Five Cents

## At First **GLANCE**

By JAY LOVESTONE

HE 100 per cent. American econ omists and the over-erudite sociologists who have been denouncing Marx for his theory of increasing misery must feel pretty miserable themselves these days. Certainly their criticism and sci-ntific conclusions have proved miserably We are reminded of this once

This report indicates that the heads of rural households have been forced to grasp at every available opportunity for employment to provide the merest sustenance for their families. Two-thirds of these family heads who were on reief were partly employed; sometimes perating non-productive farms or seekng other employment, but always unble to provide a sufficient income for the support of their family. Typifying the situation nationally, the conditions found in the 47 counties of 19 States indicate the following: Twenty-nine out of every 100 employed heads of rural households have in recent years shifted from the occupations that they usually followed before the depression and that most of these shifts had been a few steps downward on the economic ladder. Men who had been farm owners were now renting them, or glad to get a chance to work on other men's farms as

laborers. Others were performing unskilled work in non-agricultural industry.

Especially hard hit were the whitecollar workers and skilled artisans who
were trying their hand at farming mostly on rented property, or else tackling semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Share-croppers and tenants who had lost their farms dropped all the way down to the level of farm-hands or unskilled indus-

Thus proceeds the declassing trend in American social and economic life. This is the road of the constant depression of the standards of more and more layers of the population in the U.S. Here is the increasing pile of social misery in the world's wealthiest land.

HE International Labor Office has recently issued the findings of its survey of the world unemployment. investigators conclude that there are in the world as a whole to-day nearly 20½ million unemployed. They find that no important changes, no success in cutting the number of unemployed, can be registered for the last year.

It is interesting to note the fact that the ILO declares that there are to-day in the U.S. at least 111/2 million unemployed. This is quite at variance with the optimistic claims of the Roosevelt Administration. Judging by the trends in the relief field, by the rising number of individuals seeking relief, we feel warranted in concluding that the ILO report is far more accurate than the guess material and election campaign "boiler plate" now being peddled by the Administration.

What will hit one hardest in an examination of this report will be the following: The total inability of international clique government (the successors of capitalism to make any real headway in the field of unemployment, precisely in ple and war adventurers—for freedom, the field of unemployment, precisely in the field where a solution of some form bread, work and peace." In this declarity is most urgent. Conferences ration the C.P. proposes to the Bund, of relief is most urgent. Conferences of all kinds on a world scale, attempt of sundry sorts for "unravelling" on a national scale have alike failed.

few months ago a number of Brit-A ish and American liberals got a fit of moral indignation because they learned that the Church of England was amongst the heaviest owners of stock in the munition industry. These messengers of the Lord were making good as salesmen of hell, as merchants of death; they were combining heavenly prattle with profitable practice.

But it is not only in England where such holy people know that the first and last command of the present social order is: business is business. One of the biggest realty owners in New York City is the Trinity Church. The celestial landlord, known as the Trinity Church Corporation, owns a vast fortune in real estate on the lower west side. Here is a section that reeks with poverty, degradation, and what the church leaders call on Sunday, "sin." However, The Trini-ty Church Corporation, speaking for the Lord in a practical sense, knows that in these days of hard times, it dare not be finicky about tenants. Bootleggers, counterfeiters, managers of vice resorts, are the best payers these days. After all, the Lord can forgive only those who sin, and if the Trinity Church Corporation continues to do well as a landlord the "sinners" will be forgiven and the church will prosper on earth as well as

We would like to make one suggestion however: let the New York City Govern-(Continued on Page 4)

# COMINTERN IN DANGER OF DEGENERATION

tempt an evaluation of its discussions and decisions on the basis of the meager documents so far before us. Yet the fantastic inventions of bourgeois correspondents like Denny of the Times, the buzz of questions and gossip in "intellectual" circles, the misrepresentations in the socialist press, the confusion in the columns of the Daily Worker, and the eager interest of the class conscious workers in the doings of the Communist Intergain by a report just issued by the national, all make it necessary to make ERA dealing with the trend in rural certain observations, however tentative certain observations, however tentative and provisional and incompletely documented they may be

### ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE CONGRESS

First it must be recorded that the Congress of the Communist International is not entirely what its name implies. It the Congress of a faction of the communist movement, the majority faction to be sure, but nevertheless a faction. Upon it devolves the duty of reuniting the divided ranks of communism, of healing the split arbitrarily created immediately after and in contravention of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of 1928.

That seven long years have elapsed between the Sixth Congress and the Seventh when the statutes of the International require a Congress every two years, is in itself sufficient indication of the fact that the Comintern has been going thru a profound organizational and political crisis. Those seven years have witnessed the arbitrary expulsion of many of the founders and builders and best leaders of the communist movement in many lands for advocating tactics which today are being acknowledged as correct by the Seventh Congress. Those seven years have witnessed the scrapping of Leninist tactics on the trade union scrapping of revolutionary realism in the formulation of tactics, the abandonment of party democracy and collective leadership. They have witnessed great vic-

## The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International is now in sestimated by the Communication of th Communist International

By Bertram D. Wolfe

tories in the Soviet Union but great de- | with any likelihood of fruitful conclu feats in many other lands, with Germany at the head, defeats which the Sev enth Congress admits might have been avoided by sounder tactical methods. They have witnessed an actual decline in the total membership of the C.I. outside of the Soviet Union, a decline during crisis years so favorable to Communism and so unfavorable to the bourgeoisie and to reformism. They have witnessed the strangulation of inner party life, the development of paralyzing burocracy, of puppet leaderships, of mechanical blue print tactics transplanted from land is not the representative body of the communist movement of all lands. It is of leadership by the Russian Party, of a shameful anti-communist hero cult built around a single individual at the expense of any effort to build up a collective leadership for the workers of the world.

The World Congress has much to do to set the house of the Communist International in order. But the absence of any genuine discussion prior to the Congress, the failure of the Executive even to honor the request of the International Communist Opposition to be represented by fraternal delegates, the shamefully dishonest way in which the tactics advocated by the Communist Opposition on a variety of questions have been suddenly accepted without acknowledgement, without an attempt to reeducate the bewildered membership, without its participation in the decisions, without understanding on the part of those who must execute the decisions, without even adequate understanding by the Executive of the International, without withdrawal of a single one of the slanderous terms of question and the united front, a false a single one of the slanderous terms of attitude toward the socialist workers, the abuse directed against those only yes-

Despite negotiations between the C.I. and the I.C.O., despite the elimination of certain differences, despite a less slanderous tone in official documents and improved relations, even cooperation in certain lands and fields, the Seventh Congress will still leave the Communist movement divided, confused, paralyzed, unequal to its tasks.

### PARTIAL VICTORY

It is already clear that the victory of one phase of the struggle of the International Communist Opposition is at least in sight. The official summary of Pieck's opening report for the Executive Committee of the Communist Interna-tional as cabled to the Daily Worker of July 29, proves that though the International may wriggle and squirm, misun-derstand and misapply, and fail in its duty of educating the membership and the masses thru an honest examination of its errors, and may fail thereby to clarify its new line, yet one thing is certain, it has been obliged to abandon its open rejection of Leninist tactics on mass work.

### SIX YEARS TOO LATE

In 1929 we were expelled and slandered for opposing the tactics of union-splitting. In 1935 (June) the members of the American Party were still being told that the union-splitting had been correct, but that "changed conditions," "the masses' going into the A. F. L. etc. compel the C.P. to liquidate its dual unions and reenter the organized labor terday "counter revolutionary" tactics movement. But Pieck's report on behalf and their advocates, gives little promise of the Executive Committee of the Com-

class" by which was meant not proletariat against bourgeoisie but Communist Party against Socialist Party, Pieck declares:

"... the Strassburg Conference resolutions in 1929 for independent leadership 'in spite of and against the reformist unions' was incorrect." (Daily Worker, July 29).

The reader will note uneasily that not ozovsky whose words are to be found in the single quotes, and not the Executive of the International which gave the union-splitting instructions and expulsion orders to all lands, are held responsible, but the Strassburg Conference is to blame!

"It was correct," continues Pieck, "to oppose the Brandler theory of 'compelling the Bonzes' (misprint for Bonzen, meaning bureaucrats—BDW) but it was incorrect to say that no influence could or should be brought to bear on the bu-

Of course, Brandler never advocated anything else, but apparently it is incorrect, even counter-revolutionary, if you say "Bonzen" in German but perfectly correct if you translate them into English as "bureaucrats"! Such are the sorry subterfuges with which the Seventh Congress comes around to an acknowledgement six years too late of the correctness of the struggle for Leninist trade union tactics which we took up in 1929 and for which struggle we were expelled!

## STALIN CAN DO NO WRONG!

Not the Executive Committee of the Communist International is at fault for forgetting the ABCs of sound tactics in trade union work and still less could the 'great, good, wise" leader be at fault. Pieck puts the blame on those who unquestiongly carried out the line. Says

"There was underestimation of the fact which Stalin emphasized in 1925—that the average worker saw his safety in the

trade unions be they good or bad."

What miserable double bookkeeping with the party and the proletariat in this sycophantic discovery that Stalin knew what everybody in the International knew in 1925 (and what Stalin forgot and denied from 1928 to 1935)!

Not Stalin is to blame! Those who carried out orders in America are to blame! Pieck explains:

"In the United States for a long time Communists considered the American Federation of Labor as only a strikebreaking organization and saw only Green and such leaders and overlooked the average members."

How many comrades of little faith thought they would never live to see the day when such a statement would again be made from the rostrum of a Congress of the Communist International! Or that the reporter of the ECCI would ever say

the following:
"While correctly fighting the mass expulsion policies of the bureaucrats (incorrectly, he should say since split-ting tactics helped the bureaucrats in their expulsions-BDW) we still made mistakes in transforming the Red Union Opposition into new unions."

## By AUGUST THALHEIMER

## Polish Communists To Fight For Bourgeois Republic

It is well known that during the last crisis the Communist Party of France urged the formation of a "left" cabinet inclusive of the Radical Socialist Party and declared its readiness to support such a government inside and outside of parliament provided it carried out certain immediate demands of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. This policy has now been extended to Poland.

The Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party has just published a "declaration" called "the platform of struggle for the overthrow of the Sanacja ic Party and the Executive Committee of the Left Peasant Party, the joint organization of mass struggles and strikes; the preparation of general strike on a national scale including peasants and other petty bourgeois elements.

### PROPOSE TO SET UP A "PEOPLE'S FRONT"

The (.F proposes the following as the basis for the joint struggle:

"An uncompromising struggle for the overthrow of the Sanacia regime, the jingoistic oppressors of the penple, for the overthrow of the fascist constitution and electoral system; for freedom of the press, assembly; for the right to strike; for the liquidation of the concentration camp Beresa Kartuska; for the liberation of all political prisoners; elimination of national oppression; guarantee of all rights for oppressed nationalities; elimination of anti-Soviet alliances with Japan and Germany; for a mu-tual assistance pact (Eastern Pact) with the U.S.S.R.; restitution of so cial legislation-unemployment relief thru state funds and thru the building of public works and taxation of capitalists and big peasants for this

"The C.P. of Poland declares that in placing in the forefront the struggle to overthrow the regime of Sanacia, IT STANDS READY TO SUP-PORT THE SLOGAN OF A CON-STITUENT ASSEMBLY, i.e., a constitutional assembly elected on the forward the slogan of "All Power To either strengthen fascism or play right basis of the five-fold electoral sys-

tem (general, equal, direct, secret and that in Poland the bourgeois democratic proportional) whose task it shall be to realize the above program. The C.P. of Poland, in fighting for a workers and peasants government, for proletarian, soviet democracy as the only genuine democracy for workers, is ready to support the democratic activities of any anti-fascist government which promises to carry out the above program. We are convinced that this platform serves the interests and the will of the broad masses and that this platform can serve as the basis for an agreement between all antifascist forces in Poland. We appeal to all workers organizations, to all

## RECALLING THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

This policy is an almost literal transference of that proposed by the C.P. of France during the recent cabinet crises France is still a bourgeois republic so that grave as the error of the C.P. may be it is much worse in Poland-a fascist dictatorship which supplanted the bourgeois democratic republic. The C.P. now proposes to replace the fascist dictatorship with a bourgeois parliamentary republic-the constituent assembly. other words the reestablishment of the bourgeois republic.

How long ago is it that Trotzky proosed the struggle for the restablishment of the Weimar Republic, as a means of uniting all anti-fascist forces? His prooosal was then rejected by the C.P. (as also by us) as rank opportunism. Now the C.P. of Poland returns to precisely this proposal.

### C.P. TO SUPPORT CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Perhaps it will be said that the policy of the Polish Party is an application of Lenin's tactics in 1917. Did not Lenin and the Bolsheviks support the call for the Constituent Assembly in Russia? Do we need to point out that the Constituent Assembly was the slogan of the bourgeois democratic stage of the revo-

revolution is over and that not the former but the latter slogan applies? Perhaps some one will ask: is it not

possible to reestablish the bourgeois republic in Poland? That possibility exists with all fascist dictatorships. It will depend on whether Social Democracy regains its hold over the proletariat at the time of the break-up of the Fascist regime. If it does bourgeois democracy will result. If on the other hand the Communists were to win the masses then proletarian dictatorship would re-It is therefore the duty of the Communists not to play with such dangerous slogans as Constituent Assembly peasant organizations to take a stand on the proposed platform." (July advance the slogan of soviet power and oroletarian dictators

### NEW DEFEATS IF OPPORTUNISM CONTINUES

The policy of the Polish Party is in reality nothing but the extension of the reformist policies of bourgeois coalition and the theory of the "lesser evil" which have brought defeat upon the working class of Germany and Austria. These policies, proved bankrupt in Austria and Germany, are all the more dangerous now that they have found their way into the hands of the C.P.

The Communist Parties are committing these errors because they have never really assimilated the lessons of 1923 in Germany. One of the most important lessons to be drawn from 1923 is that the united front is not applicable in the struggle for power, that the united front tactics are applied only in struggles for partial demands or for revolutionary transition slogans and that beyond that the united front leads to opportunism and defeat.

The Polish Party may continue to speak of Soviet Power but it becomes merely a propaganda slogan pure and simple while the slogan of Constituent Assembly becomes the practical slogar for which the masses are being mobilized.

We of the C.P.O. must vigorously fight against this opportunist course which will surely lead to the victory of fascism in France. If transferred to counlution and that the Bolsheviki pushed tries where fascism is in power it will

### ANOTHER VINDICATION

On fascism too there is a tardy recognition of the position of the International Communist Opposition. How our German comrades were abused in 1928, '29, '30 and '31 when they warned against vainglorious boasting, against an underestimation of the Hitler menace, against a deliberate abandonment of the united front struggle and against the habit of seeing fascism where it wasn't, in Von Papen, Von Schleicher, Bruening, the Social Democracy!

Now when it is painfully late, costly in its lateness, Pieck declares: "A great mistake was underestima.

tion of the fascist danger, but on the other hand fascism was seen where it did not exist."

No name was too vile for the German Opposition when it urged a united front of Socialists and Communist Parties and defense organizations in Germany before it should be too late. Now Pieck declares:

"In order to avoid the fascist catastrophe in Germany there was needed a broad united front and the Red Front organization should have formed a united fighting organization with the Reichs-(Socialist Defense banner.'

Once more, in cowardly, uncommunist fashion, the ECCI puts its blame on other shoulders when Pieck adds:

"The majority of the workers (!!!) did not do this and instead blindly followed the Social Democratic leadership despite the Communists warnings."

Such are the tragic dying echoes of the fatal slogan of "social fascism" and (Continued on Page 2)

# COMINTERN IN DANGER OF DEGENERATION

(Continued from Page 1) "united front from below"! At any rate it is good to know that that much at least has been learned at a frightful price from the defeat in Germany.

"EXCEPTIONALISM" NO

LONGER A CRIME The Daily Worker of August 3 carries the slogan of "united front from below") the complete text of the Resolution of it is swinging to the dangerous swamp the Communist International on the Re- of the non-aggression pact, which means port of Comrade Pieck on the activities in practice cessation of Communist agiof the E.C.C.I. It makes additional im- tation, surrender to Social Democracy portant steps toward the adoption of From refusal to work in the organized the position of the Communist Opposi-tion. A feeble gesture in the direction "red unions") it swings over to a readiof collective leadership, greater initiative ness to work in fascist unions, company for the individual parties, an acknowledgement that the E.C.C.I. was itself at fault in not attempting to correct the more than before, between trade unions sectarian line from 1929 to 1934 or '5.

Most important is a recognition of the tion of "exceptionalism" and our opposition to the mechanical transference of out regard to the concrete conditions in parties and the trade unions, it has each land and at each moment. The very swung over to the People's Front, an alclass, pronounced the moral death of the gravity of the crisis that threatens.

The Seventh World Congress of the Executive Committee to proceed in deciding each question from the oncrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule to avoid direc intervention in internal organizationa matters of the Communist Parties. . To assist the Communist Parties i making use of their own experience as well as the experience of the world Communist movement, avoiding, however, mechanical application of the ex-

It is indeed heartening to see such words as these after six years and more politician Herriot, whom the Commuforgotten. They have been "out of fash- ministership? Is the C.I. sliding to- from Belgium? What dangerous sophision" ever since the peerless leader enun- wards coalitionism? ciated directly opposite views in his

### THREATEN!

Unfortunately, there is other news from the Seventh World Congress which shows that this is no time to celebrate, no occasion for the Communist Opposition to rest on its hard won or almos won laurels. History takes strange revenge on those who have ignored and sought to defy its laws. Six or more years of sectarianism are still exacting an awful price. They have unfitted the leadership and membership of the Comthe policies for mass work they have so wrote to the French Roosevelt, Herriot! long rejected and villified. It is one thing Millerand gave better pretexts in his to acknowledge, another to apply those day for support of a bourgeois governcomplicated conditions of struggle in the cessions for the masses." This was the actual world. As we long warned, the touchstone of opportunist degeneration Comintern is swinging from the Scylla in the old Second International. of sectarianism headlong towards the Was Thorez's declaration an accident, Charybdis of opportunism. On many a momentary abberration quickly cor questions it is making a complete about rected? Alas no! face, a turn of 180°. From the slogan In the Daily Worker of July 30 we

Flashlights on the Seventh World Congress of Comintern

unions, churches, everywhere on the same basis, making no distinction today, any will such tactics lead the Comintern? which should be built and made militant THE SHADOW and enemy organizations which should OF 1914 be disrupted and destroyed.

ership! criticism leads to praise.

"Is it not evident," write Thorez, "that we can come to an agreement to speaking 21 years later to the Seventh safeguard peace with a party whose most eminent leaders and notably President Herriot (!) have never ceased to say and to prove their friendship for the Soviet Union." Humanite, June 30, 1935).

Does not the working class reade perience of one country to another draw a sharp breath of pain when he imperialist chauvinism! Is the Commu country and the substitution of stereotyped methods and general formupaper? What will Humanite say the manian masses to defend Boyar-domintions for concrete Marxian anal- day after tomorrow when France joins in ated, feudal-monarchist, pawn-imperialduring which these first principles were nists have helped to build, into the prime Latvia or Esthonia play a different role

"Non-aggression" leads to non-critispeeches on the American Question in cism; non-criticism to sycophancy; sy-1929, a pamphlet of Stalin's which for-tunately has been withdrawn from circu-leads to coalition. Error has its logic all the small nations of Europe are but as well as truth!

"We say to M. Herriot and the Radical Socialist leaders, if you will take over the leadership of a radical sovernment which and the sovernment which are the solution for small noting from the role of the Balkans? government which really pursues a radical policy, a policy in line with the demands of the majority of the people, you can be assured of our support not only in the Chamber but also EXPLAINS

s shamefully opportunistic about Frankin Roosevelt (who is the American equivalent of Herriot) as this that Thorez, intern for understanding and executing General Secretary of the French C.P. policies to the tricky, shifty, changing, ment "to save the republic and win con-

of "social fascism" it is swinging dan- have a report of the speech of Comrad

## From Democratic Socialism To The Democratic Party

arsenic man from Denmark, has for cenican League that Matthews was suspendturies stood as the prime exponent of ed from the Socialist Party of New York
only the proletariat in struggle against
or otherwise the government of France

| Continued on Page 4| hesitation and general all-around flighti- for a year. He resigned from the Amer- its own bourgeoisie, everywhere, could ness. But the old soliliquy mutterer's can League thereupon and became the turn imperialist war into civil war, relaurels are in grave danger for ours is titular leader of the Revolutionary Polthe generation that has produced J. B. icy Committee within the S.P.

actionary war into progressive war. Why
did not the Daily Worker quote this the generation that has produced J. B. icy Committee within the S.P. Matthews.

Matthews.

This random rumination is called forth by an announcement filtering up from Washington, N. J. that Prince J. B. Hamlet is now topping off his notable poltical career by entering the lists for the nomination of Democratic (yes, the party off Jefferson and Jim Farley, no other) Assembluman from Warren Countries of the opportunism that characterized the early activities of the RPC may be traced to J. B. Matthews. At the Detroit Convention in 1934 he was the chief exponent of the compromising policy of trading principles for party jobs—a course which for a time threatenfeudle.

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The opportunism that characterized the early activities of the RPC was the Detroit Convention in 1934 he was the chief exponent of the compromising policy of trading principles for party jobs—a course which for a time threatenfeudle. other) Assemblyman from Warren Countail to the "Militant" caucus.

only after he had eschewed the profes- All this is of recent date. Even more sorial life to become secretary of the recent is his return—brief though it was Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifistreligious outfit. In 1933 he left the Felto the American League, noisy resigned falsifying Lenin by selecting the mere he professed to have acquired a class- hurrah meeting of the League at Madi- Lenin's polemic with social-chauvinism struggle rather than a pacifist attitude. son Square Garden.

mate sacrifice for his principles the J.B. nomination of Democratic Assemblyman A QUESTION OF agement of this organization.

ty, N. J.

This latest affiliation of Prince J. B.'s rounds out a long list in which he has to this correspondent's personal knowledge, been everything but a Nudist and a Seventh-Day-Adventist. And a careful research into the records might show even gestures in these directions.

Prince J. B.'s next incarnation—and one of his strangest—was as a member of Consumer's Research. Without desiring in any way to slander that really valuable organization, it certainly could never fulfill the heroic role which J. B. plotted for it. In his latest book "Parters in Plunder" has get forth that releases in Plunder, the sets forth that releases the prince J. B.'s next incarnation—and one of his strangest—was as a member of Consumer's Research. Without desiring in any way to slander that really valuable organization, it certainly could never fulfill the heroic role which J. B. plotted for it. In his latest book "Parters in Plunder," the sets forth that releases the prince J. B.'s next incarnation—and one of his strangest—was as a member of Consumer's Research. Without desiring in any way to slander that really valuable organization, it certainly could never fulfill the heroic role which J. B. Prince J. B.'s earlier years were spent in the cloistered halls of colleges gaining and imparting knowledge. He became prominent in the radical movement only after he had eschawed the ment of the conflicts besetting the world.

With the gesture of making the ulti- And now he is the candidate for the

then became chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism. As a Socialist Party member he served, in this capacity, as a useful fig-leaf for the Communist Party's ultra-sectarian management of this organization.

In Democrated Assembly Mar A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLES

PRINCIPLES

It becomes evident that we are dealing with a grave question. Here are no mere tactical differences such as separated the communist Party's ultra-sectarian management of this organization. -D.S. till now. The International is actually

emphasized Slansky, "that the Social- grave that 1928-35 will seem insignifi-Democrats really oppose fascism and cant in comparison. the capitalists.'

liance not merely with the Socialists but Second International. They did it in with the less reactionary sectors of the the name of various slogans, all of them SOME ABC'S pourgeoisie (like Daladier and Herriot) false. Some joined the Kaiser to "overnations" like Belgium and Serbia. Fearful coincidence. William Pieck i

> "Should German fascism attempt t conquer the small European states. their war against fascism will be a righteous war which we will support

(Daily Worker, July 27, '1935). What fuel for the fires of French war on the Soviet Union and the ist Roumania? Shall the Jugoslavian try to substitute the talk of small nations for the analysis of class forces, to pawns of the great imperialist powers Have we learned nothing from the rol

Norman Thomas never wrote anything full of explanations that do not explain, Recent issues of the Daily Worker ar quotations that do not illuminate, apologetics that have a fearfully reminisc

They bring in "selected" quotations, they bring in selected, quotation, the how carefully "selected," from Lenin:
"We Marxists differ both from pacifists and anarchists in that we recognize the necessity of an historica study of each war individually . There have been many wars in his tory . . . which had a progressiv character. . . It is therefore neces sary to examine the historic charac-

Quotations in themselves prove nothng. Yet, quotations properly chosen show the position of the quoted authori ty. Why did the Daily Worker not explain that the sentence it quoted was petty-bourgeoisie in France has long re- incipient blunders. Neither is this a preliminary to proving that the European bourgeoisie, while it had waged force struggling for bourgeois democ-

concerning the epoch of progressive Eu-

"The common feature of the epoch, however, was the progressivism of the bourgeoisie i.e., its as yet unde-cided, unfinished struggles against feudalism. . . . In place of the struggle of rising capital striving towards na tional liberation from the remnants of feudalism, there has come the struggle of a power that has exhaust. ed and outlived itself, that is headed Jownward towards decay. . . . It i absolutely out of the question that modern democracy (i.e., that of the proletariat—BDW) should trail behind the reactionary imperialist bou geoisie, no matter of what 'color' i may be. . . . Of course, it is the task of modern democracy, too, to 'utilize conflicts, but this international utilization must be directed . . . against in

ternational finance capital."

gerously toward the slogan of "organic unity" with Social Democracy. From the rejection of the united front (under the slogan of "united front from below")

it is swinging to the dangerous swamp

Slansky of Czechoslovakia to the Seventh Congress, made "amid great apprinciples. It is at a railway junction and has thrown the wrong switch. If it does not speedily, decisively reverse its cipation in the government is not an it is headed for the gravest crisis path, it is headed for the gravest crisis in the history of the International, so leave the conquests and tyrannies of France in Somaliland, Tunis, Morocco, Indo China, etc., and its preparations to hold on, even add to its share.

8. To talk of the differences in governmental structure in France and English to the united front provided." in the history of the International, so leave the conquests and tyrannies of France in Somaliland, Tunis, Morocco, Indo China, etc., and its preparations to hold on, even add to its share.

fight for democratic rights and for The root of the new evil is not evil inthe shifting of the crisis burdens on tention. Comrade Kalmen is absolutely right in his discussion article (published So it is possible for coalition with the elsewhere in this issue) when he emphabourgeoisie to help the masses! Where sizes that the Comintern is making its tic" England and dictatorial Germany blunders with good i.e., revolutionary intentions, namely a mistaken notion of how to defend the U.S.S.R. But good slogan of democracy in the last war. OF 1914

I write this article on August 4, ex
Intentions are not enough. The road to hell, it is notorious, is paved with the of the concrete circumstances of an be disrupted and destroyed.

From its slogan of "class against class," so interpreted that it prevented joint action with other working class it has been been described by the concrete circumstances of an active 21 years after the fatal day when German, French and other socialist leading interpreted that it prevented ers voted war credits, joined their bourdard the working class of such things proves the concrete circumstances of an good intentions of mistaken people. Hence it is high time to reiterate a few ABC's. That we have to remind the working class of such things proves the concrete circumstances of an good intentions of mistaken people. Hence it is high time to reiterate a few ABC's. That we have to remind the working class of such things proves the concrete circumstances of an good intentions of mistaken people. Hence it is high time to reiterate a few ABC's. That we have to remind the working class against action with other working class.

the Communist International instructs on their program, with them in the lead- throw Czarism"; others supported the unity of aim between the proletariat in perficial" ally, the Soviet Union, and the The "non-aggression pact" Allied bourgeoisie to "make the world power (the government) in the U.S.S.R. further fact that it mercilessly exploits leads to non-criticism of allies. Non- safe for democracy" or to "defend small and the proletariat struggling for power its own working class and colonial peo-(struggling against its government) in ples, and the further fact that its treaty France, Germany, etc.

more there is the danger of mechanical tal enemies, a mere diplomatic maneuv-

Germany, France or enters into a trade tablish just as ruthless and merciless a Italian, French, German proletariat does totalitarian state as Hitler has). ot therefore "recognize" its government 10. If the French proletariat enters its efforts to overthrow its government (merely opposing "fascist officers" but onger be forced into such coexistence, ing "reactionary administrations"

3. The Stalin-Laval Pact was correct and an achievement of proletarian diplomacy. A declaration such as Stalin's if

Have we learned nothing from the ecessary for the pact would have been Paris Commune, when French and Ger-

5. A leopard is still a carnivorous animal even if it is full and has a partially unconsumed carcass resting under Utilize diplomacy as a subordinate aid its paws and "peacefully" licks its chops. but don't forget that it is at best a pre-There is no difference in principle be- carious, secondary instrument during tween sated imperialisms and aggressive peace time, and insignificant in compariunsated ones. Since Lenin is being son with the only effective force for the quoted here is his view of that:

side would we wish success? . . . It is not the business of modern democ- CONCLUSIONS

Prince Hamlet, the big dagger- and- It was for his activities in the Amer- dent, reactionary and no longer capable and Co. of being the sole disturber of the struggle against ultra-leftism.

controlled by the Comite des Forges. It is dangerous to denounce the appetite for colonies and conquests on the part of Germany and to keep silent about the

obstacle to the united front provided," in the history of the International, so land on the one hand, and Germany on the other, without stressing that they are all, varying degrees of bourgeois dic tatorships, is to to pave the way for votes of confidence in such capitalist dictatorships. Hence the confusion on conothing from the hypocritical use of the

> imperialist and capitalist power, the dominant one in continental Europe, and the further fact that it is an irrecon-1. There is an identity of interest and cilable enemy of its "temporary and suwith Russia is like all bourgeois treaties 2. The unity of aim and interest does even its treaties with bourgeois counot mean an identity of tactics. (Once tries, even, that is to say, with less mor-

er, a "scrap of paper," and the further nizes the bourgeois government of Italy, French imperialism, on its part, will esact, or military pact, or whatever, the dictatorship in the name of the military

enter into a pact with it. It continues into a class peace with its bourgeoisie o that the proletariat in power will no not the bourgeois army, merely opposnot the bourgeois government) then we

permissible for a Soviet diplomat, but man "enemy" governments united was impermissible for a spokesman of against the workers? Nothing from the world war when Entente and Central 4. The leopard does not change its Powers united against the Soviet Union? pots because it steps into the shade of French diplomacy will play with Soviet pleasant tree. French imperialism did Alliances to further its imperialist aims, ot cease to be capitalist and imperialist but the deadly enemy of the French as any more than the Soviet Government of all bourgeoisies is the Soviet Union eased to be proletarian and socialist, Utilize imperialist differences but don't when the pact was signed. As the latter depend on them, don't disarm before entered for proletarian purposes, the for- them, don't paralyze your most effective mer entered for its own imperialist pur- force, the ceaseless irreconcilable struggle of the French workers for the overthrow of the French bourgeoisie, its army

"Assuming that the first country letarian power and the power of the revhas three-quarters of Africa whereas the second possesses one-quarter, and all lands. If we subordinate that that the objective meaning of their to diplomacy then the Comintern and war is the redivision of Africa, which the Soviet Union are indeed in danger.

racy (i.e., proletarian) either to help | This is no-time for panic. We must the first country to maintain its not exaggerate the degree to which the "right" to three-quarters of Africa, Comintern has gotten off the rails. Its or to help the second...." motives are those of unswerving loyalty 6. The bourgeoisie is no longer capable of progressive wars. Even the be counted on in fighting to correct its progressive wars when it was young and revolutionary and the leading class fight7. It is dangerous to accuse the Hiterarchy and we long to rest and celeing for progress, was now decrepit, deca- ler government controlled by Thyssen brate the victory already in sight in our

## To-day —one of the most important factors in world politics is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. What is the for-eign policy of the U.S.S.R.? What is its history, its back-ground? What are the world forces for war and peace with which it deals? And what are its relations to the

Jay Lovestone —has discussed these questions in a series of eight exhaustive articles in the Workers Age. Now they appear as a 32 page pamphlet that is equally invaluable to a student of world politics and to fighters in the world labor movement. It is called

## SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY and the WORLD REVOLUTION

international revolutionary movement?

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# HELP WANTED - YOUTH LABOR ONLY

With characteristic political acumen, the White House magician, Roosevelt, pulled another rabbit out of his political bag-the National Youth Administration On June 27, the press plastered the news throughout the nation. The conserva- Youth Under Codes tive press hailed the new venture in Following the order of June 1934, the glowing terms, altho here and there some Workers Age was the first publication nisgivings were voiced at the fact that to sound the alarm and forecast the re the new youth program is designed to sults of the fake apprentice program take care of only 520,000 youngsters of ("Youth Labor Under The Codes"). It a possible 8 million who are destitute. contention that the program was de To the romantic Daily Worker engaged signed to furnish a cheap labor supply, in boosting the stock of the American that it was anti-union in character, etc. Youth Congress, the venture was designed for the sole purpose of forestal-fact. One has but to glance at the ling "the effectiveness of the American pamphlet "What The Federal-State Ar Youth Congress movement which is cap- prentice Program Means To Employers. turing the imagination of young Amer- issued by the Federal Committee On Ap At the same time it notes that: prentice Training during April 1935, "This special \$50,000,000 fund for work become aware of the great menace i relief, although entirely inadequate com- this program to labor. Here are some pared to the many needs of the youth, highlights: IS A CONSIDERABLE CONCESSION, Who determines the program? ".

### Heart Of Program

50,000,000 dollars is to be set aside recommended to the members of the in for the National Youth Administration from the work-relief fund to carry out

1. To find employment in private industry for unemployed youth. 2. To train and retrain young people

employment opportunities. 3. To provide for continuing atten dance at high school and college.

designed to meet the needs of youth. The careful observer, who has folindustry, to be exploited as the cheapest labor supply,—this lies beneath the seem—union men, return of sweatshop condiingly "humanitarian" intent of the ver- tions. The garment, textile and shoe complete training of apprentices on the job." To this end the Secretary of Labor was authorized to establish in each state a committee on apprentice training to cooperate with the Federal Government. Such committees now exist in practically every state of the union. This by the American Federation of Labor and many of its dignitaries found places on

### Youth For Sale

With the advent of the Federal Apprenticeship Act in June 1934, many lucrative avenues were opened for alert industrialists. They could hire youngsters at rates below the prevailing code minimums, they could retain whatever apprentice racket they had retained from ducted a vigorous and justified campaign the pre-code days. In the wake of this against International Social Democracy. 1934, came a mad scramble of manufacone hand the treacherous position of the existence of the C.P.O. turers setting-up "schools," came a wave majority of the Social Democratic par-

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## Analyzing the Program of the National Youth Administration

number of trade associations and code authorities are now preparing in coopera tion with the Federal Committee, de tailed training programs which will be

but fail to observe that there is a singular lack of newness, originality or "conlession" in this program. It is rather extension of activities that were undertaken early in the New Deal's history.

The significance of the program, the heart of the program, is to be found in the significance of the program, is to be found in the significance of the program, is to be found in the significance of the program, is to be found in the eat of the min to prentices with average workers were "apprentices" with average of \$9.50 to \$10.00. At the end of 1934 the company showed a director; but the indictment against the Bureau is strengthened by this admission of conniving for the sweatshops.

Godman Shoe Co. of Columbus, Ohio, opened a branch plant in Xenia, Ohio, a town full of unemployed skilled shoe workers were "apprentices" with average of \$9.50 to \$10.00. At the end of 1934 the company showed a such plant in Xenia, Ohio, a town full of unemployed skilled shoe the program is not opened a branch plant in Xenia, Ohio, a town full of unemployed skilled shoe the program is not opened a branch plant in Xenia, Ohio, a town full of unemployed skilled shoe the program is not opened a branch plant in Xenia, Ohio, a town full of unemployed skilled shoe the program is not opened a branch plant in Xenia, Ohio, a town full of unemployed skilled shoe the program is not opened a branch plant in Xenia, Ohio, a town

that it meets the approval of the Bureau of Education are having a survey tion to study the apprenticeship ques-United States government. In none of these Mississippi schools about which I have information has there MIND OF USING IT IN OTHER SECbeen any other 'education.' Strictly TIONS OF THE COUNTRY." Later it off a blow aimed at its vitals—sweatspeaking there have been no 'schools'! reported that the Bureau was making shops, youth as union-breakers! It can The training place was the factory, or motion pictures of the "school" for show- win youth for unionism by fighting for a building ultimately used as such, and the teachers were foremen or of vocational education! mechanics supplied by the textile When the United Shoe & Leather commpanies.

move from other parts of the coun-

ustry...." story: In October 1934, John Wilshear,
Length of apprentice period. "The
G. K. Hamill and Joseph E. Brodinsky apprentice period shall be not less than investigated the shoe industry of east rn Massachusetts, an area more union-

What wages for apprentices? "Ap- ized than any other sector of the indusprentices are to be paid a starting wage try, and found "That the apprentice for industrial, technical and professional of not less than 25% of the basic rate clause had been violated by employing for journeymen, as determined by the more apprentices than is provided in the State Committee upon recommendation Boot and Shoe Code." But nothing was of the trade advisory committee of the ever done about it. The Craddock-Terry 4. To provide work relief on projects at least 50% of this basic rate."

Shoe Company of Lynchburg, Virginia, once on the verge of bankruptcy, opened Private Programs. "A number of in- a branch factory in Farmville in July dustrial firms, and many collective bar- 1934. At another "school" 75% of the lowed the New Dealers' policies, cannot gaining agreements, have established ap- workers were "apprentices" with average

heart of the program, is to be found in the first two points of the program. An workers; the provision for only 5% of the working force permissible for ap-

biage of the first two points. Moreover, it is but an extension of the exterities already carried on since June 1934, when the President of the United States by the President of the Government's Hand Exposed

In 1934 the Philos Shoe Company was in Detroit which resulted in agents of the dearth of "safe" workers in Detroit which resulted in Detroit which Executive order requested the Secretary this "racket for the benefit of garment of Labor to organize the rederal Comand textile manufacturers," paints a was very unsatisfactory to the firm, so "Their number in Detroit is variously posing the Lovestonites as Communists

Were intermediated to the Secretary this "racket for the benefit of garment was very unsatisfactory to the firm, so "Their number in Detroit is variously posing the Lovestonites as Communists of the Progressian Com

> of workers who have been "taught" school" is operating at full capacity and because "they have had no close contact at no cost to the company for from several hundred skilled Salem shoe work- with modern industry or with labor no knowledge of what are our necessities six to twelve weeks and then to employed.
>
> ploy them as learners, at the learner's ers are unemployed.
>
> This "shoe school" has been approved qualification."
>
> In the industry. These five are members of the Lovestone-group "Communist Par"

Workers Union protested to the Bureau Toy Workers Plan "Vocational 'education' means noth- and presented factual evidence that the ing but training girls to perform a "school" was a fraud, that it was de single operation at a machine at pub-signed as a sweatshop, the Bureau dislic expense, and it is offered as one claimed any responsibility, refused to inof the inducements to factories to vestigate, and tacitly continued its en-

sure the details of this financial ar- ers' Union.

Very truly yours, J. C. WRIGHT, Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education"

The shoe industry shows hundreds of tional education," although that can easily be had should the auto czars ever ask for it. Louis Adamic has recently

mittee of Apprentice Training. Osten-sibly, the purpose of the apprentice order was "to replace haphazard and poorly organized training with systematic and organized training with systematic and organized training of apprentice or derest of the apprentice or derest of the apprentice or derest organized training with systematic and organized training of apprentice or derest of the union and the Progressive Group. They said in one of their two delays of the apprentice or derest of the union and the Progressive Group. They said in one of their two delays of the apprentice or derest of the union and the Progressive Group. They said in one of them coming weekly...." Why? Because they are leaflests: "In the advisor of the union which have the low wages, and they went to Bangor, Maine, and with they went to Bangor, Maine, and with they went to Bangor, Maine, and with destinated as between fifteen and thirty in control of the Union and the Progressive Group. They said in control of the Union and the Progressive Group. They said in control of the Union and the Progressive Group. They said in control of the Union and the Progressive Group. They said in control of the Union and the Progressive Group. They said in control of the Union and the Progressive Group. They said they went to Bangor, Maine, and with they went to Bangor, Maine, and with destination of the Union and the Progressive Group. They said they went to Bangor, Maine, and with they went to Bangor, Maine, and with destination of the Union and the Progressive Group. They said they went to Bangor, Maine, and with they went to

In The C.P.O. Pre-Convention Discussion

## BEWARE OF HASTY CONCLUSIONS Slate was not elected the Union would go to the dogs. Because of this consciousness the Progressive Group was

By K. KALMEN

The Communist movement has from the first moment of its existence con-The basis for this campaign was, on the sions are of vital importance to the very tionary way as the only way out.

icies and is embarking on one, which in tionary International." many respects, at least after a superficial analysis, does not differ fundamentally

## BRADLEY'S ... .. CAFETERIA

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rom the traditional Social Democratic, ity, necessitated and prompted in its

of a coalition government in France indicate that the C.I. has broken with the traditional and correct Communist polynomial and correct Communist polynomial in ambarbing on one which in

Would it be correct on our part to ake this position? Is it correct to classify the present policy of the French and Czechoslovakian parties as "Social chauvinism"? In my opinion it is not only ncorrect but also confusing and mis-

While the practical results of this policy may lead to the same conclusions as that of the Social Democratic parties the position of the Communist Parties still flows from an international orienta tion, is a result of their devotion to the cause of proletarian solidarity, possibly alsely conceived, but still based on the desire and intention of defending the U.S.S.R., the only fortress of growing soialist construction. The position of the Social Democratic parties, however, was the result of their leaders' desire to preserve the rule of their own respective oourgeoisie under the cover of vague and meaningless slogans of "Democracy vs Teutonian barbarism" or "Culture vs Czarism."

The same applies to the "Peoples Front" slogan of the C.I. While the C.P. sees the possibility of collaborating with radical-bourgeois parties it faces his only as a temporary phase of activ

While our draft resolution correctly The 5th convention of the C.P.O. must weeks before the election. 1934, came a mad scramble of manufacturers setting-up "schools," came a wave of older workers fired from industry and replaced by younger men and women. Wages of \$3 to \$8 per youngster per week. "Apprentice training," "schools"—this became the disguise for a great revival of the sweatshop. Timidly labor unions, A. F. of L. and otherwise, protested and then continued to endorse the "apprentice program."

While our draft resolution correctly attacks the present false position of the c.P.O. must ties at the outbreak of the world war, in refusing to work for the transformation of the cli. It falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the present false position of the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating the c.I. it falls in one respect—namely in sharply differentiating t with radical bourgeois parties thereby blurring the sharp lines of the class struggle.

"lesser evil" policy then both the C.I. and the L.S.I. are guilty of betraying the interests of the international working class and the only correct and logical conclusion would be: "The second and overtures of Thorez for the formation third Internationals are dead as instruction."

"lesser evil" policy then both the C.I. the demarcation line between the C. I. elected Progressive Administration real and the L.S.I., and beware of hasty and izes these dangers and I am confusing conclusions or even expressions, which are incompatible with the opposition, to smash the Union. In order to defeat all enemies of the Union, both inside and outside, the Pro-

### Convention Discussion Gets Under Way

The pre-convention discussion of the Communist Opposition has gotten under way in real earnest. Arrangenents for discussion meetings witl Buro reporters are being made for Hartford, Boston, Buffalo and the Anhracite. On July 28 Edward Welsh led the discussion at the meeting of the Philadelphia organization. On July 31 Bert Wolfe led off the discussion in the New York units by reporting before Down Town No. Discussion will be continued at the following meeting.

The following additional meeting: n**a**ve been arranged:

Bronx Unit, Wednesday August 7 8 P.M. Reporter-B. Herman.

Harlem Unit, Thursday, August 8, 8 P.M. Reporter—D. Benjamin. Down Town Unit No. 2, Thursday, August 8, 8 P.M. Reporter-G. F. Miles.
Youth Section, Wednesday, Aug.

14, 8 P.M. Reporter-Will Herberg. All members of the Communist Party (Opposition) are urged to attend their unit meetings.

Labor Threatened
These facts expose the core of the plans of Roosevelt's Youth Administration. I can discover no "concession" to

either youth or adult workers in this reduced wage scale. And because a by Stephen E. Patrick, Maine's director worker has learned a single operation at a machine and is qualified for a \$9
proved by the U. S. Bureau of Education. The impotency, the cringing nature of the A. F. of L. leadership has in this a-week learner's job, this training is called education, with the suggestion Making, reports: "The United States Despite instructions of the last Convencase, too, been all too clearly revealed.

The readers of the Workers Age are well-informed by this time about the "In reading the clippings attached shameful and unprincipled block the C.P. to your letter it seems to us that they refer to the moving of plants from order to defeat the Progressive Adminone State to another, and the raising istration. In their attempt to do so, they of funds by local groups to encourage have not stopped at anything but never industries to locate in their midst. before has the party in any Union sunk We do not know anything about the to such a low level in order to get confinancial arrangements made by these trol of the Union as they did in the recities. As I stated above, I feel quite |cent elections of the Doll & Toy Work-

rangement and the organization of Before the elections the "Rank and File the school can be secured from Mr. Group" started a slanderous campaign against the Progressive Administration. When the Union was involved in a general strike of the stuffed toy workers last February, these "Rank & Filers" instead of helping the Union in its good they succeeded in forming a block with elements much worse than the C.P. allies

The issues raised against the Progressive Administration are in many ways the same as in Local 22. They raised the of the Lovestone-group 'Communist Party', so you see our Progressive group is

The Doll and Toy Workers proved in scious of the fact that if the Progressive sciousness the Progressive Group was

elected three to one. Now that the elections are over one would think that these big revolutionists would act like Union men by stopping eyes by the avalanche of fascism. At the slanders against the Union—this is the same time the C.I. does not in any not the case. They are still spreading A correct analysis of this new situa- way renounce Communist revolutionary the same lies and slanders against the tion and correctly formulated conclu- principles and still proclaims the revolu- Administration under the excuse that the election was stolen. As a matter of fact according to them the election was stole

gressive Administration will have to do the following: 1. To further develop union consciousness in the membership.

2. Continue the good organization work of the past.

3. To develop a systematic educational program.

4. Draw all honest workers into the activity of the Union.
5. It will also be the job of the Progressives to strengthen the Progressive Group, which is very much responsible for the victories won in the Union in

the last short period of time. If this constructive program is carried out systematically, with the help of all honest union men, success is guaranteed

WORKER STABBED BY GARVEYITE AT MEETING

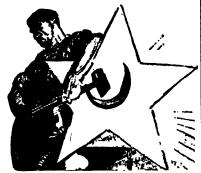
Louis Jordan, Negro worker, member of the Workers Unemployed Union and also of the Communist Party (Opposition) was brutally assaulted and stabbed four times by one of a group of Garvey-

The attack occurred during a meeting of the Workers Unemployed Union at 134th Street and Lenox Ave. Crying "chase the Reds out of Harlem" this group of Garveyites began by throwing missiles at the speakers and ended by stabbing Jordan and breaking up the meeting. Comrade Jordan is still confined to the Harlem Hospital.

## WORKERS

Organ of the National Committee Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-8908

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Saturday, August 10, 1935.

## Olgin Takes Class Struggle **Out of the United Front**

How rapidly the Communist Party, which only yesterday was committed to the most fantastic ultra-leftism, is now sinking in the swamps of the rottenest opportunism, can be seen from the article by M. J. Olgin in the Freiheit of July 25, 1935. One need not be a prophet to foretell that this article will probably constitute an important landmark in the history of the opportunist degeneration of the C.P. now under way. therefore, that its significance should not be missed, we want to call particular at tention to some of its leading ideas.

It is well known that Olgin is now engaged in administering a stern rebuke to the "hot-headed young left wingers" whose training in the Madison Square Garden school led them to create a disturbance at the recent Jewish conference at the Pennsylvania Hotel. The article referred to is intended to serve as the theoretical foundation for the rebuke and it is therefore entitled: "The United Front-What It Is and What It Is Not." We are not concerned so much with the glib superficialities that in Olgin's writing always take the place of thought; we are concerned primarily with the very startling conception of the united front that emerges from this article.

The united front, Olgin assures us very learnedly, is not a "party"; it is not a "block"; it is not even a "political alliance." "The united front,' he finally concludes, "is the coming together of various social groups in order to carry out a certain action at a certain time. Note carefully: "a coming together of various social groups. . . . " For Olgin, classes have already ceased to exist and class distinctions are of no account. His "united front" is composed simply of "social groups"—a term that covers anything and everything, patriotic societies trade unions, churches, political parties, chambers of commerce and who knows what else! What has this in common with the united front in the Leninist sense? What has this in common with the con ception of the united front as a united labor front, as a "coming together" of workers' organizations of various viewpoints for a common purpose? Olgin's formulation is not the result of more ignorance nor is it due to the confusion of the united front with alliances of the proletariat and non-proletarian sections of the toiling masses. No! It is deliberate repudiation of the class base of the united front in the interests of the opportunist adventurism of the "people's

argument:

"In the united front, it is not a question of parties. One can be a Republican, or a Democrat or a Socialist or a Communist—but if he is ready for a certain social action . . . he can be a partner in the united front."

Here we have the old ultra-leftist united front from below" resurrected for the sake of bolstering up the op-portunist "people's front!" Isn't it about time for Olgin to find out that a united front is not made up of individuals but of organizations, that only organizations can be "partners" in a united front? And, in any united front that is to serve the class interests of labor, organizations of an officially capitalist character, Republican and Democratic organizations, in particular, have no place! What is Olgin planning—a "people's front" in this country to include Republican and Democratic clubs, Representa-tive Marcantonio, General Smedley But-ler and "Father" Devine?

But Olgin does not keep on guessing. He blurts it right out:

"Let us imagine that Herbert Hoover would want to join the united front of protest against Nazi terror. Let us imagine that, in the united front, there would also be war veterans who would remember how Hoover ordered the bonus marchers to be shot. If the veterans should utilize the united front conference to demonstrate against Hoover for his brutal action against the bonus veterans, how would they look? They would be disrupters."

This is nothing short of monstrous. Our "Communist" strategist is already at the point where he can well imagine Herbert Hoover in his "united front" He is already scolding the veterans for terday. In the recent election in the booing Hoover at such a united front Doll and Toy Union in New York the meeting! What a miserable farce! Any C.P. people allied themselves with a united front in which Herbert Hoover, the representative of the most vicious enemies of the working class in this country, could participate, would be no place for any labor organization or for any decent, forward-looking man or woman, for that matter! This Olgin has the audacity to prate about "class col-laboration" in the unions at the same time that he brazenly blesses the grossest form of class collaboration conceivable! Imagine a person of this type lecturing the veterans as "disrupters" for very properly demonstrating against Hoover on each and every occasion pos-

This is what the Communist Party has Olgin proceeds along the same line of come to, in the words of the editor of its most influential paper, the Freiheit.

# **WORKERS AGE SUMMER DRIVE**

August 1 finds the \$1500 summer sus-, Anonymous (thru Ellen Ward) ...10.00 taining fund uncompleted but within easy reach. The campaign committee has therefore decided to give our com rades in New York and out of town on more week in which to cash in on their pledges. We are certain that the ap proximately \$300 still to be raised car be secured within one week if our cam paign committees in the various unit get busy now. The same applies to work on collection lists. We are glad to se that a large number of workers in vari ous trade unions have made contribution on collection lists. We believe that this field for funds to assure the uninter rupted appearance of Workers Age during the summer, has not yet been ex

We urge all comrades and friends to speed the work and end the drive within

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AT FIRST GLANCE (Continued from Page 1)

ment, which is so bankrupt, look into the proposition of taxing the Trinity Church and all other religious institu-tions in order to get more money for meeting the mounting relief bills and in order to end the pestiferous sales tax. We are not optimistic about the fate A. R. .....10.00 awaiting our suggestion.

## TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F MILES FAIRY TALES FOR INFANTILE COMMUNISTS

It was to have been expected that the Seventh Comintern Congress would be forced to take note of the gradual and piecemeal change which its own trade union line has undergone during the last period of time but we confess that the cynical and sycophantic manner in which this was done amazes even us who should by this time be pretty well hardened to the wiles of Comintern diplomacy.

Is there, anywhere in the Comintern, a Pioneer so naive as to believe that the break with the historical Leninist approach to the trade unions came about n 1929 without the knowledge of Stalin? Apparently Pieck would have us think so for he maintains just that in his speech at the Congress. For a period of six years, we are told, the Parties of the Comintern cheerfully continued to smash the reformist unions, painfully con-structed model, brand new, revolutionary unions and ruefully watched these same unions disappear almost as fast as they were built.

All this time, mind you, Stalin was opposed to these goings-on but being very tender in his relations to his comrades in other parties he did not have the heart to call them to order for having forgotten the excellent advice which he supposedly gave them in 1925. This is of course in line with the very comradely treatment which Stalin is known to have meted out to all comrades in the Russian and other parties who disagreed with him from time to time. Such at least is the fairy tale for infantile communists which Wilhelm Pieck would have us believe

"There were cases of brilliant organizational work but there was underestimation of the fact which Stalin emphasized in 1925—that the average vorker saw his safety in the Trade Unions, be they good or bad; in the United States for a long time Communists considered the American Federation of Labor as only a strikebreaking organization and saw only Green and such leaders and overlooked the average member." (I Worker, Monday, July 29, 1935).

Stalin, you see, was right all the time. It was only a few Communists here and there who made these mistakes. How Lozovsky must have smiled in his beard while this was being said!

SOME C. P. GUTTER POLITICS

From day to day the Communist Party continues, to the amazement of all, to reach and surpass its stupidities of yes-In the recent election in the group of disgruntled individuals who attempted to make of the union a racket for themselves and issued election material of such scandalous character as to

challenge belief. These great revolutionists did not hesitate to use the cry of Communists in their appeal to the Catholic workers in the union. Speaking of the leading members in the progressive administration this document says: "These five are members of the Lovestone Group 'Communist Party', so you see this progressive group is under the directions of Communist leaders..."

If this be not enough they go on to make the most slanderous charges against one of the most active officials in the union. These sterling Commu-nists proceed to say about him: "Also, we do not want to disclose or mention what kind of relation he had with the boys that were working with him, one thing we are sure, that he is not a normal man."

We could go on with other equally edifying excerpts were it not for our revulsion against the slanders of these degenerate illiterates posing as Com-

SPLITTERS BID FOR POWER

Within the next several weeks the fur workers will be called upon to vote for officers. In the course of the last several weeks it has already become clear that Gold and his clique have learned very little. They have begun a campaign of extermination against all in the union who refuse to bend the knee to the will of King Gold. The old methods of "buying and selling" are being resorted to in the hectic drive of Gold to return to power.

It is up to the workers to put the disrupters like Gold in their proper place where they can no longer sow division

# Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

Murray, John Middleton Murry, N. A. Holdaway, and G. D. H. Cole. Wiley. 245pp., \$2.00.

John Middleton Murry sets the tone

for this symposium by contributing an introduction on "Marxism in General" and more than a third of the total work. This is unfortunate for his associates, especially for Professor MacMurray, since John Middleton Murry is a bit daft and his official omnipresence in the book causes an unmerited reflection on the company he keeps. Cole's revisionism is more subtle and restrained than usual, N. A. Holdaway offers what in the main is intended as an orthodox Marxian presentation of economics, and Professor MacMurray has contributed a really good article on materialism, but over the whole work hovers the puckish spirit of John Middleton Murry and his cretin opportunism dressed up in the giant's clothes of revolutionary Marxism.

Murry devotes his efforts to an at empt to demonstrate that Marxism is "true Christianity"; that price to the Marxist "is an illusion"; that Marxism in England will not be a working-class loctrine but a classless one to win the 'elite of all classes," but probably never the labor movement or the unconscious masses; that "to be successful in this country a Marxian socialist movement will have to be, substantially, a move-ment of converted bourgeois"; that the Trade Unions are "bound to become increasingly conservative or bourgeois"; that Britain has nothing to learn from in England requires a "gradual and democratic evolution into State-Capitalism" with the hope that it may eventually evolve into Socialism without the master class realizing it and using force against

Cole, like Murry, is obsessed by the importance of the middle-class in England and insists that "Marxism" must reject "Russian Communism" in England or the English co-publisher, will arrange since Communism is predicated on "a to reprint it as a separate pamphlet.

MARXISM, A Symposium by John Mac- | working class with nothing to lose but its chains." But as he is far less illiterate than Murry, Cole's contribution almost sounds Marxist by contrast.

Holdaway's chapters on the "Economic Basis of Marxism" obviously intend to present Marxian economics, but they suffer from too much a priori "demonof economic phenomena because dialectics "requires" them to be so, are one-sided and inadequate, overcomplicate certain simple things and over-simplify certain complicated ones. As a whole they would explain very little to one not understanding Marxian economics in advance, and would rather tend to instil doubt and confusion than understanding and conviction.

On the other hand, Professor John MacMurray's section on "Philosophical Presuppositions" is an excellent presentation of some of the implications of the dialectic materialist conception of the unity of thought and action, of theory and practice. It gives a brief and brilliant critique of idealism from the standpoint of its function as an unconscious maker or mismaker of history and brake on social change; an original presenta-tion from the same standpoint, of some of the defects of mechanism and pragmatism; a clarification of the Marxist use of the term ideology and of the so-cial functions of ideologies. It is weak and trivial on the score of dialectics, but despite certain errors of formulation, strong and even original in its presentation and clarification of the points that Britain has nothing to the solution in the Soviet Union because it already posesses modern industry; that "Marxism" worth reading. It is unquestionably the in England requires a "gradual and debest academic presentation of Marxist philosophy so far made in the Anglo-American world. It is unfortunately likely to be misjudged as a result of the "company it keeps." Even if that be company, of Professor MacMurray's choosing and indicative of where he

## Navy Threatens Intervention In Camden Shipyard Strike

in the strike of the shipworkers in the Camden yard. There where the Navy Department has placed an order for 7 war ships, the workers have struck for a liv ing wage.

The Navy Department, the government officially, has begun negotiations with the company to attempt to settle the strike. In plain words this means that the armed forces of the government may be called into play. This would not be a mere repetition of the calling out of the National Guard in recent strikes. In those situations the government posed as a defender of law and order, an impartial arbiter. Here the Navy is the government, the customer, the armed force, and the open strikebreaker. If this prece dent is set, the War Department could insist on smashing a strike in the auto in dustry on the grounds that the delivery of army trucks was being held up.

The government, in its march towards super-militarization, is out to smash not merely anti-war sentiment, but the real basis of an anti-war struggle—the or-ganized workers at the key points of portunist and chauvinist degeneration war industry. No method will be left untried. Henry Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, said that so far there had been no requests for an investigation to determine whether "Reds" were behind the strike. "But," he said, "if the situation grows critical, the Navy will make such an investigation."

The attitude of a decisive group was clearly expressed by Rep. Fenerty of Pennsylvania, who said: "The Cramps shipyard has been too long ignored. there are no labor conditions at the yard of a kind to halt the progress of the

No conditions for the workers, no union to fight for and hold conditions this determines the government's labor policy. The military program of imperialist America not only in the long run spells disaster for the American workers, but in its immediate implications is a threat to unionism. Here is plainly written the opposition between the interests of the capitalist government and the workers.

One force can—if it will try its strength—stop this. The A. F. of L.

The strikebreaking role of the gov-1 must raise its voice in vigorous protest ernment is nowhere so clearly exposed as at this most dangerous and reactionary step of the New Deal capitalists against the trade union movement.

## Seventh C.I. Congress

(Continued from Page 2)

Lines are changed, made wrong, corrected, made wrong in new directions, from above, mechanically, without consultation. Mechanical transference is condemned at last in words, but persists in deeds, transference from Soviet diplomacy to French revolutionary struggle, from France to all lands. Even if there were no new errors, there could be no health till that regime were altered.

But today there are new errors, errors involving fundamentals, not tactics, errors which if persisted in, systematized and carried out in action, will provoke the gravest crisis the working class has known since August 4, 1914.

Now it is the duty of every loyal Communist to take up the fight to prevent this danger. It overshadows all others. portunist and chauvinist degeneration should not take as long as the not yet completed six year struggle against sectarianism. It is easier to convince revolutionaries, and the loyalites are revolutionaries, on basic principles than on problems of strategy and tactics. It dare not last so long. But it must be much more intense. Time presses. History cries aloud for a sound stand on these questions. Every day's delay is dangerous. Tomorrow, the day after, there will, there must be unity on revolutionary principles, on healthy organization, on sound tactics. But today, now, every revolutionist, every loyal Communist must rally to the Communist Opposition for an uncompromising, irreconcilable, hard-hitting struggle against the poison of opportunism before it gets absorbed into the system of the International and destroys it as the organism of revolutionary struggle. That is the task set by the Seventh Congress deliberations as so far recorded. That is the road, the only road, to Communist unity and vic-

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