"-but were they the bearers of the proletarian dicta-torship? Is it not clear that so-viets become organs of proletarian dictatorship only when they adopt the program of the Marxist party? By fixing his fascinated gaze upon found that its campaign of sland-er against all other unions as "bosses unions" was responsible for its complete isolation. The sentiment today, among the dress-makers is for organization thru hook doesn't like dictatorship ...

> (In the second article I will analyze Hook's plea for a many-party system under the proletarian dictatorship and discuss the real nature of soviet democ

main discredited for quite a time The progressives in Montreal reject the anti-union attitude of the ultra-lefts. The joining of the dressmakers into the I.L.G.W.U. will mean the strengthening of the militant and progressive forces The organization of the dress trade in itself requires a lot of militancy. The bringing together of the cloak and dressmakers into one union means to lift them from petty craft-selfishness to a higher level of workers solidarity.

BUILD THE AGE FOR UNITY



THE NEW MONETARY SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES. National Industrial Conference Board. 147 pages. \$2.00

this short treatise attempts to present the monetary policies of the Kooseveit regime within their nistorical context, with an addigional section on the objectives and innationary potentiality of these policies. Contrasting the pre-war monetary standard with the war and post-war develop-ments, the shift from gold as the central and active medium of domesuc exchange to central and commercial banks control of currency with very liberal fractional reserves (i.e. less gold in proportion to commercial paper as a monetary backing) is a dominant fact, especially among the European countries. (The trend is also seen in U.S.A. before the crisis in the growing importance and functioning of the Federal Reserve System thru its central powers of rediscounting). The mere fact that in pre-war days the monetary gold stocks of the world constituted 24% of total supply of domestic money for gold standard countries while in 1928 the figure was reduced to 15% is empirical evidence of this point. Thruout the postwar world "the trend in monetary system . . . was definitely away from the use of gold as the primary active money or the predominand base for other domestic money, even the gold was retained as the legal standard of value and unimate monetary base."

Out of all this with the added intensification of the economic crisis, has come the new American monetary system based on a virtual system of the non-convertibility of paper dollars into gold. Monetary stock—whether of gold or paper quality-expands or contracts as a result of treasury regulation and policy in conjunction with the Federal Reserve system. Thus, gold is reduced to a nominal role, taking on the abstract position or a medium of evaluation with no actual, direct or active part in the functioning of the money and currency system. Even tne international sphere of trade and exchange sees the restriction of gold movements in so far as the Secretary of the Treasury has ostensible control of international gold movements—in reality, all power goes back to the executive.

All of which leads to the objectives of this new monetary setup. In short, it is the well-known attempt by the Roosevelt regime to secure a higher price-level (preferably one that equates itself with the 1926 price level). This is achieved—assuming the above set-up with executive control-by depreciation of the dollar thru reduction in gold content. Combined with the silver program, the resulting profits (nour kimately 5 or 6 billion dollars, create the objective basis for enormous innationar, possibilities.

This, in short, is the way in which the American money system is developing. The author, without much attempt at an integration of the monetary problems with the basic antagonisms of capitalist society, cannot offer much more than the solution of free trade, return to the gold standard, no restrictions on inter-national trade movements and n**a**tional 'mutual trust and cooperation by the nations of the world." somewhat of an aside, however, the author presents an idea which if developed to its logical conclusion would get at the core of the problem-the contradictions in business economy. The author states: "When the crisis came in world economy, the stability of monetary systems, nominally em-ploying gold, but actually using credit or non-gold commodity money, was immediately imperilled because the liquidity of assets backing his credit money was predicated on the assumption of sustained economic activity and prices." (Our emphasis).

-ECONOMIST