Five Cents

BALANCE SHEET OF COMINTERN WAR POSITION

By JAY LOVESTONE

Our examination of certain Pravda editorials, Pieck's report to the Seventh Congress, recent declarations and practices of the French, American and other sections of the CI reveals the following types of errors in the Comintern's posi-

tion towards a "mixed war":

1. There is a tendency to consider the specific form of bourgeois state—the form of the capitalist dictatorship—as a factor in determining the Communist attitude to war. There is talk about defending the "democracies" against German Fascist attacks. Especially crude has been such propaganda by Czecho-Slovakia's official Communists. This practice can only play into the hands of the bourgeoisie in the so-called democratic republics momentarily in conflict with German imperialism.

2. The proposal—open and concealed to make the attitude of the working class in any particular country dependent on the momentary military relations of the capitalist government in that country. Here we have the utterly fallacious theory that imperialist governments which, for one reason happen to be in a military pact with the U.S.S.R., will be waging-under the latter circumstances—a progressive war. This evaluation is a direct concession to social patriotism. If one is to conclude that the French imperialist government wages a progressive war merely because its armies are, for the moment, firing against the same trench lines as the oviet's Red Army is, then he would likewise have to come to the conclusion that the Soviet Union's military association with the French imperialist army makes the U.S.S.R.'s war reactionary. This approach is inverted Trotskyism The fact that the Soviets are momentarily on the side of France does not in the least make French capitalism less imperialist, does not lend a progressive character to the French war, does not endow the French ruling class with revo lutionary objectives. Likewise, the fact that the U.S.S.R. is temporarily on the side of France does not make it imperialist, does not mean that the Soviet Union is waging a reactionary, an imperialist war.

3. Any move by a section of the CI towards a policy of even limited national defense in an imperialist country is in jurious to the interests of the entire international proletariat. This is so reCorrection of War Stand Necessary Now - Before It Is Too Late

gardless of the noble motive that may of the war, are idiotic and criminal inspire such action, despite the fact that 5. By way of omission and comthis policy of national defense on a limitdestroy the very basis of class organizathe capitalist country in question. Hence such "aid" robs the Soviet proletariat of its only reliable ally in the revolutionary war the U.S.S.R. is waging.

4. The CI also makes a very serious

mistake in its exaggeration of the vitality of bourgeois democracy in the present tense international situation. The very seriousness of the menace of war is itself a great stimulus to the setting up of a Fascist regime in those countries today subject to the bourgeois democratic form of rule. In order to wage their imperialist war most effectively, the French bourgeoisie, for instance, mut have unquestionable political control. The best basis for such control is the fascist set-up. In the light of this, proposals for cleansing the French

5. By way of omission and commission the CI today maneuvers with a ed scale is resorted to as a means of hasic Leninist principle in its attitude helping the U.S.S.R. Such means are and policy towards a mixed war. In the suicidal. In a fundamental sense they discussion preceding the Seventh World are harmful to the most vital interests Congress, Comrade Bela Kun revealed of the Soviet Union itself. Such means as much when he said: "It would be un-Marxian to attempt to work out now in tion and aspiration of the proletariat in the capitalist country in question. Hence in the event of such a war—a war in which one or several capitalist countries fight together with the Soviet Union against a Fascist-led group of imperialist powers." (Communist International No. 15). At best, this is a lame excuse. It is not at all a question of details. It is the very essence and substance of the

> Particularly, because this is a new and complicated problem for the proletariat is it necessary now-while we still have a little time-to think our way through. How else can we Communists develop sound strategy! Why postpone till it will surely be too late? Would Comrade Kun perhaps tell the proletar-

strategy to be pursued by Communists

in the event of such a mixed war that

Bela Kun wants us to dismiss, to dodge,

the great, the good and the wise Comrade Stalin will show you the light when the fateful hour of war strikes'? We know -and Comrade Kun and his comrades certainly should and must know-better than to rely on such fatalistic, idol-worshipping, un-Marxian methods of solving the most burning questions confronting the world proletariat.

WHAT THE CONGRESS DID AND DIDN'T DO.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that this spirit of evasion characterized the Seventh Congress deliberations and decisions—especially of the problems flowing out of a mixed war. That is why the various sections have been making the crassest opportunist errors in this field since the Congress closed. Add to this the failure of the Congress to repudiate unreservedly the errors being perpetrated for months by various Communists Parties, under ECCI instruction and we have an almost perfect setting for a major disaster befalling not only the Communist but the entire labor movement.

The Seventh Congress resolution on general staff of fascist officers, as a price or excuse for proletarian support iat: "Don't worry, dear class comrades, pledges to "strive for the transformation"

against the fascist instigators of war. against the bourgeoisie, for the over-throw of capitalism" This is fine in general. The resolution, however, is far more defective than the report of Comrade Ercoli: In view of what the French and other Communist Parties have been doing before and since the Congress, we consider it a costly mistake for the resolution to omit the following declaration of policy by Comrade Ercoli in his re-

"To those who demanded the cessation of the Communist struggle on the basis of the pacts with the Soviet Union, the Communist Parties replied: No, gentlemen. You have concluded a conditional and limited pact with the ruling working class of the Soviet Union. But you have not signed any pact with the working class of our country. We have no gaurantee that your class army will not be sent against the working class and against the colonial peoples, or that you will not force the poor population to pay the expense of the army and not the rich: we have no control over the expenditure decreed by the reactionary General Staff, nor have we any guarantee that you will keep the pact. This does not mean that we take no interest in the pact. We shall defend the pact as an instrument in the struggle for peace, and stigmatise every attempt to violate the obligations which it imposes." (Inprecor, Vol. 15, No. 39, P. 1023).

Organically bound up with this error of omission is the following extremely serious positive mistake in the Congress war resolution: "If any weak state is attacked by one or more big imperialist powers which want to destroy its national independence and national unity or to dismember it, as in the historic instance of the partition of Poland, a war conducted by the national bourgeoisie of such a country to repel this attack assumes the character of a war of liberation in which the working class and the Communists of the country cannot abstain from intervening. It is the task of the Communists of such a country, while carrying on an irreconcilable struggle to safeguard the economic and political positions of the workers, toiling peasants and national minorities, to be, at the same time, in the front ranks of

the fighters for national independence (Continued on Page 3)

AN UNANSWERED LETTER

October 1, 1935.

The following letter, addressed to the Communist Party, has gone unanswered. However, believing that we have a contribution to make in the discussion on the 7th Congress, we will print in the next issue of Workers Age, the speech which Comrade Jay Lovestone would have made at the Madison Square Garden meeting.

Earl Browder, General Secretary Communist Party, U.S.A. 50 East 13 Street New York City.

Dear Comrade Browder: Comrade Dimitroff, in his summary remarks to the 7th

World Congress of the Communist International, declared: 'We want the workers who belong to the Second International and the Amsterdam International and those workers who belong to other political organizations to discuss these resolutions with us; to bring us their practical proposals and supplementary pro-posals, to try to think of the best methods of applica-

tion and to join us hand in hand to carry them out in practice."

We are prepared to aid in carrying out Comrade Dimitroff's proposal. We hope you will do the same. Therefore, in immediate application of the above, we propose that you grant us a speaker from the platform at your Madison Square Garden meeting (October 3) at which you will report on the 7th Congress of the CI.

No doubt you are aware of the fact that we have a number of valuable suggestions and criticisms in regard to the deliberations and decisions of the 7th Congress. A comradely, frank, constructive discussion of the Communist Party and Communist Party (Opposition) viewpoints is the best guarantee for the realization of sound revolutionary theory and practise.

We hope to hear favorably from you without delay in view of the shortness of time at hand before the meeting. With Communist greetings,

Jay Lovestone, Secretary, COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION)

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

A. F. L. CONVENES, PLANS DRIVE AGAINST RADICALS; ITALY BEGINS SLAUGHTER OF ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE; VAN SWERINGENS BUY BACK A RAIL EMPIRE.

Italy's War for Colonial Booty May Involve the Whole of Europe

ROME, Italy.—The fall of Adowa and Adigrat have been announced by Italian authorities. This came after four days of severe fighting in which Ethiopian forces held out against forces much their superior in equipment and arms.

Mussolini has also let it be known that he has not given up hope of convincing the British that their interests in Ethiopia are not in danger. Con-

WASHINGTON, D. C .- President Roosevelt has issued a proclamation warning American citizens against traveling on the vessels of any belligerent nation. The President expressed his determination to keep the U.S.A. from being involved. Thus for the second time do we see a Democratic President begin his campaign for reelection with the promise to keep us out

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.—The Soviet Union has expressed itself sharply and categorically against the dismemberment of Ethiopia and against the League of Nations taking over Ethiopia under mandate.

AGGRESSOR

months the political relationships of Europe are rocked to their very foundations. In the first case the revolt against the peace of Versailles came from the chief victim of Versailles—defeated Germany. Now the explosion comes from

the direction of one of the victorious Alliesfrom Italy, which after 17 years rises to protest against the mere crumbs it received for double-crossing the Entente. Sword in hand. fascist Italy proceeds. in the face of almost universal opposition, to cut for itself a slice of colonial booty. The re-

sult is the wholesale Mussoling slaughter of the practically unarmed and untrained Ethiop-

League Collapse

ian people.

Once again the League of Nations has illustrated before the whole world its impotence as an instrument for maintaining the peace of the world. Even when

For the second time in the last few such a leading imperialist power as nonths the political relationships of Eu-Great Britain, whose interests in Africa are being endangered by Italy's advance, mobilized world opinion against Italy, it did not stop the war. The urge for imperialist expansion is too great for an imperialist power to bow before an abstract principle.

What troubled Italy most was Great Britain's energetic military prepara-tions and the fear of military sanctions. The decision of the League of Nations committee to recognize Italy as the aggressor in Ethiopia, thus laying the basis for the invoking of sanctions, was expected by Italy. But the order "Avanti" was not flashed to the Italian troops oised ready for action in Eritrea until Mussolini received the assurances of the French Ambassador that France would not agree to military sanctions. It became clear to all that when France says "No" military action by the League of Nations was impossible.

Economic Sanctions

Economic sanctions will unquestionably be invoked. Great Britain is vitally interested in hampering Italy's campaign while the League of Nations must do clear. The report of the Executive Countions at issue, such as labor party, unly with anti-labor activities.

something to save its face. France, play- cil indicates that it desires to take a employment insurance and above all the ing an equivocal position because of its couple of steps backward. The report question of trade union democracy and simultaneous fear of both Italy and Gerthat Great Britain has also approached been forthcoming it can nevertheless be anticipated with a considerable degree unionists must have won the day by of accuracy. The U.S.A. will refuse to bringing great pressure to bear.

The threats of secession from the an approval of economic sanctions. That the Metal Trades Dep't, are indications Labor movement. there is little sympathy for Italy has become clear in many

Labor And Sanctions

The question of sanctions is causing much heated debate in the ranks of labor. In Great Britain the Trade Union Congress and the Congress of the British Labor Party have gone on record by an overwhelming vote, to support sanctions. Opponents of this policy have very correctly pointed out that this means taking sides in a conflict of imperialist powers-in this case Italy and Britain—and a pledge of support to the government in case war ensues. interesting sidelight in this relation is the fact that the Communist Party of Great Britain supports the extreme right in the labor movement. We note the same policy also in the U.S.A. A delegation from the American Youth Congress appeared before the State Department asking for sanctions against Italy.

SHARP STRUGGLES LOOM AT A. F. L. CONVENTION

The convention of the American Federation of Labor has gotten under way Monday morning in Atlantic City. While the delegates are busy listening to speeches by city, state and federal officials, let us briefly mention the issues which will likely raise the temperature of the convention.

Industrial Unionism

That this will be the central issue is

states that results in organizing in the many, has agreed to the use of econ-omic sanctions. It has become known favorable that no other organizational forms need be looked for. our State Department for a stand on this constitutes a retreat from the po-economic sanctions. Altho no reply has sition taken by the San Francisco convention and indicates that the craft

of the widespread campaign against in-

On the other hand it is well known that the proponents of vertical unionism have also been busy organizing their forces. However, it is not at all excluded that another compromise resolution may emerge from this convention

Drive Against Radicals

The report of the Executive Council shows that the A. F. of L. has learned from the decisions of the British Trade Union Congress recently held at Margate. The Executive Council proposes to apply what the British trade unionists call the "black circular".

The Council recommends the adop-

tion of an amendment to the constitution of the Federation providing that:

. . . no organization officered or controlled by communists, or any person espousing communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions . . . shall be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any central body, state federation of labor, national or international union connected with the AFL, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this

If adopted by the convention and executed strictly this amendment may lead to a period of mass expulsions and splitof the trade unions by the buro-

Progressives Face Test

autonomy. A number of delegations are appearing at the convention (auto, rubber, teachers) to test their rights and challenge the burocracy's efforts at restrictions.

The progressives will face a severe test. If they can find a common basis for working together there is the possi-bility of emerging from this convention (which gives promise of moving to the tions. However, the policy of neutrality and the embargo on trade with either of the contestants actually constitutes and in the other by John P. Frey of of reactionary policies in the American

THE VAN SWERINGENS REGAIN R.R. EMPIRE

The return of the far-flung rail empire to the Van Sweringens proves that the age of opportunity and advancement is not gone in the U.S.A. All you need -as in this case—is the mere pittance of \$3,000,000 to buy up railroads worth \$3,000,000,000 (three billion dollars).

Thus did the Van Sweringens return to the ownership of their railroads thru the "generosity" of Morgan who, having forced them into bankruptcy permitted no one else to bid against them in the auction sale. But what about the losses incurred by thousands of middle class people and better paid workers who invested in these roads? them the "generosity" of a J. P. Morgan & Co. does not extend.

Y. STATE PLANNING DEPT. OF JUSTICE

These days when radicals of even the extreme left are talking of the grand and glorious democratic institutions of these United States, it is not out of place to note that the State of New York is contemplating the establishment of a State Department of Justice.

Of course the reasons given are along the lines of curbing crime and racketeering but if the work of the Dewey Committee is any criterion it is safe to assume that if such a department were There will of course be other ques- established it would concern itself most-

By WILL HERBERG

tact, whatever the tactics of the mo

Now, it may be asked, of what real

consequence is all this, if things are

quite different in practise? But how

ish Socialism Backs Aims of the Empire In The Next Issue JAY LOVESTONE submits the speech which he did not make in Madison Square Garden. (See "An Unanswered Letter" on page one.) BERN BRANDON concludes his review **British Socialism Backs**

for his Majesty's Government: ented to his Majesty by the whole

The occasion was the Silver Jubilee of ers are not represented. the present decrepit incumbent on the throne of Britannia. The Tories had for of the "blessings" of democracy, there is months been developing an intense cam- further discrimination against the caste the monarchy, the Empire, etc, around the population, get about one-third of the Jubilee. Lansbury, leader of the Later the seats. The Moslems, on the other the seats. bor Opposition in the House of Commons rose to "second the motion on behalf of myself and my friends." In his second
Indians get about the same number of myself and my friends." In his second
Indians get about the same number of myself and my friends." In his second
Indians get about the same number of war, announced at the British Trade war, announced at the British Trade should be announced at the British Trade war, announced at the British Trade should be announced at the British Trade war, announced at the British Trade should be announced but previous to it. This transition is ship, in other words, that it is formed impossible if the C.P. confines itself to

ing speech he said in part: ... Years had taught him that, con- fourth of the population. tradictory as it might sound, the British the right to take part in the government of the country . . . the way that the Royal Family had concerned themselves with the general life of the people had done some thing to break down the feeling that more archy would preserve for ever the dom nation of class ... he was a socialist thru and thru but he always believed in the

imperialist oppression; this brazen condoning of the (imperialist) destiny of the

C. Control of the Ministry of Justice.

In all the weary months of debate over lower depths of shameful betrayal.

"Majesty's Opposition' has been merc- ed in the words of Lansbury: ly a shadow of, a tail of his Majesty's Jubilee can be paralleled by its attitude for instance on the Indian question.

THE INDIAN QUESTION

A new constitution has just been pro posed for India, supposedly a milestone on the way to complete independence. No more brazen fraud can be imagined

WORKERS · AGE ·

Organ of the National Committee
COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION) 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

Published every Saturday by the WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, the Post Office New York, N. Y., under the act March 3, 1879. Address mail to Box 68 Station "O" N. Y. C.

Vol. IV. No. 40. Sat. Oct. 12, 1935

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONORESS OF MARCH 3, 1933 Of Workers Age published weekly at New York, N. Y. for Oct. 1, 1935.
State of New York County of New York County of New York County of New York.
Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared E. David who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Workers Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, re-

der which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

E DAVID Purice Manual Action After that California speech at the San Diego exposition most of us are willing to concede that Dr. Weaver is Public Jackass No. 2. But more of that anon."

Cunningham has promised an article back to Embree saving the entire Nagro

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30 day of September, 1935.

September, 1935.

September, 1935.

E. DAVID, Business Manager. on the Negro press. He also related a press was turning against the Rosenvery choicy bit on Mr. William Pickens, wald crowd, and that only Pickens could SYDELL PERLOWITZ, Notary Public end man of the N.A.A.C.P. minstrels.

My commission expires Mar. 30, 1936.

It seems that Brother Pickens wants matter is that Pickens has written an

By JIM CORK
On May 6, 1935, Ramsay McDonald, are just as tight. Some salient facts ex-Labor hero, rose in the House of will prove the point:

Commons to move the following motion 1. Suffrage is based in the main property qualifications. At one fell "That an humble address be presented swoop three-quarters of the adult votto his Majesty on the occasion of the ing population are cut off. The chief twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession sufferers are of course the working masses, who have no representation Scores of millions of agricultural labor-

Constitution did work and the masses were Hoare knew what he was talking about when he said:

"I would ask honorable members to look very carefully at the proposals . . and if they analyze them, I think they will agree with me that it is almost impossible, short of a last like the they will be the short of the last like they are the short of the last like they are the short like they are the are they are the are they are the are they are the ar of a landslide, for the extremists to get control of the federal center."

see the British Commonwealth of Nations lead mankind from war and build up a new world based on cooperation and love." (All quotations from official House of Commons Report—Manchester Guard—veto of any acts, said veto to stand; ian—May 7).

The Labor Party officially approved become law without consent of the legthe Jubilee. It concurred in the vote to islature (which makes the legislature a appropriate £50,000 for Jubilee expennonentity at the very beginning); the asses and the National Executive sent out sumption by proclamation of all powers

C. Control of the Ministry of Justice. British people; this concrete activity to the Indian Constitution the Labor Party delegate with Communist leanings. foster the Jubilee spirit, could sink to no did not even once attack the basic im ower depths of shameful betrayal.

This surrender of the Labor Party to indulged merely in quibbling on minor the "spirit" of the Jubilee is thoroly details within the framework of the gen-

WAR QUESTION The attitude of the British Labor Par-

ress. By an overwhelming vote (2,962,-000 to 177,000) the Congress went on record as demanding the application of liamentary whip, was heard in the House anctions by England against Italy thus giving objective support to British imerialist war aims against Italy.* This omes as no surprise to anybody who has followed closely the record of the British Labor Party on foreign affairs of the empire. Thru all the rapid shifting of imperialist relationships, antagonism line-ups from Stresa thru the Anglo-German Naval Pact to the present Italian-Abyssinian conflict, the policy of the Labor Party in all the involved questions of pacts, counter-pacts, increased armaments, defense of the empire, war, etc. has hardly been distinguishable in essentials from the policy of his Majes-

* The Congress of the Labor Party has also ty's govern

of Earl Browder's "Communism In The U. S. A." The first part of the artidown in the concluding part.

"The Face of French Fascism." cial-Democratic-Communist coalition It is correct to say that in applying JEAN LE GAULOIS, promises to regovernment on a bourgeois democratic united front tactics we must go from turn next week. We'll hold him to his

seats, the constituting only about one-fourth of the population.

3. Elections are indirect. Sir Samuel

war, announced at the British Trade Union Congress, comes therefore as quite a logical culminating point of a whole previous period of similar attitudes and previous period of similar attitudes and provided in the propaganda of partial demands only. The propaganda of revolutionary transition is not yet a protectable discovery appropriate in other words, that it is formed impossible if the C.P. confines itself to the propaganda of partial demands only. The propaganda of revolutionary transition is not yet a protectable discovery appropriate in other words, that it is formed impossible if the C.P. confines itself to the propaganda of partial demands only. The propaganda of revolutionary transition is not yet a protectable discovery and the propaganda of partial demands only. previous period of similar attitudes and mocracy". Space forbids us to deal with The propaganda of revolutionary transiactivities.

Government in the field of international relations, there is one field where it has marks. struggle against the Communists, left EXPERIENCE OF 1923 shown genuine militancy, i.e. in the And if that miracle came to pass why, wingers, progressives. In its resistance spoken against the united front with nist coalition government is formed on proletariat. British Trade Unions, was the most out-Communists and against international the basis of such a situation, such govtrade union unity. In England proper ernment will, for one thing, pass no real that it completely contradicts the Peo-

Such, in brief, is the "enviable" record of the Labor Party on the political as representative of its attitude all along eral acceptance of the document as a well as the trade union fronts. It is a the line. "His Majesty's Opposition" has been an opposition in name only. Actbeen an opposition in name only. Actble for a party that has faith in "the preciation by his Majesty and his Majestpeen an opposition in name only. Act- ble for a party that has faith in "the preciation by his Majesty and his of the empire (colonial control especial) the British people." The Labor Party's at this year's Jubilee included the followly India, defense of the Empire, war), pro-imperialist stand is clearly expressling: Mr. Attlee, Mr. Edwards and Mr. d in the words of Lansbury:

"... the Labor Party is as desirous as any other section of our people of retaining and strengthening the ties which at secretary of the Toda Unit Course.

"But Attiee, Mr. Edwards and Mr. errors under the guise of new names. Course.

"ON COALITION GOV'T

The "Boorless Front in the course of the Toda Units Course.

The "Boorless Front in the course of the Toda Units Course.

The "Boorless Front in the course of the Toda Units Course of the Toda Units Course.

The "Boorless Front in the course of the Toda Units C any other section of our people of retaining and strengthening the ties which at
present bind the Dominions, colonies, India
and Great Britain together.' (Labor's way
with the Commowealth)

The "Peoples Front government" is
mentioned in the resolution but is not
at all discussed. The "Peoples Front
at all discussed. The "Peoples Front
at all discussed to the execution of these decisions will
the execution of the second and this decision is yet to be applied but it does
the provide a basis for the fight for a corat all discussed. The "Peoples Front government" is
the execution of the ex Shaw, general secretary of the National government" is nothing but a coalition the execution of these decisions will

But the supreme tribute for the Labor or that they even demand its formation from trade union members who have

place sitting on these benches, governing the country, responsible for the safety of

win, the Tory spokesman for his Majes- and the reformist trade unions to take

In Anti-Fascist Fight

JIM CORK, who writes in this issue on this is the so-called "United front gov- Communist party full freedom of action. the British Labor Party, comes up ernment" for years referred to as the next week with a discussion on the "workers government" if the possibility DEFENSIVE AND "Croix de Feu" The article is called of Communists participating in a So- OFFENSIVE ACTIONS

But if the Labor Party has been the passive tail to the kite of the National concerned. We shall confine fensive is an absolutely indispensable covernment in the field of international covernment in the field of international covernment.

The concept of a "united front governwanted the country to respond to the appeal of his Majesty. . . He wanted to see the British Commonwealth of Nations

A Control of a wanted to see the British Commonwealth of Nations

A Control of a wanted to see the British Commonwealth of Nations

A Control of a wanted to see the British Commonwealth of Nations

A Control of a wanted to see the British Commonwealth of Nations A. Control of army, foreign affairs treme right wing die-hardism inside the such a government, as laid down in the the basis of the proletarian united front Second International. At the recent resolution, is the existence of a situasecond international. At the recent resolution, is the existence of a situation of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International) Citrine, head of the General Council of the UP THE FIGHT FOR SOVIET POW- of oppressed nations) which coincide

parations. This disgusting sycophancy to the monarchy, hated symbol of brutal imperialist conversion; this brazen contrades councils against admitting any the united front government will break bourgeois program, bourgeois leadership down miserably since the workers are not yet ready to fight for Soviet power, which means that they are not yet ginated in a parliamentary improvisation ready for an armed uprising. This is the is nowhere rejected. Thus there arises essence of the experiences of 1923 in a danger of equivocation. Germany. The fact that the C.I. has until today failed to make any real criti- TRADE UNION QUESTION cism of the 1923 events is now having As far as the trade union question is

Union of the Textile Workers. As one government with bourgeois parties. The come from two sides. For one thing, political wit remarked at the time, "if Raleigh was knighted for putting his lately in the many than the fact. In the case of such a Peoples are this fact. In the case of such a Peoples cerely believed in the correctness of the Raleigh was knighted for putting his this fact. In the case of such a Peoples is the many of the correctness of the Raleigh was knighted for putting his lately in the many of the correctness of the Raleigh was knighted for putting his lately in the many of t ty on the war question was made clear cloak in the mud why not these birds for by the recent British Trade Union Conpushing the labor movement there."

Front government it is out of the question that Communists participate in it reformist trade union leaders and also pushing the labor movement there."

liamentary whip, was heard in the House of Commons:

It is necessary to add that the United Front government as well as the Peoint trade unions. It is evident that "I think whatever may be said of Mr. Lansbury's party in years to come a full stages but mere possibilities according to the resolution. The indication of such possibilities however leads the Communists who fought the old course and were not guilty of ultra-leftism, namely, their hearts, stand for our constitution and our free parliament. I believe from my heart that if they had been in our place sitting on these benches, governing the country responsible for the refert of the content of the country responsible for the refert of the content of the country responsible for the refert of the content of the country responsible for the refert of the content of the country responsible for the refert of the content of the c ples Front government are not necessary correct trade union tactics can be ap-

our people, and faced with the facts we are faced with, they would not come to the faced with, they would not come to are faced with, they would not come to any different conclusion from the one we are putting before the House." there is the following very slight possi-bility: under certain conditions, Commuare putting before the House."

These are the words of Stanley Baldnists may ask Social Democratic Parties

over the government on the basis of a just gone on record for sanctions.—Editor. By their friends shall ye know them! definite program of action following

By AUGUST THALHEIMER | number of successful mass actions, and cle has gone over in a big way. We can assure you that there is no letare often overstepped. An example of its program into practise and grants the

parliamentary basis should arise. The the defensive to the offensive. The folreport of Dimitroff as well as the resolution leave room for such a possibilimind, however. This transition must be The editorial committee will welcome ty. The Communist Parties are to de- prepared for by the C.P. organizationcritical comments from our readers. All cide whether or not they will partici- ally and politically. This in turn respective country. The resolution express- ers control of production; etc. not only these questions in their full scope as tion slogans for the preparation of the But if the Labor Party has been the far as the Russian and German expertures transition from the defensive to the of-

The resolution defines the "Peoples Front" as a class alliance between the ER." If a Social-Democratic-Commu- with the fundamental interests of the

This is correct and necessary-except

It goes without saying that this de-

On the basis of past experiences and revolutionary party of the proletariat.

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THE HERITAGE OF DUAL UNIONISM

we approach the question we see how difficult it is to formulate a single plain answer. The old ultra-leftist course was a self-consistent whole, with a clear, tho altogether false reply ready for every question. The present line, on the other hand, no longer has the slightest pretense to clarity or in ternal unity; it is a constantly changing mixture of contradictory elements, evad ing every basic problem or else improvising an answer under pressure of momentary conditions. Yet, such as it is the present line may best be understood in its constant shifting, if it is conceived as a combination of four major elements: (1) dual unionist sectarianism; (2) spasmodic attempts to return to a sound trade union course; (3) the accumulating outbreaks of the new opportunism; and (4) the effects of the embittered factionalism of the CP leadership. As things stand today, the actual policy of the C.P. in any particular situation is compounded, in varying proportions, of these four ingredients.

What is the trade union policy of the

Communist Party today? The moment

LEFT SECTARIANISM

How does it stand with the ultra-left ist course today? Recalling the 8-point analysis made in the previous article, we can say: At the present moment, th sectarian, dual unionist course is shattered as far as the general practise of the CP is concerned. No longer are the organized workers contemptuously re garded as "hopeless". No longer are all this is not to be found in the imme- Comintern position at the present time diate practise of the CP at the present that emerges from them.

What then remains of the "third per- INDEPENDENT LEADERSHIP iod" in the field of trade union tactics? IS STILL ENDORSED To what degree can the sectarian course 1. The theory of "independent lead-

AND BROWDER

mittee of the Communist International, and of Earl Browder, for the American Communist Party, both at the recent Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Declares Pieck (International Press Correspondence, Vol. 15, No. 32, August "Had it not been for the violation of

trade union discipline and the indepen-dent Communist strike leadership, the bourgeoisie would have been able to carry and to wage the war of liberation to a proletariat winning power. Only thus The fact that the Soviet Government. out their wage cutting plans even at the time of the boom. Neither the Lord with a lowing their bournor the Ruhr struggle would have taken tacking powers at the expense of the national liberation. place. Many workers would have with- interests of their country." drawn disappointed from the class struggle. The Communists, as in 1914, once more saved the honor of the Socialist later of the socialist is a policy that can be twisted at will practive same peoper movement. But they did not succeed in securing their influence in the reformist trade unions and among the unorganized one can today—1935 and after—speak of practices. The above citation throws wide open the gates for the weirdest opportunist trade unions and among the unorganized one can today—1935 and after—speak of practices. We need but gite some of the practices. We need but gite some of the practices are solution pledging the practices. workers. The struggle of the Red Inter- a war for national liberation on the practices. We need but cite some of the these imperialist pirate cliques. national of Labor Unions against the autocracy continent of Europe. Is it Czecho-Slo- activities of the various sections of the crack of the various sections of the continent of Europe. Is it Czecho-Slo- activities of the various sections of the categories between that they are tied in one categories of the various sections of the categories of the categories of the categories of the various sections of the categories of t national of Labor Unions against the autocratic claims of the reformist burocracy vakia with its oppressed national minoriCI to reveal the dangers growing out of
UI SER can use at all enderse proposals
in any war it may wage (the so-called up with the demands and interests of the "Oxford pledge"). cratic claims of the reformist burocracy to the sole right of organizing the economic conflict was right. But the Strassburg Conference of 1929 committed an exaggeration when it passed its resolution on the independent strike committee 'in spite of and against the reformist trade of Pilsudski? What does the CI mean spite of and against the reformist trade with ties own borders? Is it Roumania? Is the above false position. When Combined the above false position. U.S.S.R. can we at all endorse proposals. U.S.S.R. can we at all endorse proposals. The above false position the above false position. When Combined the above false position the above false position. U.S.S.R. can we at all endorse proposals. The above false position the above false position. When Combined the above false position the abov spite of and against the reformist trade unions'. The instructions were wrong which laid down that the fighting committee should refuse to include any persons connected with Social-Democracy. The fight was right against the Brandler slogan of 'force the officials' and against surrender when the burocrats refused to strike in spite of the pressure of the members. It was, however, an error to assume that the rank and file could not and should not and should not acceptable that the rank and file could not and should not acceptable that the real and the real and the united States, even glue to say England feverishly preparing for war. Instead, ly to a repetition of slogans and demands and against french imperialism now glue to a repetition of slogans and demands of war. Instead, ly to a repetition of slogans and demands and against. The diplomatic response to the United Show saw Fascism which swallowed country after country, GRIMACING AT THE bourgeois governments is one thing, but showing its face within France and preparing for war. Instead, ly to a repetition of slogans and demands of the United Show are full coalition of, let us say England foverishly preparing for war. Instead, ly to a repetition of slogans and demands of the United Show are full coalition of, let us say England from and specific verishly preparing for war. Instead, ly to a repetition of slogans and demands of the United Show are full coalition of, let us say England foverishly preparing for war. Instead, ly to a repetition of slogans and demands and demands of the United Show are full coalition of, let us say England foverishly preparing for war. Instead, ly to a repetition of slogans and demands are development in the United Show are full coalition of, let us say England foverishly preparing for war. Instead, ly to a repetition of slogans and demands. In the plan for analgamation submitted by the U.S.S.R. in the league of Nations. The diplomatic relations of the Soviet Union with the war-provoking Hitler Germany might be so isolated against a at the rank and file could not and should the revolutionary to exercise any pressure whatever on the state" is, in the realms of the "real-to-trans. It was right that the revolutionary recrusts. It was right that the revolutionary recrusts. was right that the revolu- politik" of today, really an independent, cesses know no bounds. For instance, class struggle. The weapons and tactionary minority should lead independent distant force. Every small country on we find the Daily Worker of September tics employed in the class struggle by duty of the European continent is today part of 18th issuing the following dangerous the Communist Parties in the capitalist playing their revolutionary part in the strikes conducted by the reformists under the pressure of the masses. The consolidation of the revolutionary trade union op these "weak states" is helplessly and the Suez Canal to Italian troops and Italian troops are Italian troops and Italian troops are these "weak states" is helplessly and the Suez Canal to Italian troops and to by a Communist Party already in hopelessly bound up with the giant imposition was a correct and effectual measure against the policy of expulsion and splitting exercised by the burocrats. It would indeed do splitting exercised by the burocrats. It would inde

tins policy they made a war of extermination against the Communists and left elements, not hesitating at the destruction of mass trade unions, the dispersal of hundreds of thousands of members. Out of this situation arose the independent and revolutionary unions. These new unions, of course, in the case of a genuine revolutionary unions. These new unions, arising after defeated strikes and just at the period of the onset of the economic terms and the consequent decline of the resolution asks. In such an event, the trade union movement up to 1932, lived a communists must utilize this war of na-

with? These are questions of the ut- dual unionist sectarianism, is endorsed have led, it must now be dropped i with? These are questions of the utmost significance.

It is important, in the first place, to note that the underlying philosophy of dual unionist sectarianism still remains intact. It has not been touched. Allegedly because of a change in "objective conditions", it has been suspended from operation, so to speak, for an intot of the unions from within the first place, to not of the disruption of the unions from within. So, too, in Browder's declaration, is the formation of the U.U.L. and its unions. These underlying principles of dual unionism are from operation, so to speak, for an intot only hailed as "right" and "correct" and the union be dropped in practics! This startling contradiction is the central mystery of the present value union position of the U.I. And, as usual, the responsibility is glibly passed on to "objective conditions". As far back as the end of last year, when Jack stachel undertook to "explain" the new have led, it must now be dropped in practics! This startling contradiction is the central mystery of the present value union position of the unions from within. So, too, in Browder's declaration, is the formation of the unions from within. So, too, in Browder's declaration, is the formation of the unions from within. So, too, in Browder's declaration, is the formation of the unions from within. So, too, in Browder's declaration, is the formation of the union start union position of the union position of the union start union from operation, so to speak, for an indefinite period. But it is still repeatedly and emphatically endorsed as correct in application. Nay, more; it is demonstratively credited with all sorts of "achievements" and its record of disaster is converted into one of "imperishable glory."

PRESENTING PIECK

AND BROWDER

The definite period. But it is still repeatedly and emphatically endorsed as correct in their application from 1928 to 1934 but th trade union movement in 1933. The con-

(Continued from Page 1)

pendent unions played an indispensable

What Is the C. P. Trade Union Line Today? I.

f economic crisis, a legend spread by the limited almost entirely to branding cer- trade union policy thruout the Comin- lieve that, some time in the future perreformists and Trotskyites. They organ tain "excesses" or "sectarian errors", tern, where certainly the ebb and flow haps, when "objective conditions" change ized and led the chief struggles that markcommitted in the application of "perfectof the A. F. of L. could not be decisive.
back again, open and outright dual
ed the turn of the tide and drew the whole
ly correct" policies—the policies of dual But it should be noted that if this arunionism may become right and proper trade union movement into the stream. To them belongs much of the credit for the strong re-emergence of the whole trade union movement in 1933. The contribution of the credit for the strong re-emergence of the whole trade union movement in 1933. The contribution of the credit for the stream of the whole trade union movement in 1933. The contribution of the credit for the stream of the whole trade union movement in 1933. The contribution of the credit for the stream of the s union movement in 1933. The contribu-tion of the independent and revolutionary unions to the protection of working class conditions and to the preservation of trade Political consistency is a strong point militants persecuted! A curious way of confusion, blundering, futility, swinging unionism, are written imperishably in our with the Comintern leadership today. abjuring sectarianism! But even this limited degree of "self-"With the streaming of new hundreds of thousands of workers into the dmerican Federation of Labor, however, with the organization of hitherto unorganized basic industrics and the rise of the strike the organization of the strike that the organization of hitherto unorganized basic industrics and the rise of the strike the organization of hitherto unorganized basic industrics and the rise of the strike that the very end of everything, we are suddenly informed that "during the past seven years the Communist parties have the past of the strike that the very end of everything, we are suddenly informed that "during the past seven years the Communist parties have the dead movement is still oppressed by the dead of the scotarion tradition can be a suddenly informed that "during the past seven years the Communist parties have the dead of the scotarion tradition can be a suddenly informed that "during the past seven years the Communist parties have the dead of the scotarion tradition can be a suddenly informed that "during the past seven years the Communist parties have the dead of the scotarion tradition can be a suddenly informed that "during the past seven years the Communist parties have the dead by the dead by the dead of the scotarion tradition can be a suddenly informed that "during the past seven years the Communist parties have the dead of the scotarion tradition wave and fighting spirit generally, the learned to lead millions and have gained hand of the sectarian tradition can be conditions had been created for the remarks of Campbell, one fication of the trade unions in most industries and as a general rule." (emphasis gained tremendously in importance" (W. H)

THE CENTRAL MYSTERY OF TRADE UNION LINE

3. In spite of the oft-asserted "correctness" of the old sectarian course i To what degree can the sectarian course be regarded as altogether past and done ership", the very source and origin of achievements" to which it is alleged to Compare Dimitrov's exactly opposite view

working class conditions and to the pre- further discussed in my third article.

The Comintern War Position

garded as "nopeless". No longer are unions being split; by and large, indeed, the dual unions are being fast liquidated. No longer do CP groups in the unions pretend to lead economic struggles pretend to lead economic struggles pretend to lead economic struggles are little concerned here with the glaring contradictions which these reports are little concerned here with the glaring contradictions which these reports are little concerned here with the glaring contradictions which these reports are little concerned here with the glaring contradictions which these reports. Even more significant since, on the whole, he made one of the best speeches at the confidence of the masses in the unions is won, the best call. Said the British Communist (International Press Corporation of the Communist (International Press Corporation of the confidence of the masses in the unions is won, the best call. Said the British Communist (International Press Corporation of the confidence of the masses in the unions is won, the best call. Said the British Communist (International Press Corporation of the confidence of the masses in the unions is won, the best call. Said the British Communist (International Press Corporation of the most ingrown sectarian will have to recognize that, unless the confidence of the masses in the unions is won, the best call. Said the British Communist (International Press Corporation of the most ingrown sectarian will have to recognize that, unless the confidence of the masses in the unions are being fast liquidated. We are little concerned here with the most ingrown sectarian will have to recognize that, unless the confidence of the masses in the unions are being fast liquidated. We are little concerned here with the most ingrown sectarian will have to respondence, Vol. 15, No. 35, August 15, and the most ingress corporation of the most ingress. The masses in the unions are constructed by the most ingress corporation of the most ingress corporation of the most ingress corporation of the most ingress corpora leadership. And so on—by and large, limited states a state of the Communist (la-leadership). And so on—by and large, limited states a state of the Communist (la-leadership). And so on—by and large, limited states a state of the Communist (la-leadership). Said, the British Communist (la-leadership) as in relation to each other. Much more leadership of the Communist (la-leadership) are leadership. And so on—by and large, limited states a state of the Communist (la-leadership) are leadership. And so on—by and large, limited states a state of the Communist (la-leadership) are leadership. And so on—by and large, limited states a state of the Communist (la-leadership) are leadership. And so on—by and large, limited states are leadership of the Communist (la-leadership) are leadership. And so on—by and large, limited states are leadership of the Communist (la-leadership) are leadership. And so on—by and large, limited states are leadership of the communist (la-leadership) are leadership. And so on—by and large, limited states are leadership of the communist (la-leadership) are 15, No. 41, August 28, 1935): "I don't think there can be any question

in this Congress that the decision on in-dependent leadership of economic struggles was absolutely correct and any ten-dencies to suggest that this Congress, in making a more flexible approach to trade union work, is returning to the position previous to 1928, is giving up its position

could escape from condemnation by the sults it expected from the Independent Let us note the official declarations of the independent and revolutions of the independent and revolutions of the executive communist International, working class conditions and to the pre-

different can things possibly be in prac difficult and precarious life. Their history | servation of trade unionism, are written | forming 'separate' unions," announced tice if they are in such a weird mess in is, however, one with many glorious pages.
They made a permanent contribution to the development of the American working class. There were mistakes made in their development. These were especially sectorian mistakes tending to narrow down principles that are responsible for the everything to the "changed situation" to the contract of the contract of the development of the American working class. There were especially sectorian mistakes tending to narrow down principles that are responsible for the everything to the "changed situation" to carry out a constructive line effectives. the new unions to the advance guard. There was also a most serious neglect of work in the A. F. of L. But the independent unions blaved on indicated the party. How can people be expected everything to the "changed situation" to carry out a constructive line effective-in the A. F. of L. (see quotation above). It is the independent unions blaved on indicate the party. How can people be expected everything to the "changed situation" to carry out a constructive line effective-in the A. F. of L. (see quotation above). It is their ears still ringing after munist Party. in the A. F. of L. (see quotation above).

More than once has the Workers Age pointed out how utterly untenable is this they are assured that the sectarian dogrole. They preserved the fighting spirit and traditions of the American working class during dark days when no other instrument was available for this task. They smashed the legend of the impossibility of successful strike struggles during a time of seconding a time

from one extreme to the other, relapsing

into gross sectarianism or falling into

use. And how can you expect the workers to have any trust in a party which refuses frankly to recognize its own flagrant errors or to abjure them for the future, which, on the contrary, brazeny flaunts them in the face of the world, leclining even to close the door on their possible recurrence! The present position of the Communist party on the trade in regard to the independent leadership of union field is hopelessly self-defeating! economic struggles by the workers—any suggestions of that kind will have to be tation, the activity of the Communist

"From the beginning of 1932 we made of the old sectoriaries above the community of the Communist Party is still studded with outcroppings of the old sectoriaries above the old sectoriaries. this change. We worked to conquer the old sectarianism, characteristic ower organs of the unions for a militant ally interlaced with new departures into policy . . . and we immediately began to opportunism. The heritage of dual unionget a measure of success. But this does not mean that we have given up the idea not be forgotten that there are still of independent leadership of economic dual red unions in existence—the Office struggles and that we are now concentrating on the old form of pressure on the burocracy. It must be said that it is quite impossible in the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent leading the present situation to give up the idea of independent lea When this could be said by a delegate 24 issue of the Daily Worker, "that the from a country like Great Britain and Daily Worker is still not getting the restill regarded as the duty of the "inde pendent" unions to be mere agencies of the Communist Party and its press!

Nor is the attitude towards the A. F of L. changed altogether and everywhere. Less than three months ago (July 4th) at the Detroit Youth Congress, the C.P. spokesmen violently retional liberation for the purpose of the conflict as was ever conceived or fought. sisted and finally defeated a resolution out their wage cutting plans even at the timesh, without allowing their bout time of the boom. Neither the Lodz strike geoisie to strike a bargain with the atprinciple of sanctions against aggressors and initiators of war doesn't mean that L. than it could ask them to join the the Communist Parties outside of the Y.M.C.A., the Socialist Party or the U.S.S.R. must cooperate with or render Communist Party." The very same peo-

> conferences! Fortunately, these wild schemes, recalling the days of 1930, were

But, after all, the main test of trade was, however, a sectarian error when the were to refresh their memories a bit. Such calls to action spell the end of all ments. Towards these governments we is the story here? Where the C.P. conwas, however, a sectarian error when the R.T.U.O. was converted into new trade unions." (emphasis mine—W.H.).

And Browder adds (The Communist, September, 1935):

"During the years 1925 to 1929, the A. F. of L. burocracy had prostituted the trade unions to the role of rationalization auxiliaries to the employers; to carry thru this policy they made a war of extermination against the Communists and left ele-like them recall how Lenin estimated the role of Serbia in 1914. In itself, the independent working class struggles independent working class struggles in the role of Serbia in 1914. In itself, the role of Serbia against Austria was certainly a war for national liberation. Yet, Lenin rejected national defense even for auxiliaries to the employers; to carry thru this policy they made a war of extermination against the Communists and left ele-like them recall how Lenin estimated the working class struggles independent working class struggles independent working class struggles in the ton of all independent working class struggles in the role of Serbia in 1914. In itself, the role of Serbia against Austria was certainly a war for national liberation. Yet, Lenin rejected national defense even for Serbia because he realized that the Serbia because he realized that the Serbia in 1914. In itself, the role of Serbia in 1914. In itself, the role of Serbia in 1914. In itself, the role of Serbia against Italian imperialism. They play right into the hands of British imperialism, they identify the tactics of the Communist partial pressed whose mortal foe in every bour geois land is the employing class governments.

September? Where the C.P. continues to action spell the end of all independent working class struggles in a play the role of serbia in 1914. In itself, the role of Serbia against Italian imperialism. They play right into the hands of British imperialism. They play in the policies of the Communist partial proposed whose mortal foe in every bour geois land is the employing class governments.

September? Where the

"THEY GOT ME ALL WRONG"

Stephen Cunningham (author of "Dictatorship In The Black Belt," which to go to Europe to join his wife. He aptatorship In The Black Belt," which to make one of the usual "studies" kind to make one of the usual "studies" tunity won't take it. Cunningham is sugthe Age office to make a complaint on European conditions. Nothing seemed gesting that Pickens send the thing against certain rumors that are being in the offing, until the idea struck him the idea struck him that perhaps the Rosenwald Fund need-Gannett usually succeeds in getting ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations.

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"Tell the readers of the Age that I Miller in the New Masses, and by Cunlingham maintains, however, that the whole reform element that grew to respectable proportions around 69 Fifth Avenue is trying to find a new haven. First Johnson flew the coop. Then Du

Miles, 51 W. 14th St., New York City: Bernard Herman, 51 W. 14th St., New York City.

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10 Make a short Story of it, Eminted to Harris, New York City.

11 Marris, New York City.

12 Marris, but I have an objection as told Pickens to get the article published in the Crisis, official organ of the Wilkins, and Pickens. At present White, Roy Wilkins, and Pickens. At present Wilkins, and Pickens is trying to some by tagging on to the Wilkins, and Pickens. At present Wilkins, and Pickens. At present Wilkins, and Pickens is trying to some by tagging on to the two wilkins, and Pickens is trying to the Wilkins, and Pickens is trying to some by tagging on to the Wilkins, and pickens is trying to some by tagging or to the white folks," sending a letter to Joel Spingarn, Spingarn, still disliking Pickens from an old rift, sent was a given by the contain the

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At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

N the Daily Worker of Fraday, Sept-Lember 27th Comrade Browder continues his latest amazing re-discovery of the United States by saying:

"There is no question that the dominant influences in both the Republican and Democratic parties had come to an agreement that Huey Long with his 'share-the-wealth' demagogy had become a menace to the sanctity of private property and to the stabili-ty of the whole capitalist system, and that they had agreed upon the muzzling or removal of Long."

When we first read this, we thought General Secretary Browder's pen just happened to slip. But when we considered the wind-up and leit-motif of the article, we could do nothing else but take the author's conclusions seriously. Again, Comrade Browder said:

"In the same way, in America, we must understand that the murder of the half-fascist, Huey Long, marked a further advance of fascism in Amerca and a new menace to the lives and liberties of all decent citizens.

Arise ye decent citizens of Park Avenue, the lower East Side and Harlem in New York, of the farm tenant sections in the South, and of the vigilante-ridden areas of California! The "lives and liberties" of all of you denizens of democratic America are in serious danger because of Long's assassination! So all of you alike exercise your liberties and listen to Saint Huey answer the Number One Communist in the United States

In reply to a letter from J. Pierpont Morgan, supposedly delivered to min at the White House after his election in 1936, Huey Long tells "decent citizen" Browder and the rest of us (via J. P.

"I trust, upon reflection, you will perceive that I was the genuine defender of your wealth when I proposed a five million dollar limitation (gradually to be reduced below two million dollars) upon family fortunes in the Share Our Wealth plank of the platform upon which I was elected President of the United States.

'I am surprised, naturally, that as a banker and business man of reputed sagacity, you do not realize that my program is a real benefit to you. In my campaign for the Presidency I promised a return to Constitutional government . . . I concede, too, that men may differ with me on this legal question. I therefore shall be content to permit a test of its constitutional ity in the Supreme Court of the United States before carrying it general-

ly into effect. "If in the meantime you should have a change of heart, Mr. Morgan, on the wisdom of resisting this equitable redistribution of wealth, I shall be only too happy to have you volunteer your services in helping to carry this program quietly into effect without needless disturbances of business

commerce or industry." ("My First Days in The White House' by Huey P.

HE Jewish Daily Forward, the most powerful mouthpiece for the Socialist Party in the U. S .- and among the most successful spokesmen for the Labor and Socialist International in the world, has, in recent months, been making a specialty in fabricating and providing anti-Soviet serials for the Hearst press. With immeasurable venom has this jaundiced sheet of Abe Cahan been riling at the efforts and achievements

of the Russian workers and farmers.

The why and the wherefore of this scab service we are not prying into at this moment. However, the very tolera-tion by the S.P. of such deliberate antiworking class activity is something that every worker in the SP must surely be ashamed of and anxious to end. To attempt to refute the myriad of palpable lies found in the Cahan and Hearst Bros. press would be as useless as it is impossible. But occasionally it is not out of place to throw into the face of a Cahan some estimate of the U.S.S.R. made by an outstanding member of the class to which he and his ilk are now dedicated -the capitalists. From this angle, nothing more timely has come to our hand than the following from the findings of the British Lord Noel-Buxton who has just returned from the Soviet Union:

"The leading feature of Russian life today is industrial development. Good observers consider that in twenty years the growth of Russia's wealth will be so stupendous that neighbouring States will inevitably be drawn into her economic orbit. . . . No doubt incredible development in coal mining, steel-smelting, cotton-growing, electrical power, and so on has taken place. But what struck me as more interesting was the psychological side of the matter, the enormous interest which has been instilled into a large public. . . . While industrial development has been made easy by the possession of unused resources, it is incredible that such rapidity would have been achieved without collectivism. The system is an economic asset. The endless complications of compensation for land and other property, with the obstruction of personal in-

THE COMINTERN WAR POSITION

(Continued from Page 3)
Comintern's deviations and mistakes with the entirely false principles and policies of the Social-Democratic move ment the world-over. Such confusion can only hamper our struggle against the Comintern's errors and will only lead to our playing into the hands of the rankest reformists and enemies of the U.S.S.R. Under no conditions must we allow ourselves, in our criticism of the Comintern's deviations, to be inspired or influenced by the anti-Soviet viewpoint of Trotsky or the pacifist position of Norman Thomas which is equally steeped in hostility to the U.S.S.R. Therefore we draw the following significant distinctions between the limitedly false war position of the CI, and the entirely unlimitedly, false war position of the Labor and Socialist International.

The CI's errors are limited only to the field of a mixed war; the LSI's

The Soviet Union **And Sanctions**

"Of course," says an editorial in the Crisis for October 1935, "close students of Soviet Russia discovered long ago that the great idealism of the so-called Communist nation was in reality hardboiled opportunism, an opportunism as shameless as that of any nation not professing the high idealism preached from the Kremlin. Therefore it is recording only one more inconsistency and not one more surprise to set down that the Soviets are raking in good capitalist profits selling wheat and coal tar to Italy for use in the war against Ethiopia."

And from the direction of the Socialist Call (September 21, 1935) comes the high-pitched voice of Herbert Zain: . some of the actions of the Soviet Union are open to criticism. When the Soviet Union sells wheat, coal, oil and coal tar to Italy, supplies which go directly for war purposes, workers cannot help questioning the correctness of such

With the Crisis, N.A.A.C.P. organ of reaction among the Negro masses, we have no quarrel. It is easy to see why it forgets that it was the Soviet Union that raised the question of sanctions against Italy by all powers. It is utilizing these as many other issues to batter down progressive and radical thought among the Negro people thus directly serving the interests of the master class which oppresses both black and white.

But it is otherwise with the Socialist not one translation but two at once! Call. Zam speaks of the wheat and the tar going "directly for war purposes." Will the comrade please tell us what commodities cannot, in the present situation, be used, in some way, shape or upon the Soviet Union to stop all shipment of goods to Italy. In other words, such a position leads to the Soviet union, alone, applying economic sanctions against Italy. That such a step is extremely dangerous for the Soviet Union and might lead to war must be clear to everyone.

We are confident that Zam himself would reject a perspective such as endangers the very life of the Soviet Union.

On Seventh Congress

Much interest has been aroused by the announcement this week of the New Workers School that it is adding a previously unadvertised course on "The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International", with Bertram D. Wolfe, Director of the School, as instructor.

It is to be given at 8:30 every other by Comrade Wolfe on "Marxism and

No Congress of the Communist International has been the subject of so much discussion and controversy as the present one. Interest in its decisions and their consequences rises higher and higher and the flood of queries coming to the Workers Age from C. P. members, Socialists and supporters of the Communist Opposition have compelled the school to add this previously unscheduled course. To make room for it Jay Lovestone's course in Current Events has been postponed till the end of November.

The course on the Seventh Congress will consider the development of the International under Lenin, the controver sies and problems prior to the Sixth Congress, the crisis in the International. sectarianism, social-fascism, the German defeat, the New Turn in 1934 and the French People's Front, Pieck's, Ercoli's and Dimitroff's reports and resolutions the hero cult and the problem of regime the collapse of the ultra-left line and the new opportunist deviations and dangers, and the problems and prospects of

Communist unity.

Each of Comrade Wolfe's courses will be given in five sessions.

terests which, in other lands, impede progress and make it expensive, are here short-circuited The handicaps which prevent rationalization in capitalist countries are absent."

The record of the British Labor Party in India, of Social-Democracy in Czecho-Slovakia, the declarations of Norman Thomas before a Senate Commission in the United States, tell a most unsavory tale here

2. With the CI, beginnings of dangers towards national defense practices are strictly limited, may be resorted to for a time as a means of helping the U.S.S.R. False and harmful as the recourse to such tactics of helping the U.S.S.R. are, their motive is totally different from that of the motive animat ng international Social-Democracy. The latter is definitely committed to the pol icy of defending the capitalist national fatherland" and national interests in every case and under all circumstances.

Even in this deviation, the CI's aproach, the Comintern's viewpoint is in ternational, while the attitude of the LSI is thoroly nationalist, dyed-in-thewool social chauvinist.

4. The CI is guilty of attempting a distortion, for a brief period, of sound principle; the LSI is definitely committed to a completely false principle in the entire question of imperialist war. With the LSI the war position is false as a whole system.

HOW TO FIGHT THE CI'S DEVIATIONS

That is why it is impermissible to fight the present CI war deviations with blanket charges of "August Fourth". The very existence of the U.S.S.R. as the base of the world revolution, as a

errors pervade all types of wars today. munists should never substitute analogy for analysis. "August Fourth" has a de finite historical connotation, class substance; it symbolizes the complete betrayal of international labor; it means the defense by the proletariat, in every capitalist country, of the national interests of their own bourgeoisie. For the Second International "August Fourth' came as a cumulative consequence of years of putrid opportunism, of decades of desertion of the principles of Marxism. No one is justified in saying that the CI—even with its present dangerous deviation in the field of mixed warface to face with such a situation.

The beginnings of a false course by the CI in this fundamental question must be overcome. We of the ICO who have waged a successful struggle against ultra-leftism and its resulting ravages, who have helped smash the CI's sectarian course, and who have for years shown in theory and practice what the CI's strategical course must be if the masses are to be won for the proletarian revolution, must energetically and mer-cilessly fight against the Comintern's costly errors in new fields. Aided by the lessons of the class war itself, by experience, by our growing influence amongst the members of the Communist Parties and the labor organizations in in this most vital struggle in behalf of Communism, in behalf of Leninist prinis being used as a screen for capturing ciples. This fight of ours is not only the CTUNA.

most urgent and worthwhile. We can In this artiand must fight it to the point of victory, for a unified, healthy Communist class state constructing socialism, makes movement—the first decisive prerequisuch an accusation unjustifiable. Com-site for the victory of our whole class.

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

HOW NOT TO TALK AFFILIATION

The July issue of Arta, official organ of the American Radio Telegraphists Association, discusses the question of af-filiation to the A. F. of L. in an unsigned article-apparently an editorial. manner in which this is done is an excellent example of how not to discuss this most important question.

After expressing an opinion for affiliation, the article discusses the two possible unions with which affiliation might take place (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America) and concludes by favoring the second because "In the first place, by organizing the point-to-point divisions of the RCA and Mackay Radio, the ARTA will have a greater membership than the CTUNA and . . . we would be able to outvote the Commercial Telegraphers Union . . .

Anyone who approaches the question of affiliation from this angle is not honest with the membership of his organization for he is making affiliation more difficult if not impossible. To place the question as does the writer in ARTA is to raise barriers between the membergeneral, we are bound to be victorious ship of the CTUNA and ARTA and to in this most vital struggle in behalf of create the impression that affiliation

In this article the movement for affiliation has been dealt a severe blow. We do not know who wrote the article but are ready to bet a silk topper that it is someone associated with the TUUL crowd. If this is the type of leadership ARTA has, our advice to the membership is "Watch Your Leaders!"

GUILD POLLS MEMBERSHIP

On the basis of a decision of the recent convention of The American Newspaper Guild the membership is being polled with a referendum on the question of affiliation to the A. F. of L. Altho a two thirds vote is needed to swing the Guild into the A. F. of L. it appears to be a certainty that affiliation will carry.*

RESURRECTION

On September 9, the "Daily Worker" innounced, with well simulated joy, the liquidation of the Knitgoods Industrial Union. The exact heading was: (Left)
"Group Greets Union Merger In Knit-

And on September 24 the same "Daily Worker" says: "We must say that the Daily Worker is still not getting the results (financial campaign for Daily) it expected from the Independent Knitgoods Workers Industrial Union

Clearly, a case of waiting for the dead to arise!

SELF EXPOSURE

"The union", says an editorial on the Teachers Union in the New Leader of September 14, "hit upon a weakness of the Workers Age, a paper which represents a most important market for tury old. They seize upon an idea and market publications. If the reader has make of it a fetish. For example, the wondered that we have not reviewed all class struggle becomes a dogma to be re-International publications, he should peated over and over again like a religious devotee reciting a catechism which he has memorized."

If anything this editorial hit upon a weakness of half-baked 'radicals' posing as old guard socialists. When a self-advertised socialist paper can sneer and jeer at class-struggle policies within the unions it merely exposes its extreme reformism and in an inner union sense its dependence on and support of the reactionary (anti-class-struggle) burocra -G. F. MILES.

*The first returns show a vote of 187 for and 54 against affiliation.

cratic rights of the workers can be defended effectively only thru the revomocracy which is the origin of fascism; that the transition from bourgeois democracy to the proletarian dictatorship must be prepared for by broad united front organs elected by the masses which grow into soviets. Furthermore, that soviets are the indispensable organs for the preparation and leadership of the revolutionary uprisings.

INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY

Despite all of these errors, shortcomings, gaps, etc. this resolution could form the starting point for a correct Communist policy provided inner-party democracy is established, thus making for an easy and rapid correction of errors. If, however, this condition is not fulfilled, we predict that this resolution will lead to opportunist deviations in a number of countries. Should this condition be fulfilled, thus enlisting the aid allies and centers its struggle on the of the most mature and critical elements of the Communist movement, the Communist Opposition, the resolution can This formulation is not incorrect, but become the starting point for the complete liquidation of the ultra-left course in practice, for an effective united front tion of the errors contained in the reso-

Books of the Age

By Bertram D. Wolfe

ANTI-DUEHRING, by Frederick En- ist philosophical and economic vocabu

ANTI-DUEHRING, by Frederick Engels. Anonymous translation. Chas. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago. 390 pp. Price not stated.

This, the outstanding compact and many-sided treatment of the Marxist world view, has at last gotten a decent complete translation into English-and

The fate of Anti-Duehring in America has been a strange one. Some chapters of it have long been known in abbreviated form in the popular and brilliant So cialism Utopian and Scientific. (Publishform, for war purposes by Italy? Actually then, if Zam were to be consistent, in 1900). In 1907 Kerr got out a more he would have to agitate for and call the state of the sta tastically "edited", or rather expurgated edition by Austin Lewis under the title Landmarks of Scientific Socialism. Austin Lewis based his "translating" and "editing" on some very peculiar conceptions of his own: that Engels did not "altogether succeed in what he set out to do"; that "the world has come to accept the general correctness of Engel's point of view"; that "mechanical socialism has now obeyed the law of dialectic Wolfe to Teach Course

Wolfe to Teach Course

| Som the Now obeyed the law of dialectic and passed away"; that "much of Engel's work is out of date"; that "the remnants of 'early Victorianism cling persistently to Engels ... he is in many respects the revolutionist of '48, a bourgeois politician possessed at intervals by a proletarian ghost"; that "the younger generation without any claims to revolutionism has gone further than he in the denunciation of authority and without the self-consciousness"; that Shaw has a "note of modernity which Engels was hardly modern enough to appreciate before he died"; that "his arguments on the dialectic are common-Friday night beginning with October 25, and is to alternate with another course longer fancies he can make revolutions

. but is content to see that the road is kept clear so that revolutions may develop themselves"; that "the spirit which is occasionally shown in his controversial writing is to be deplored but it may be said in extenuation that all controversies of that time were disfigured in the same way." Poor Engels! What a fate for such a work to receive such a translator and such "editing". Over the pages of the Philistine-expurgated, uncompre hending and often incomprehensible translation hovers the ironic explanation of Marx when he looked upon some who claimed to be his disciples: "I sowed dragon's teeth and I reaped—fleas!"

When International Publishers was formed the present writer urged upon that organization the publication of a decent translation of Engels' masterpiece so indispensible to the development of Marxist theory in America and England. But the timid manager who directs that organization was afraid "there would be no market for it." At last, over a decade belated, the Marx-Engels Institute has published an English translation in the Soviet Union copies of which have been rebound for American sale by International Publish-At the same time Kerr and Co. has finally made honorable amends for the disgraceful Lewis version by publishing an independently made complete

American translation. Both translations may be termed adequate, and there is little to choose between them. But what is sorely needed is the standardization of English Marx- nists do not defend bourgeois democracy lution .

gels. Translated by Emile Burns. International Publishers, N. Y., 364 pp. Engels Institute has not yet undertaken However, both translations have their good points and we should be grateful to both publishers for at least making this indispensable work available to the English-speaking reader. The Kerr translation is enriched by two appendices omitted in the Institute's edition namely the discussion by Engels of Historical Materialism which he wrote as an introduction to the English edition of Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, and the appendix to the same work by Engels entitled The Mark. However, the Marx-Engels Institute has published these two appendices elsewhere.

Finally, it may interest the readers of the Workers Age to know that International Publishers, which does not hesitate to send review copies of its publications to capitalist and social democratic papers, out of niggardliness or misguided conceptions of factional advantage refuses to send review copies to know that when we fail to review, the editor of the books' section just hasn't

Avoid Dangers In Anti-Fascist Fight

(Continued from Page 2) These conditions amount to an acceptance of Communist principles and aims This proposal is exactly the same as the one issued by the CPGO a year and a half ago under the slogan of a "United Communist Party of Germany". slogan had and has the purpose of elimas as such, not even when they defend the inating those doubts which Social-Demodemocratic rights of workers against the cratic workers moving towards Commu- attacks of fascists and reactionaries; nism had when asked merely to enter that in the struggle against fascism in the C.P. This process is facilitated by a bourgeois democratic state democratic demanding unification with equal rights rules must be cast off; that the demoon the basis of the Communist program. The This is the essence of the thing. fact that in the proposals of the CP of lutionary liquidation of bourgeois de-France and the 7th Congress, for the new united party, the name "Communist" is left out is merely a superfluous gesture which will at most mislead a few Communists.

FASCISM OR DEMOCRACY?

The incorrect statements of Dimitroff that it is no longer a choice between bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship but between bourgeois democracy and fascist dictatorship and that Communists in such a case must defend bourgeois democracy are not repeated in the resolution.

We have here the following formulation: "In its struggle for the defense of bourgeois democratic rights and gains of workers against fascism and for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the proletariat develops its forces, strengthens its fighting bonds with its aim of winning true democracy for the on Soviet power."

in view of the confusion which has been created on the relation of Communism to bourgeois democracy, it is inadequate. and trade union policy, for the elmina-It is necessary to state that Commu-