# At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

ONSIDERING the gravity of the conomic situation in Germany as it really is, we would be very much sur-prised if some big financial aid were not soon rushed to the Hitler regime. We take a prophet's risk to suggest that the Bank of England would be the first Good Samaritan to the afflicted Nazis. In fact there are strong reasons to suspect that heavy assistance has already been

sent to Germany via Lombard Street.
Here are some indicators of the storm
brewing in Germany. The Nazi press has been warning investors of a probable stock market collapse. Disbelief in the mark has been rising; the distrust of money values is rampant. The government persistently falsifies and conceals its actual economic position. Hitler has not yet dared announce his budget for 1935-6. Monthly reports on current expenses and the cash status of the Reich treasury have been suspended. The fiscal year ended March 31st but no financial accounts have as yet been issued. Reliable authorities declare that by the end of 1933 there was a secret debt of 5 billion marks; today, this debt, necessarily unfunded, is about seventeen billions, The total German debt, on this basis, would be over thirty billion marks—certainly a terrific strain on Germany's narrow capital base.

It may not be so long before Schacht asks Alfred Rosenberg to call upon Wall Street for aid to insure "the safeguarding of European civilization" and to rush financial help to Hitler "in the interests of all civilized nations in the world." Such appeals will be a feature syndicated in the Hearst press.

VERY puzzled economist is Colonel A. Ayres. This expert of experts has discovered a phenomenon that's got him standing on his head. He's confounded by what he calls "the most interesting and important of the problems involved in the relatively static condition of busi-ness." The little colonel just can't understand "the failure of the combination of great accumulated shortage of goods and great accumulated surpluses of capital to stimulate new business activity."

Well, it's just too bad for this highest priced economist. The poor fellow doesn't see the problem at all, tho he formulates it in a rather interesting and sharp manner. Mr. Ayres obviously thinks this is a sort of accidental occurence. He does not comprehend the organic nature of the capitalist system and its inherent contradictions. The recent changes in the very composition of capital have in them the secret mystifying the Colonel. Herein is to be found the widening gap between productive capacity and the possibilities for consumption. And here lies the source of the "paradox" torturing this rather renowned economic expert who does occasionally see things beneath

Given the private ownership of the means of production and exchange socially used, given the private appropriation of the products socially produced, it is impossible to avoid "an accumulated shortage of goods," "an accumulated and training to supplement their practicsurplus of capital" and a superabundance

New Deal for the crisis is the Home Owners Loan Corporation. So far it is supposed to have had a rather rosy career. We are of the opinion that the HOLC will soon face a real storm. Our opinion is based on the report recently issued by this Corporation. Despite its very short life, there is every reason to believe that a wave of foreclosures has already begun. Up to July 15 over 700 such foreclosure proceedings against home owners have been launched by this Government landlord. Such actions are now being filed at the rate of over 50 a

The fact that these foreclosures to-date amount to only a small fraction of the total amount invested by the HOLC is not decisive. However, 20% of the borrowers are already over 90 days in arrears on their payments. count is the direction of this new development—a trend definitely for the worse. The private real estate shark finds it rather difficult to continue amassing fabulous incomes these days because of the general economic crisis. The stepping-in of the Government to help him, at best, brings momentary relief and now and then may do the same for some small home owner. However, the roots of the problem lie deeply embedded in the very nature of the whole econ-omic system. These roots are not even touched by such measures as the HOLC. More foreclosures are in sight. The Government as landlord, operating under capitalism as a capitalist, can not escape the consequences of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system.

# **Doll Progressives Score Smash Win**

"Rank-and-File" Clique Uses Red Scare In Attempt To Capture Union

Progressives in the Doll and Toy Workers Union came through with a smashing victory over an unscrupulous "Rank and File" in the elections held on July 26.

The "Rank and File" included in its

ranks an unholy alliance of so-called Left-wingers and Fascists. In attacking the Progressive administration this clique dragged in the Red scare, saying in an election bulletin (printed by non-union labor): "In the advisory committee is Ravitch, Esposito and another five which do not belong to the union, which have no knowledge of what are our necessities in the industry. These five are members of the Lovestone-group 'Communist Party', so you see our Progressive group is under the directions of Communis

The workers in the union turned out en masse to refute the scurrilous tactics of this "Left-wing." Almost 90% of those eligible voted the Progressives into office by a margin of three to one.

The votes of the victorious candidates were as follows. President, E. Diana, 657 to 227 for S. Giardino. Vice President, C. Ambash, 638 to 217 for J.

campaign of personal vituperation had been levelled, defeated D. Musachio by a vote of 642-219. A. Esposito was elected manager with 755 votes. For Sergeant-at-Arms, C. Celeste, 573. Trustees, S. Lieberman 700, J. Priola, 658, H. Ungar, 521.

Eleven Progressives comprise the new Executive Board. They are: T. Mobila, 642; A. Andacht, 608; A. Pallone, 643; M. Feinstein, 616; R. Damino, 657; J. Bloom, 605; T. Blatti, 628; J. Herskowitz, 651; S. Tummino, 614; A. Rosenthal, 595; T. Billelo, 686.

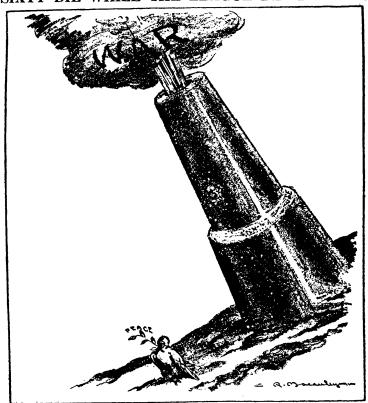
The Rank and File received approximately 180 votes for these offices.

In the last administration the Rank

and File had three members of the Executive Board and a vice-president. Their tactics in this election have succeeded in wiping out even this representation.

the Age will present an analysis of the elections and the problems facing the Hilde Fischer, a teacher 6½ years, Ide new administration in the union. Fischer, her sister, 3 years. new administration in the union.

SIXTY DIE WHILE THE LEAGUE DELIBERATES



# Speigal. Recording Secretary, G. Cashetta 660. For Secretary-Treasurer, A. Ravitch, against whom a vicious New Terror Thins Ranks of German CPO; Get Long Terms

Rhineland Member Of International Relief Association Murdered In Oranienburg Concentration Camp After **Deportation From France** 

In the last few months and weeks, ty in the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition). Heavy jail sentences were riven in all cases.

Hans Becker was condemned to 10 years under the charge of being the leader of the C.P.G.-O. of Weimar. Comrade W. Kopp in Greiz received a seniping out even this representation.

An article in a succeeding issue of one of the leaders of the C.P.G.-O. Another worker received a 3 year sentence.

15 workers were placed on trial in there have been a number of trials in Jena charged with high treason thru their activity in the C.P.G.-O. After a ceived heavy sentences. Most of them are young workers from the world famous Zeiss works in Jena. Brundig, accused of being the leader of the C.P.G.-O. there, was sentenced to 12 years, 18 year old Johanna Lorbeer to 5 years. Altogether the sentences total 44 years.

> The court statement points to the treacherous" activity of the C.P.G.-O. as aiming to overthrow the Nazi gov ernment and to establish a proletarian state. The extraordinary high sentences are justified by the argument that the accused stubbornly cling to their views. The prisoners had been brutally mal-

A superficial estimate reveals that within the last few months in one district of Germany alone 20 workers were sentenced to 71 years in jail because of alleged activities in the C.P.G.-O.

Wuppertal-Elberfeld in the Rhineland had a very good section of the Inter-national Relief Association before the victory of the Nazis. One of its most active members was Comrade Steinhage, the owner of a restaurant, catering exclusively to revolutionary organizations. horrible experiences in the prison. After

(Continued on Page 4)

# THE **WORKERS** WE

DRESS LOCAL WARNS AGAINST CHISELLING BOSSES

With the opening of a new season in the industry the Executive Board of Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers has issued a stirring call to the dressmakers to guard against the price-cutting efforts of the bosses.

It reads in part: "Dressmakers! Remember that price settlements now will affect you for the rest of the season don't believe in lying propaganda of the bosses! Under no circumstances settle for less than you are entitled to.

"This is the last season before the general strike. The employers will try every scheme to reduce standards. We on our part must do everything possible to maintain our conditions and to prepare for a victorious 1936 general

"On guard in settling prices. Don't let your conditions be undermined. Let us all stand together united in the fight to maintain Union standards!"

## UNITED FUR UNION TO ELECT OFFICIALS

The Joint Council of the International Fur Workers which recently absorbed the "Red" Industrial Union, holds its elections next week.

Indications at the time of writing are that there will be two and possibly more slates in the field. Ben Gold, ex-chief of the Industrial Union is a candidate for manager against Goldstein, present manager of the Joint Council.

# 53 CHICAGO UNIONISTS CALL FOR LABOR PARTY

Of the bevy of Labor Party move-ments sprouting hither and you the most promising lies in the conference called for August 25 by a group of 53 Chicago trade unionists.

Independent positical action in Chicago has been spurred on by the recent declaration of John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, in resigning from the Labor Advisory Council, a state body. Fitzpatrick wrote: "I . . . refuse to be used as a catspaw in making it appear that labor can get any kind of a square deal while any of the old party politicians are in power."

The 53 Chicago workers, members of the largest and most powerful unions in the city, have issued their call to trade unions only for the present, under the slogan "Let Us Organize a Labor Party Supported by the Unions!"

## GREEN AIDE STOPS TERRE HAUTE TRIKE

The leadership of the A. F. of L. kept its chastity intact last week when T. N. Taylor, representative of William F. Green, proclaimed the end of the 48 hour general strike in Terre Houte, Ind.

Terre Haute, chiefly famous as the birthplace of Gene Debs, is 90% organized. The general strike was called to force the Columbian Enamelling Co. to withdraw imported armed thugs from its premises.

The general strike tied up the Terre Haute area completely for two days. After its conclusion the four months old strike at the Columbian plant

## 30 Students From All Sections, Representing Nation's Basic MURDER OF AN I.R.A. MEMBER

Industries Will Attend Sessions; Labor Leaders To Give Lectures On August 5th, thirty-odd working | Miles, Charles Zimmerman, and others man and women from all sections of the

Second National Training School

Of CPO Will Open On August 5

and training to supplement their practic-States and and other cities in workers, shoe workers, teachers, needle trades workers, textile workers, and men and women from other industries.

The New Workers School has arranged a curriculum which will give the students an extraordinary opportunity for a well-balanced, all-around education within the possibilities of the time limit. The subjects will include Trade Unionism, Marxism-Leninism, Marxian Econtionary Traditions in American History. and International Matters. Besides this,

Special lectures will be given on the Negro Question, the Student Movement, the unemployed movement, Workers Correspondence, etc.

From all over the country the School al labor activities and aid them in their has received requests from workers to future organizational work. They will attend the school. Unfortunately, it is hage. On March 5, 1933 he was ar-ONE of the remedies prescribed by the Chief "Medicine Man" of the and other cities in United States and the school. Only ulimited, it is able to accommodate only a limited and taken into a concentration camp. Here he was brutally mistreated. cause of the shortage Canada. Included will be miners, auto student body will consist of trade union- Saar, his face bearing the traces of his ists, all of whom have shown their devotion, their interest and their capabilities in the labor movement, and many of whom are leading functionaries in their union or other organization. They wil leave the school, after three and a half weeks, to return to their respective shops, organizations and communities, better fitted to participate in and to lead the struggle of the workers there omics, History of American Communism. The school is undertaking to house the Methods of Teaching Fundamentals of workers while here, provide food and Communism, Critique of Radical Ten- books and in some cases, even aid in dencies in the Labor Movement, Revolu- transportation. The cost of the Summer National Training School to the New Workers School is about \$1000. Friends labor leaders from various fields will of workers education are urged to write give lectures on the problems of their in providing lodging for one or more organizations. Among the teachers will students (specify sex) or contributing be Jay Lovestone, Bert Wolfe, Will Herberg, D. Benjamin, Eve Dorf, George F. tenance and books for the students.

## MOON LITE DANCE

LIDO ROOF GARDENS 146th Street, bet. Lenox and 7th Avenues

Friday, August 9th, at 8 P. M.

To Welcome THE STUDENTS OF THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL Auspices: COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (OPPOSITION)
NEW YORK DISTRICT

ADMISSION, 45c.

## DRIVE FOR AGE FUND ENTERS FINAL STAGE WITH \$400 TO BE RAISED

Out-of-Town Units Surpass New York This Week For First Time Since Drive Opened. Philadelphia Leads With \$25 Donation

The Drive for a Summer Sustaining | A Fund for the Workers Age is in its I closing stages. Less than a week remains before the closing date and four B hundred dollars must be collected in that time if the quota is to be filled.

This must be done! All group members and sympathizers

are called upon to rush their contributions and all who have made pledges are urged to pay them immediately. The M drive must not drag.

## CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED

(As of July 27)

Previously Listed .....\$971.70 F Moe Stone ..... 1.00 B Jack Smith .....

| nne Spilka     | 1.00   |
|----------------|--------|
| ee Hall        | 1.00   |
| randen         | 5.00   |
| Sert Wolfe     | 5.00   |
| nne Larkin     | 3.00   |
| fary Lawrence  | 10.00  |
| Ista Greene    | 2.00   |
| . Richman      | 2.00   |
| B. Herman      | 5.00   |
| Iarry Fels     | 1.00   |
| ſ. B           | 5.00   |
| Saltimore Unit | 1.00   |
| Chicago        | 9.00   |
| Lansing        | 10.00  |
| Katzman        | 3.50   |
| R. Stock       | 3.00   |
| E. M           | 10.00  |
| Philadelphia   | 25.00  |
| Boston         |        |
| Montreal       | 5.00   |
| Grand Total\$1 | 099.70 |
| Still to go\$  | 400.30 |
|                |        |

# FACING THE DANGERS OF THE "LESSER EVIL"

The powerful anti-Fascist demonstra tions held on July 14 in Paris and other centers of France have made a profound first time in recent history are we able danger today-and in danger at the to greet the heartening spectacle of the hands of the French Communist Party! working class united and enthusiastic. For the French C.P. has now embarked animated with the staunch determina- on a policy which bears a direct bloodtion to smash the Fascist menace before relationship to the notorious theory of it is too late! For the first time, too, we the "lesser evil," to the policy of dragsee the workers march forward in alging at the tail of the democratic bourliance with large sections of the petty geoisic. It has become a central point in bourgeoisie whom the Fascists have hitherto tended to look upon as their drive forward the left Radical-Socialists unchallenged prey. The German disaster (the Daladier wing of the party as dishas apparently not been in vain after finct from the right wing led by Herall; its fundamental lessons have been riot) as the authentic political represenabsorbed by the French proletariat who tative of the People's Front against

disturbing signs on the French political the same way as did the Social-demohorizon that the essential lessons of Ger-cracy of Germany and Austria! many and Austria have not been thoroly mastered, that in its own way the whole orientation that the French Com-French working class is beginning to tread the path that led the German and tread the path that led the German and that bodes ill indeed for the French pro-

### THE REAL LESSON OF GERMANY & AUSTRIA

What was the fatal error of the German and Austrian Social-democracy in their fight against Fascism? It would be mere folly to believe that Hitlerism triumphed in Germany simply and solely because the working class was divided in hostile camps, Communists facing Socialists as enemies rather than as class comrades. That the disunity and the mutual hostility of the proletarian organizations was a decisive factor in ganizations was a decisive factor in the state of the transfer of t paralyzing the working class is something of which we, above all, need no convincing—we who raised the call for a united labor front against Fascism at a time when the Communist Party, the alike abusively rejected the very idea! But in Austria, where practically the their enemies, who were divided among themselves, as by the self-defeating line of policy of their own leaders! Prole-

Austrian Social-democracy was the policy of the "lesser evil." It was the policy which looked upon the non-Fascist sections of the bourgeoisie, the democratic of its very capacity to fight.

the only too well known story as it unfolded itself in Central Europe. In Gerthe United Front From Below tactics. in organizing the American workers into TROTSKY-THOMAS BLOC? many, the Social-democrats fixed their Obviously, then something new has hapmany, the Social-democrats fixed their hopes primarily upon the Center party and its left wing. To drive these elements forward to take leadership in the movement against Fascism, became the special point of policy of the Social-democratic leaders. In Austria it was the democratic section of the Christian the democratic section of the Christian the democratic section of the C.P.U.S.A., resolutions were adopted to the social-democratic leaders of the Party and outside the democratic section of the Christian the C.P.U.S.A., resolutions were adopted A. F. of L. with all its harmful features Social party that was constantly urged to take the lead against the Heimwehr and the Nazis. The consequences were the same in both countries. The democratic bourgeoisie, unfit by its very class cratic bourgeoisie, unfit by its very class nature for leadership against Fascism, crumbled when the test came and the workers, trained to look to it to show the same sectarian course, remaining just as jealous of its complete control. No sist, that the workers refuse to join the crumbled when the test came and the workers, trained to look to it to show the real turn from sectarianism on the question of the united front and other issues. Among these officially blessed by the Comintern! No longer argument that still personance argument that still person workers, trained to look to it to show the way, sank into confusion, demoralization and impotence. Not the attempt to win the support of the petty bourgeoisie or even of the democratic sections of the bourgeoisie is wrong, for such support bourgeoisie is wrong, for such support is absolutely indispensable in the fight against Fascism. The fatal error consists in allowing the mass movement of the workers to fall under the political influence of these bourgeois allies and their slogans. Only under the hegemony of the projection of class struggle, whereas those remaining unorganized or in company unions are still completely dominated by bourgeois ideology. This, however, shall not be interpreted to mean fluence of these bourgeois allies and their slogans. Only under the hegemony of the projectivity of the proletariat, only under proletarian that the Communist parties have regainslogans, can a people's movement against ed the influence with the working class, political actions, racketeering, etc.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

beginning under the hegemony of the Democracy. The Social Democrats, the Greens and Wolls. non-proletarian allies, the People's Front naturally opposed to any united actions in France was initiated entirely as a proletarian movement. In fact, at the opportunity to dictate the terms of proletarian movement. In fact, at the opportunity to dictate the terms of result of our trade union work must not fused and meaningless. very beginning it was simply a united front of the Socialist and Communist make good their previous sins had to make good their previous sins had to was a failure. The Party, too, cannot proletarian outlook. Few delegates were sections of the working class. Only later sign on the dotted line. It is impossible show any success in this field. Nearly all members of trade unions or workers in on did a number of petty bourgeois organizations, and most important of all, the left wing of the Radical-Socialist disarm the Communist parties and make shopkeepers groups. This illustrates best students or recently graduated students Party join in, transforming it into a real defence of the S.U., at the critical that the main problem of the American There was not one Negro delegate the "people's front." This healthy proleta- moment, impossible. rian foundation of the French anti-Fascist movement is an asset of the very ON TRADE UNION WORK

Gestures Toward Coalition Governments Made By Communists In France, Czecho-Slovakia, their collaboration with the "radical"

Report Falsa Theories Which Brought Cormany And Austria Under Fascist Heal Repeat False Theories Which Brought Germany And Austria Under Fascist Heel

But it is precisely this proletarian pression thruout the world. For the character of the movement that is in are determined to profit by the catas- Fascism. This is how the French C.P. trophic errors of their German comrades. leaders conceive the task of winning Unfortunately, however, there are very the petty bourgeoisie-in substantially

ment" be set up!

"We say to M. Herriot and the a program and outlook approximately

"RED REVISIONISM"

sections of the peasantry, a party with Jaures, who, in their time, also justified

C.P. of France, in the Chamber of in the Laval cabinet, while "the old That is why Pierre Cot, so recently Deputies, "if you will take over the Radical-Socialist program," about which aviation minister, led the Paris demonleadership of a radical government Vaillant-Couturier is so enthusiastic, is stration of the People's Front on July which really pursues a radical policy, actually not nearly as "radical" as the 14. That is why the immediate political a policy in line with the demands of Roosevelt "Share-the-wealth" plan. This slogan most prominent in this demonthe majority of the people, you can is the party that the French Communist stration is reported to have been: "Laval, assured of our support not only in leaders are so feverishly anxious to hoist resign! Daladier in power! the Chamber but also in the country." into power, even to the point of pledging And immediately after the fall of the it support in their propaganda among THE CORRECT SLOGAN one-day" cabinet, Vaillant Couturier the workers! Why? Because so gross FOR ANTI-FASCISM rote in the Humanite (June 5, 1935(: has their opportunism become in the

ommittee!

GRANDFATHERS NOW

That is why Humanite features ex-Radical-Socialist leaders," declared corresponding to the "New Deal" in this Premier Daladier at the head of the list Thorez, the general secretary of the country. Its leader, Herriot, is today of speakers at its anti-Fascist meetings.

Already the canker of opportunism is

The Communist Party did not fare ship of Foreign Minister Benes, it has

# BRADLEY'S ... .·. CAFETERIA

**SEASONABLE** FOOD **REASONABLE** PRICES

6th Ave. at 14th St

# DID THE Y.P.S.L. TURN LEFT?

If the "Militant" Socialists were down- "Programless Militancy" Fails the election of the National officers and

signify?" Ninety delegates met in lines were drawn. On one side, favoring litesburgh, July 19 to 21 and not one the 30 age limit and no gag on factionprincipled resolution was presented and al statements were the New York "Milidiscussed by the delegates. All resolutants" supported by most of the out of discussed by the delegates. All resolutions formulated by the committee were
teferred to the newly elected NEC. This
is indeed "programless militancy."

The most important issues, from the
Milwaukee and Reading delegation.
The most important issues, from the
time-consuming angle were the report of
Today with impending war, growing

the Constitution Committee which recom- fascism, increasing strike situations and the banner of the Social-democracy, Fascism triumphed nevertheless and the workers went down in defeat, beaten not so much by the military superiority of the Constitution Committee which recompliance is the Constitution Committee which recompliance is the Constitution Committee which recompliance is the Roosevelt wage slash policy the most important issue at the convention of the working youth" was of factional programmatic statements, of the party to a program of revolution-size and the Wipsel "policy on publications" of the party to a program of revolution-size and the Working youth" was of factional programmatic statements, of the party to a program of revolution-size and the working youth" was of the party to a program of revolution-size and the working youth" was of the party to a program of revolution-size and the working youth" was of the party to a program of revolution-size and the constitution Committee which recompliance is the Roosevelt wage slash policy the most important issue at the convention of the working youth" was of the party to a program of revolution-size and the working youth" was of factional programmatic statements, and the Yipsel "policy on publications" important issue at the convention of the working youth" was of the party to a program of revolution-size and the programmatic statements, and the Yipsel "policy on publications" important issue at the convention of the working youth" was of the party to a program of revolution-size and the programmatic statements, and the Yipsel "policy on publications" important issue at the convention of the working youth" was of the party to a program of revolution-size and the Yipsel "policy on publications" important issue at the convention of the working youth" was of the party to a program of revolution-size and the Yipsel "policy on publications" in the programmatic statements and the Yipsel "policy on publications" in the program of the party to a program of revolution-size and the Yipsel "policy on publications" in the Yipsel "policy on publ

# tarian unity is certainly necessary but in itself it is not sufficient for victory over In The Pre-Convention Discussion | In The Pre-Convention Discussion Tascism! C.I. Still Is Ultra Left, Says sufficient differentiation from the conplace at the Pittsburgh convention. Trade Union Leader In C.I. Still Is Ultra Left, Says sufficient differentiation from the conplace at the Pittsburgh convention. Social-democracy was the policy of the first surface at the Pittsburgh convention.

**Evaluating Thesis** 

of its very capacity to fight.

There is surely no need to rehearse he only too well known attracts.

But these gamzing the unions. The wave of strikes active on committees were not sufficient in the last two years have well proved by vocal during most of the sessions.

belief that in our trade union work we The "Militant" caucus controlled of the French Communist leaders, who must at all costs differentiate ourselves slightly more than 50 votes and function- to tell the truth, are capable of anything, from the other groups even though we may have no differences. At times under was discussed at their caucus. The the Communist International is proved bourgeosie, as the bulwark against the onward sweep of Fascism. It was the policy which not merely accepted, the political hegemony of the democratic bourgeoisie in the fight against Fascism, but actually regarded it as its particular aim to establish such hegemony. It was the political bourgeoisie, as the bulwark against the onward sweep of Fascism. By P BERG

The proposed Draft Thesis does not adequately explain the change of the political hegemony of the democratic bourgeoisie in the fight against Fascism, but actually regarded it as its particular aim to establish such hegemony. It was aim to establish such hegemony. It was the democratic political hegemony of the CI by the CP SI weaken under the unprincipled attacks.

By P BERG

The proposed Draft Thesis does not adequately explain the change of the polity of the Call by the fact that precisely the same turn, in an even crasser and more disgraceful bureaucracy, our comrades may be the to invent issues in order to appear different from the conservatives. Nothing could be more harmful than to weaken under the unprincipled attacks.

Was discussed at their caucus. The proposed at their caucus was that of the Chicago by the fact that precisely the same turn, in an even crasser and more disgraceful bureaucracy, our comrades may be the to invent issues in order to appear different from the conservatives. Nothing could be more harmful than to weaken under the unprincipled attacks. aim to establish such hegemony. It was the policy, finally, which strove to accomodate the working class to the policical timidity and prejudices of the democratic bourgeoisie and which consequently robbed the proletariat of its class independence and morale and ultimately of its years engaging of the policy, finally, which strove to accomodate the working class to the policical timidity and prejudices of the democratic bourgeoisie and which consequently robbed the proletariat of its class independence and morale and ultimately of its years engaging to the policy of the policy of the policy, finally, which strove to accomodate the working class to the policy of the policy, finally, which strove to accomodate the working class to the policy of the policy of its years and ultimately of its years engaging to the policy of the policy

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

Vious that only a united front of all ferentiate the top leaders from the lower forces opposed to Fascism could stop its functionaries in the unions although left wing Yipsels. Not one basic issue of the careful to differentiate the top leaders from the lower functionaries in the unions although left wing Yipsels. Not one basic issue of the careful to differentiate the top leaders from the lower functionaries in the unions although left wing Yipsels. Not one basic issue of the careful to differentiate the top leaders from the lower functionaries in the unions although left wing Yipsels. Not one basic issue of the careful to differentiate the top leaders from the lower functionaries in the unions although left wing Yipsels. Front" was established from the very advance, hence the concessions to Social these may claim to be true followers of was discussed on the floor. Resolutions, passed by the committee, on the interna-The fact that we have not recruited tional situation, Ethiopian question, etc.,

labor movement is organizations of trade an attempt was made to discover unions. Unions are the first and the most Negro to put in the convention but the effective class organizations that the search was in vain. The consensus of greatest importance, certain to stand it race in good stead in the future.

The Thesis attributes our defeat in able to see their way ahead clear.

The Thesis attributes our defeat in able to see their way ahead clear.

ionarchist reaction!

In its very nature, the popular mass "We are ready to support the unit- short span of its existence, that they are movement against Fascism is a politiced actions of all lefts all over the already tending to look upon the demo- al movement, with slogans and demands country in all stages in order to aid cratic bourgeoistic as the "logical" re- of an eminently political character. What in the application of the old Radical-presentative of the anti-Fascist front-key slogan, then, can be regarded as at Socialist program of putting special at least on the parliamentary field! Thus at least on capital."

Key slogan, then, can be regarded as at least on the parliamentary field! Thus once reflecting the proletarian essence are they beginning to reenact under their own conditions precisely the same expressing the logical culmination of the tragic farce that they so bitterly and so victorious united workers front against correctly condemned in Germany and Fascism: Of course, the slogan of a Let us recall the character of this Austria. They are thus recklessly cast- workers government, that is, of a Socialtread the path that led the German and Austrian workers to utter disaster. No amount of self-deception and hurrah-shouting can conjure away a situation that bodes ill indeed for the French pro-that bod evident slogan and to replaced it with shameless propaganda for a Daladier cabinet, a Radical-Socialist government, garnished with some occasional pious cheers for soviets. This is what the new orientation leads to: opportunistic selfsurrender to the demoralizing political hegemony of the democratic petty bour

> spreading beyond the field of "clever" parliamentary intrigue; it has now be gun to eat into the very ideology and The decision to change the age limit propaganda of the party. When Thorez from 25 to 30 is the result of a can refer to the Radical-Socialists as the momentous decision by the master minds "greatest party," when Daladier, who among the SP "Militants." Having com- only yesterday was branded as the pletely given over control of the SP to "Fascist hangman of the workers," can munism. However there is even less be had by all organizations, parties and evidence than at the Detroit Convention groups in the entire nation as well as in that the "Militants" are concerned about parliament determined to defend demo-

> > bourgeois party of essentially the same France; if anything, it is slightly more conservative in policy. Under the leader-

t ed the influence with the working class, or that the Fascist danger has passed. The characterization of the A. F. of L. The sweep of Fascism has thrown the C.I. leaders into a panic. It became obvious that only a united front of all ferentiate the top leaders from the leaders from the leaders from the leaders from the labor gratulated for not falling for a united front on trade union activities which does not even mention the AF of L and which otherwise is a hodge podge of confusion and tactical blunders.

The characterization of the A. F. of L. top leadership is undoubtedly correct. We must, however, be careful to differentiate the top leaders from the labor gratulated for not falling for a united front on trade union activities which does not even mention the AF of L and which otherwise is a hodge podge of confusion and tactical blunders.

# SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND THE COMINTERN

To the splenetive and rash in the labor movement there appears to be the following arrangement between the U.S.S.R. finally to give up the Comintern.

Comintern was atrociously ultra-leftist; there was pursued a strategic course based on a totally false estimate of conditions, based on an exaggeration of the degree of development of the class The Process of

### Capitalist Recognition And the CI

The foreign policies of the various bourgeois powers are in no way determined by the tactical course of the Communist International. It isn't at all true that the less vigorous, the less revolutionary the CI, the more concessions and the better the terms the imperialist powers accord the USSR. In fact, the every vestige of proletarian spirit from first capitalist recognition of the Soviet its program, it set out to divorce itself government came in the crimson days, from the living labor movement as well. the first years, of the C.I. Furthermore, Although they were ready to sacrifice

the first years, of the C.I. Furthermore, it was precisely in these days that the Soviet government had to pay the highest price in its foreign relations.

Countries having far more fear of revolution than the U.S. recognized the Sam did. And the Soviet Republics made far greater concessions than today to bourgeois countries when their regimes were far less stable, far more in danger of being overthrown by their proletariat than at present. Witness the treaties than at present. Witness the treaties

crass hypocricy of these distorters is revealed by the fact that it was precisely they who conceived and initiated the ultra-left course. At the peak of this ultra-revolutionism in August 1929, Rakovsky and Trotsky emphasized to the CPSU that "there had been a softening f opinion between us (Stalin and Trot sky) thru circumstances." A little later in his letter to his so-called Leninbund of Germany, Trotsky boasted that: "T e a sectarian today is an honor fo every real revolutionary." And Trotsky's most persistent parrot in the U.S. not s long ago uttered the following words of truth, the not of wisdom: "Stalin had to borrow copiously from the ideological arsenal of the Left Opposition." (P. 60-Ten Years of the Left Opposition).

More than that. If these critics honestly attribute to the Soviet government they should logically condemn the known as the CPSU, this unholy monster

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The Necessity Of The State Politics Of The Soviet Union Differing From Those Used By every CP in power, that every proletarian Communist Parties Under Capitalist Governments Is Chief Source Of Confusion

the next world war, as it now prepares | USSR "not to hold back" the working allow for differences in the tactics em- today in the USSR-tomorrow in an and the imperialist powers: in return for capitalist trade, concessions and recognition, the CPSU, leading the Soviet not to not properly of the solution of t mition, the CPSU, leading the Soviet internation tries for the achieve government, is to de-revolutionize and internation tries for the working class to all revolutionary development is not due identical objectives. nally to give up the Comintern.

There isn't the slightest foundation in

There isn't the slightest foundation in fact for this conclusion.

In leaders as reflected in Soviet foreign in fact for this conclusion.

Until a few months ago, the entire line of the most series of factors;

The readers as reflected in Soviet foreign in factors answer of the revolutionary movement to policy. Rather, this slowed-down develop-"Intervention."

This process of differentiation is root-more factors;

This process of differentiation is root-more factors; answer of the Russian workers to a war to wit, treacherous role of Social-Demo- ed not only in the uneven development answer of the Russian workers to a war to wit, treacherous role of Social-Demogracy of capitalism itself, not only in the discorrespondence, July 1935, p. 13)

Would any of the opponents of Soviet of capitalism itself, not only in the discorrespondence, July 1935, p. 13)

Would any of the opponents of Soviet of capitalism itself, not only in the discorrespondence, July 1935, p. 13) il Correspondence, July 1935, p. 13)

needed for the world revolution to hap- the different countries. This means that would face the same and other problems. what Nazi Germany is seeking. Indeed,

ercise this right. In fact, the Red Army involved here is a political and technical one, the propriety of the moment, the ripeness of the occasion for such Red Would any of the opponents of Soviet

tactics, economic possibilities for and political ability of bourgeoisie to recover and hit back, etc.

The fundamental problem involved (CPSU) faces the class relations prevaiing in different countries, but also in the degree by the various communist Parties. Thus the victorious for fulfilling this duty let up and the countries of the countrie ditions, based on an exaggration of the class struggle and the objective possibilities struggle and the objective possibilities for revolutionary conflicts in Western Europe and the United States. We were in the "third period," in the period of revolutions on all sides! The Comintern strategy was adjusted to this fantistic conception. Nor was this merely a paper evaluation. The various sections of the C.I., vigorously pushed and aided by the C.I., vigorously pushed and aided by the CC.I., of dominated by the CC.I., of dominated by the CPSU, unfortunately set to work on this basis in their respective countries. Yet, it was precisely in this period that the capitalist powers accorded more and more recognition to the USSR.

The Process of Social Revolution

Too many speak too often of the world for fundamental problem involved the fundamental proble pen (in one act, perhaps) is for the we must differentiate between and must For us Communists it is categoric that trying desperately to sell the capitalist world the idea that the USSR is about to launch such a war against all capital ist countries. Fortunately, Soviet foreign THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS policy has been able, so far, to thwart against the USSR, in the moves to put After the congress had eliminated every vestige of proletarian spirit from the living labor movement as well.

AFL Placed Par With YMCA

As Congress Rejects

Clear-Cut Stand

AFL Placed Par With YMCA

As Congress Rejects

Clear-Cut Stand

deal was consummated for purely factional purposes. As an instance, we want to cite the fact that neither the "Hillquit" Workers Rights amendment USSR.

## nor the Lundeen bill was introduced for Identical Interests-

but to endorse the A. F. of L. as the unionists! In the Socialist Call of July ment as a central point at the congress?

than at present. Witness the treaties with Esthonia (1920), Poland and Latwise (1921), and the Treaty of Rapallo with Germany in April 1922. These were the days of Lenin and Trotsky and and not the days and nights of Stalin.

Of course, the factionally-perverted might say that the CPSU, dominating the C. I., deliberately forced an ultraleft, sectarian line on the Comintern in order to hide, with a revolutionary cover, as it were, the very aim of giving up the Communist International. The crass hypocricy of these distorters is regardless than at present. Witness the treaties with the endorse the A. F. of L. as the winning the Manier of the Merican labor movement would be a "partisan" act. And the A.Y.C., as a strictly classless, principleless "united front," naturally suddenly discovering that the confusion in which we should support of the Yipsels by suddenly discovering that the confusion in which we make no attempt to include all labor which the USSR now finds itself.

But because the treaties were the day of Lenin and Trotsky and in the international position in whore were so eager to have suddenly discovering that the confusion in which the USSR now finds itself.

But because the state politics of the USSR (laid down by the CPSU) necessarily must be different and cannot be vouth opposition in which we should support." But the congress did not even looking of the sort! It did not even looking of the sort! It did not even looking of the ST., as the sole victorious party, and the other sections of the Y.P.S.L. and or magniary, unionists! In the Socialist Call of July ment as a central point at the congress?

We should like to ask the Y.P.S.L. when the international position in which we shadely discovering that the constraint of the Y.P.S.L. and the A.Y.C., as a strictly classless, principleless "united front, naturally such the Looking of the Y.P.S.L. and in the international point at the congress?

We should like to ask the Y.P.S.L. when the internation is the condition of the Y.P.S.L. and in the internationa ers Union (A. F. of L.), was called upon to justify the position of the congress and to attack the amendment made by the writer. This amendment read:

"The American Youth Congress regards the A. F. of L. as the main stream of the American labor movement. The Youth Congress therefore the right of workers to join labor unions fights against the seating of the Y.C.L. and the right of workers to join labor unions fights against the seating of the Y.C.L. of this very day the Y.C.L. of the various party, and the claims party of the C.I., as the sole victorious party, and the other sections of the C.I. of this very day the Y.C.L. of this very day the Y.C.L. of the various party, and the claims party of the C.I., as the sole victorious party, and the coll we cannot stress too strongly is excluded from the N. Y. State Youth Committee Against Child Labor. In the various individual sections of the C.I. American Youth Congress, however, the various individual sections of the C.I. and of the Committee Against Child Labor. In the various individual sections of the C.I. American Youth Congress, however, the Y.P.S.L. goes hand in hand with the Y.P.S.L. in discriminating against Lovetonius party, and the coll without and N.S.L. To this very day the Y.C.L. of the C.I., as the sole victorious party, and the coll without and N.S.L. To this very day the Y.C.L. of the C.I. and N.S.L. To this very day the Y.C.L. and N.S.L. To this very day the Y.C.L. of the C.I. At trade union conferences it the leading party of the C.I., as the sole victorious party, and the other sections of the Y.C.L. and N.S.L. To this very day the Y.C.L. and N.S.L. To this ment. The fourn Congress therefore the urges the young workers of America to join the A. F. of L. The delegates at the A.Y.C., except for the "renegades" forgotten your own letter on the October ment by the CPSU.

to join the A. F. of L. The delegates at the A.Y.C., except for the "renegates" to the Youth Congress who are members of the A. F. of L. are asked to raise within their unions the problem of organizing the young workers."

Not satisfied with the arguments of acceptance of common principles. The Polymetrian of the R.Y.C., except for the "renegates" to renegates" to renegates the Y.P.S.L.?

When we grant this necessary difference of the Y.P.S.L.?

When we grant this necessary difference of the Y.P.S.L.?

The A.Y.C. is the American expression of the recent 180-degree turn of the Communist International to the right.

The M.Y.C. is the American expression of the Rights The "Declaration of the Rights of takes in the tactics it works out for the Youth" is imported straight from France Soviet government, that the Soviet state where "certain Fascist elements in the cannot make mistakes in its diplomatic government and in the bourgeois-con-relations, in its foreign policy. Nor does trolled organizations called together it mean that when such mistakes are representatives of all the youth organiza- made by the CPSU and the Soviet govly attribute to the Soviet government and its leadership such nefarious motives and dastardly plans of betrayal, then, they should logically condemn the The intellect that tells you there is some the old traditions from the French Re-Only the most unequivocal but construc-

The conception of "mixed-class" united Franco-Soviet pact was the gravest of

social science, and the experience of hissory. The achievement of its aims represents the highest task to which a thinksents the highest task to which a thinksent task task t be viewed as an accidental mistake com- declaration in the League of Nations, mitted by a few youngsters. It is part hailing Germany's victory in the Saar The Workers Age receives 10% commission on all reservations made through it represents the struggle for sanity; for BERTRAM D. WOLFE

C.P. and the C.I. leadership. I call foreign policy. To say the least, it was uncalled for and clumsy.

# Things We Want To Know

Intellectual

known as the CFSU, this unholy monster called the Soviet government. The Trots sky program for civil way in the USSR is in line with this logic. And a blood brother of the Trotsky family, like the United Workers Party, is consistent enough to declare: "Russia will enter the United Workers Party, is consistent enough to declare: "Russia will enter the United Workers Party, is consistent enough to declare: "Russia will enter the United Workers Party, is consistent enough to declare: "Russia will enter the United Workers Party, is consistent enough to declare: "Russia will enter the United Workers Party, is consistent enough to declare: "Russia will enter the United Workers Party, is consistent enough to declare: "Russia will enter the United Workers Party, is consistent enough to declare: "Russia and policy." You are "fully conscious of the defect of our capitalist system." You'd "like to see something done about it." You are "fully conscious of the defect of our capitalist system." You'd "like to see something done about it." You are "fully conscious of the defect of our capitalist system." You'd "like to see something done about it." You are "fully conscious of the defect of our capitalist system." You'd "like to see something done about it." You are "fully conscious of the defect of our capitalist system." You'd "like to see something done about it." You are "fully conscious of the defect of our capitalist system." You'd "like to see something done about it." You are "fully conscious of the defect of our capitalist system." You'd "like to see something done about it." You are "fully conscious of the defect of the Communist Opporation of the Communist Opporation our subject of the pandwage of the pandwage of the Communist Opporation our capitalist system." You d'ilke to see something done about it." You capitalist system." You d'ilke to see something done about it." You capitalist system." You d'ilke to see something done about it." You capitalist system." You d'ilke to see something done about it." You capital

USSR as the most dangerous type of anti-proletarian state which is not only against its own working class at home but also camouflages itself in order to undermine and poison the working class movements through these latter day saints of "pure revolution" to call upon the entire international proletariat to wage a holy war against this ogre known as the CPSU, this unholy monster"

Intellectual

The intellect that tells you there is something wrong, the heart that will not let you surrender to the heartless enjoyment of the "car and chauffeur" in the ment of the "car and chauffeur" in the ment of the "car and chauffeur" in the ment of the "car and chauffeur" in the state of our readers have expressed a desire to have these questions and answers published separately. We are glad to announce that the pamphlet containing this material, including the properties of the series of questions and answers published separately. We are glad to announce that the pamphlet containing this material, including the charnel house that surface and chauffeur" in the ment of the "car and chauffeur" in the ment of the "car and chauffeur" in the ment of the charnel house that surface thing wrong, the heart that will not let would not let will not let Question 14: "Where do I go from to socialist, from socialist to questioner youth!

ing, feeling person can devote himself tion to your abilities and devotion, help to hasten the day of its victory. In the midst of the madness of hunger- So I answer your last question, producing plenty, of million-murdering "Where do I go from here?" with the

# WORKERS

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# EUROPE TODAY

## By August Thalheimer

A TURN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ETHIOPIA

We pointed out in our last report that England, despite its momentary strong opposition to Italy's imperialist crusade in Ethiopia, would in all probability grant Italy a free hand. After all it does not wish to wage a war with Italy because of Ethiopia.

In recent days there has been a very sudden change of attitude in this direction on England's part. This change was caused by France. Laval made it very clear to the English envoy that France would not support England against Italy in Geneva. Since England would thus have suffered a defeat in Geneva and since she certainly does not want to antagonize both France and Italy, she has changed her mind. She no longer insists on any action being taken by the League of Nations or on economic sanctions being enforced against Italy in case of war. England gives up the plan of closing the Suez Canal to Italian ships in case of war and of searching them for ammunition. All of which means that England is now giving Italy a free hand in waging a

However, this by no means signifies that England has once and for all consented to the war against Ethiopia; she is merely waiting for a more opportune moment to interfere. The conflict with Italy has been postponed but has not England will play its traditional game and wait until Italy is sufficiently weakened in order to rob it of its booty. For the time being, however, England is jointly responsible for the war. The refusal of the United States to interfere as was requested by Ethiopia facilitated England's decision.

The aggressive tone assumed by France towards England is the result first of all of the Anglo-German naval agreement and even more of the military agreements reached by the French and Italian general staffs last week These agreements approach a military alliance. The arrangements in reference to the Franco-Italian border are such that Italy will be able to withdraw troops from the French border and send them to the Austrian and Ethiopian fronts while France will send its troops from the Italian to the Eastern border.

Ethiopia is, therefore, paying the price for the increased attack of Italy and France against Hitler Germany. At some future date, however, both France and Italy will have to pay for their present actions.

The French press is again talking about a "local war" in which Ethiopia is involved. We wish to stress again that this is an illusion, for the following reasons: First of all, all of Africa is full of dynamite as a result of the economic crisis and, secondly, so is Europe. This war will put forces into motion which are undreamt of in the heads of European diplomacy who live from hand to mouth.

that the procedure of France saved the League of Nations which was threatened by dissolution if Italy resigned. But 'For the time being sentiments run high what does this "saving" of the League even among Communist workers because mean? The price paid by it is the non-great masses are thus mobilized. But fulfillment of its elementary function of securing peace. The operation was successful—but the patient died.

### A NEW MANEUVER AGAINST THE EASTERN PACT

The Berlin negotiations between Hitler and the Polish Foreign Minister Beck were not as successful as the obedient Nazi press reports. The Nazis proposed to Poland for the second time that countries outside the Soviet Union, just Lithuania should be occupied and divided amongst them. Poland again rejected this reckless adventure. also raised objections to the increased German propaganda in Polish territory.

The new maneuver, hatched by Hitler and Beck against the Eastern pact is of significance to European politics. Germany, according to this latest plan, acknowledged the Eastern pact only if the Soviet Union is directly attacked by the Reich. It excludes cases in which Germany attacks one of the Baltic states This reservation indicates the intentions of Hitler Germany. Furthermore, Rumania and Czechoslovakia are to be excluded in the mutual aid pacts with the Soviet Union. The reason is obvious. The Red Army can cross to the German border thru Rumania and Czechoslovakia. This maneuver makes clear the intentions of Hitler Germany and Poland to another working class martyr to the whole course of American history since another working class martyr to the 1776." This amendment was defeated emasculate the Eastern pact, as far as it Fascist beasts.

has been accepted. It also demonstrates how meaningless were England's efforts to get Germany and Poland to accept the Eastern pact.

### BASTILLE DAY IN FRANCE

The "Peoples Front" policy adopted by the C.P. of France is becoming more and more opportunist. The executive committee of the Radical Socialist Party with Herriot at the top surprisingly enough consented unanimously to march with the C.P. and the S.P. Humanite hailed this as a great victory of Communist tactics.

What the French Commuists do not talk about is the following: In his speech before the executive committee Herriot fought for the coming new emergency decrees of Laval's cabinet without any reservations. These decrees call for a new reduction of salaries, wages and social legislation. He declared that one could not fight against the "creditors," i.e. big capital, which is needed every day, every hour. The executive committee of the Radicals approved these declarations of Herriot unanimously. Herriot has, therefore, lined up with aval's emergency decrees.

Humanite intentionally "overlooks" The consethis most important fact. quences of such action are obvious. The C.P. will either drop the fight against the emergency decrees or at any rate weaken it in order to retain the good will of the Radicals. It is inevitable that this will hit the struggle against fascism in its very heart. Or else the party will conduct a vigorous struggle which would mean the dissolution of the Peoples Front. The bubble will burst and the fighting morale of the working class oased on an illusion will suffer a severe blow as will the prestige of the C.P. of

In accordance with the approach of the Radical Socialist Party the national organization committee for July 14 gave out the following slogans which were the only ones allowed in the demonstrations and were accepted unanimously by both Socialists and Communists

"For democratic rights—the dissolution and disarmament of fascist leagues wresting the state from the hands of the economic feudal power-for the organization of peace and simultaneous progressive and controlled disarmament -bread for all-to the peasants the fruits of their labor-work for youthfor the destruction of all bastilles-youth wants to live and work in peace and freedom."

The vague economic slogans badly onceal the fact that in order to preserve the Peoples Front, i.e., because of the Radical Socialists, the struggle for the most urgent daily demands of the gram which you have adopted." workers and the petty bourgeoisie, not is an unequivocal declaration. tionary way out of the crisis, is dropped.

The above policy differs from that of The confusion was

the German Social Democracy under not attack it but supports it, with enthusiasm.

For the time being sentiments run high the day is not far off when they will built on sand. The bubble will burst and ow destruction.

This policy of the C.P.F. which we emphatically reject has more than local significance: because the tactics of the C.P.F. are today the model for the tactics of the Communist parties in all as those of the C.P. of Germany were up to the victory of the Nazis in January 1933.

## New Terror Hits German CPO

(Continued from Page 1) the Saar plebiscite he fled to Strassburg. Here he met the fate that overtook so many Saar refugees. He was deported by the French authorities to the Saar Saar was officially returned to Germany. Comrade Steinhage returned to his home in Elberfeld. The Nazis arrested him and took him to the famous concentra-A few days after his arrival there the

# Books of the Age

## by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE BLACK CONSUL, By Anatoli ing such a work as this. It is a factual, Vinogradov. Viking. 439pp. \$2.75. comprehensive and richly detailed and Vinogradov. Viking. 439pp. \$2.75. This is a novel by a Soviet author dealing with Haiti's struggle for freedom during the French Revolution. It portrays alternately the actions and experiences of the Haitian delegation in Paris and the struggles of Touissaint l'Ouverture and his associates in Haiti. Thru author never loses his imperturbable its pages march Robspierre, Marat, calm for an instant, but the sensitive Christophe, Dessalines, Dr. Guillotin, reader who hates racial oppression and Napoleon. Big events are portrayed and there are echoes of other events that the author could not quite compress into the structure of his novel. With such heroes, such villains, such a stage and such scenes, it should be a stirring, moving work, but somehow it fails to be.
It is an attempt to fuse the technique

of the novel and the material of history more closely together than has been the case in the works of Scott, Sue, Zola and other masters of the historical novel It is determined to be honest and truth ful history, to use fiction technique but not to fictionalize its material. Robespierre or Marat makes a speech or writes an article on Haiti, the actual words of the parliamentary record or newspaper editorial are worked into the text. There are no invented characters and almost no invention even in the mi-

nor details of the events. The difficulties involved in this attempt are many. The novel requires selection from the standpoint of fictional and dra matic interest, and plot structure. History requires the selection from the standpoint of interpretive and explanatory significance. The two criteria of selection do not fully coincide. The problems involved were too much for Vinogradov's skill as novelist and penetration as historian. Where for mo-ments he succeeds in being interesting as a novelist he is trivial as historian Where he is recording important historical events he is boring as a novelist and not particularly penetrating as a historian. Documents are not history but merely one of its raw materials There is nothing inherently impossible in the attempt Vinogradov has made, but he cannot be said to have succeeded The book just falls short of being interesting as a novel or illuminating as history. It is interesting only as an atwhich shows the difficulties involved in the writing of fictionalized

THE ATLANTIC AND SLAVERY, by H. A. Wyndham. Oxford University Press. 310 pp., \$4.50.

This volume is second in a series entitled "Problems of Imperial Trustee-ship," published by Oxford University ship," published by Oxford University and issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. could give such a title to a series include experience I public speaker.

documented account of the "relations between Europeans, Indians, and Negroes on the eastern and western shores of the Atlantic" from the earliest days students of race relations.

## MAKING OUR MINDS BEHAVE, by Wm. S. Walsh, M.D. E. P. Dutton &

SYCHOLOGY OF THE AUDIENCE, by H. L. Hollingworth. American Book

The vogue of popular psychology books erves perpetually to remind us that sychology is far from a science. Most of them consist of commonplace and platitudes, or mystical hocus pocus. hese two books belong to the former ategory.

Dr. Walsh writes on "Mental En-"Making Good on the Job"; "On Being an Executive"; "If We Want to be Popular"; "Can We Take It"—the chapter headings tell the story. There is much sound common sense, the exposure of many popular prejudices, and the dressing up of some of the doctor's own pe prejudices as "psychology." Reading i is supposed to make you popular, a fluent, convincing talker, a thinker and a man who "can take it." We couldn't take it and didn't finish the book.

Holling vorths book is more imposing He is Professor of Psychology in Barnard. He limits himself to advice to the views and summarizes all the literature on the sibjects he discusses and thus forces us quite unintentionally on his part, to the conclusion that "psychology" Only British imperialism with its calm has little, aside from the stupidities and assumption of imperial right to the prejudices of a Le Bon, to say about seven seas and the lands washed by them audiences that is not known to every

# **American Youth Congress**

(Continued from Page 3)

Clarence Hathaway as witness: "I am sent here as the representative of the Communist Party of the U.S. to express views for which the Communist Party as a party is responsible." Later in his speech he said: "In behalf of the Communist Party, I want to inform the delegates here and the people of Detroit that the Communist Party stands unqualifiedly behind the American Youth Congress movement and behind the proto speak, of the struggle for a revolu- Hathaway be made the scapegoat for the

by the political illiteracy of the Y.C.L., The French press further maintains Bruening only inasmuch as the C.P. does the Y.P.S.L. and their parent organizathe position of the working class youth tions. Completely untrained in Marxism, they repeat phrases without knowing their meaning. Marxists have taken great pains to explain that phrases like 'life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" have meaning only if given a class conrealize that these demonstrations are tent. We can readily understand why 'a number of delegates could not understand how slogans and declarations which marked the dawn of the capitalist order in the U.S. could spur the fight of the struggling masses today." (Daily Worker, July 9). In claiming our revolutionary heritage, we must not allow ourselves to be drowned in an uncritical patriotic fervor; nor can we claim our heritage if we refuse to advance beyond At the very birth of the republic Shay's rebellion took place, let us remember. Among the revolutionists of 1776 themselves there were the conservatives--the Hamiltons and the Washingtons-and the radicals-the Jeffersons and Sam Adamses. But not a word about this in the July Fourth oratory of the A.Y.C. That this was for some petty reason. This occurred not an oversight, we call your attention before March 1st the day on which the to the following lines: "In song and egend America has been exalted as a land of the free, a haven for the op pressed. Yet on every hand we see this freedom limited or destroyed . . ." The tion camp in Oranienburg. The Storm writer proposed to add a sentence to the Troops gave him a horrible reception. acts of tyranny which have filled the This amendment was defeated at the N. Y. delegation meeting and

would have met the same fate at the

A permanent united front as expressed in the A.Y.C. is impossible. Only a political organization could fulfill the requirements of such a congress at its best. The only type of a new political organization the working class should favor at the present time is a Labor party based upon the trade unions. But not even the A.Y.C. would have the nerve to claim that for itself. The only type of youth conference that would be worth-while is one based primarily on trade unions and on labor and student The confusion was worse confounded organizations. Such a conference would be concerned primarily with discussing in the factory, on the farm and in school and with framing a program expressing the needs and interests of the young workers and students. It would understand that this program could be realized only if it were embodied in the aims and objectives of the labor movement and it would therefore strive primarily to popularize its program and win adherence for it in the ranks of labor. But the American Youth Congress was miles away from any such conception. And for that reason, fundamentally, is the American Youth Congress doomed to failure which no amount of ballyhoo can avert.

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of the trading settlements down to the end of the eighteenth century. The slavery will do so repeatedly. Wyndham never feels called upon to "justify", never thinks of condemning. He just digs, finds and reports. Gradually there grows a frightful picture of the slave rade, of the kidnapping of Africans with the active connivance of native African rulers (something that should give the Garveyites and the separate-Negro-economy-ites pause), and the blessings of both Catholic and Protestant hurches. This is supplemented by an equally detailed account of the despoilng and subjection of the Indians in the New World, and the varied fate of the Negroes after their arrival in North and South America. The book is the most complete and accurate treatment existing in its field and indispensable to all

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speaker a d an analysis of the "psychology of the audience." He carefully re-

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TRADE UNION **NOTES** 

By GEORGE F. MILES

THE LABOR COURT

The struggle for clean and militant unionism has its difficulties and obstacles and the proposed solution for these is sometimes painful, often merely ineffectual.

A certain Mr. Louis Kirschbaum, writing in the New York Evening Post, develops one of these thoroly illusive plans. He has "been kicked around for over ten years" by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and, in desperation, sets out to destroy the trade union burocracy by means of a "labor court" whose aim it shall be "to eliminate the evil influences exerted by the machines which control unions for their own interest too often disregarding the interest of the rank and file." Having thus defined the purpose of the Court Mr. Kirschbaum promptly proceeds to nominate the following the constitute it: Norman Thomas, David Dubinsky, Roger Baldwin, Dr. Harry Ward, Prof. Paul Brissenden, A. J. Muste, J. B. Matthews, Mary Van Kleeck and Louis Boudin.

As far as we know not one of the nominees has accepted this labor of love, nor have we heard of any enthusiastic endorsements of the proposal as a whole. Why? Is it because the trade unions do not present any cases of burocratic excesses? Hardly. Were there such a court the racketeering and gangsterridden Amalgamated could keep it in session for months to come. And the Amalgamated is by no means the only one of its kind. There are two reasons for the luke-warmness with which the proposal has been met even tho Mr. Kirschbaum has provided that his estate be used to establish such a court.

### WHY BALDWIN SWORE OFF COMMITTEES

We must remember that such committees have acted from time to time with very meager results. Roger Baldwin, the most committee-ridden man we know, could tell many a sad story. The last we heard. Baldwin had sworn off intervention in inner union problems.

These committees lack the power to make their investigations binding or even to secure evidence. In other words these "labor courts" have been tried and found wanting.

An even more serious objection is the ossibility of creating the illusion that the fight for democratic unions and progressive policies can be won, not thru struggle inside the unions, but by means of an appeal to some body standing over and above the trade union movement. Such an illusion would sacrifice a real weapon-organized opposition-for an illusory one—a labor court.

We do not maintain that the "labor court" is without any value for it serves as a forum to broadcast grievances. But cannot this be done thru leaflets, press publicity and meetings of workers in the trade? It certainly can. This method is superior in the sense that it avoids placing the right of decision in the hands of non-trade union people. Just glance thru the list of nominees and you will ee what we mean.

We can understand and sympathize with the impatience of a Louis Kirsch-baum who has been "out" for a decade but after all can the burocracy be licked by waving a wooden sword while charg-ing on a broomstick? The revolution-izing of the trade-unions depends upon continued, systematic, organized struggle in the trade unions. As long as the mass of trade unionists are not won the "labor court" is ineffective. When the mass is won the "labor court" is not needed.

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