A PAPER DEPENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

S THE BROWDER-THOMAS de-A bate-circus continues to roll over the country, it becomes evermore evident that its elements of tragedy will increasingly overshadow those of farce.

Exhibit II at Cleveland brought us to this conclusion. And why? Here, at last, Thomas unequivocally declared himself against the united front with the Communists. For once, the peerless leader abandoned snauow-ovame. --opened his mouth, spoke his mind, and
this fashion: "You leader abandoned shadow-boxing. He still have a lack of freedom in Russia to discuss the united front as we do here. We are greatly handicapped in talking about civil liberties here, while in Russia there is still a dictatorship of the top, a dictatorship of a party over the work-

This is no petty inner organizational excuse for momentarily postponing a united front with Communists. Thomas deserves our thanks for no longer hiding behind strategical considerations of his war on Waldman in his refusal to enter into such a united front. In his afore-mentioned statement the "militant" standard-bearer declares his opposition to the united front on the basis of a very serious political objection. Thomas demands nothing more and nothing less than the end of the proletarian dictatorship (which he either doesn't understand or slanders) in the U.S.S.R.; he demands its replacement by a bourgeois democracy-basically along the lines of the one now gripping the U.S. These prerequisites set by Thomas must be met before he would allow his flock joint action with Browder's official brethren.

This objection to or prerequisites for, a united front with Communist organizations is not new. Thomas is about fourteen years behind the times. The extremest right wing of the world social democracy (Wels, Vandervelde) raised precisely these prerequisites in April 1922—during the united front conference of the Internationals held in Berlin. Today, even these people wouldn't repeat such arguments. At best only a very chill reception would greet Thomas at an International Socialist Congress, if It is, openly and avowedly, a coalition of he were to dare make such a proposal working class (socialist and communist)

However, shocking as this Thomas pronouncement may be, it is really not surprising. It is an accurate gauge of his militancy. What is most tragic in the whole matter is Browder's response party of Herriot, the traditional ruling to an evaluation of this anti-Soviet ful-mination by Thomas. The Daily Worker, January 13th, makes the following revelation: "Speaking on the necessity of immediately establishing the united front, Browder stated that the difference with Norman Thomas since the Madison Square Garden debate have been still further narrowed." We entertain very serious doubts whether Browder knew what he was talking about when he made this reply. In fact, we are sure he didn't understand the full implication of his (Continued on Page 3)

PEOPLE'S FRON LABOR

By WILL HERBERG

Since the seventh congress of the Communist International, the orientation of the American Communist Party on the Labor party question has undergone some sharp changes. Once rejected outright as an "instrument of American imperialism" and then accepted gingerly in a sectarian form, the Labor party is now being hailed as the characteristic American expression of the People's Front. In this way is the United States to be brought into line with the new policy of the Comintern. In this way are the directives of the Seventh Congress to be given specific form in this country.

The slightest consideration, however, will show how utterly false all this is. Not only is the Labor Party not the People's Front under a different guise but, on the contrary, it stands in direct opposition to the latter in its nature, role and purpose. It is, indeed, a measure of the depths of opportunism to which the official C.P. is sinking that it should find it possible not merely to confuse but even to identify two such completely distinct and even mutually exclusive con-

LABOR PARTY

IS NOT PEOPLE'S FRONT

The entire meaning of the Labor party slogan is the political separation of the working class from the bourgeoisie. Today the overwhelming majority of the workers remain in the tow of one or the other of the two capitalist parties and are thus no more than voting cattle in the hands of their exploiters and oppressors. To all intents and purposes, the working class as a class has not yet been born politically. The first big step in the revolutionary development of the proletariat is its constitution as a class politically-the road to which, under Amer ican conditions, lies thru an independent Labor party in the form of a political federation of trade unions and other labor organizations. Naturally, the effectiveness of such a movement in furthering the class development of the prole tariat is conditioned upon its complete independence from the bourgeoisie. That is the sense and meaning of the slogan of a Labor party.

Now what is the People's Front, as practised in France and as promulgated in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland? and bourgeois parties. In fact, such a coalition is widely heralded in the of-ficial communist press as the real virtue party of the French bourgeoisie; ir Czechoslovakia, the "National-Socialists" of Benes, the present government party; in Germany, the remnants of the Democrats and the Catholic Center of

* In the United States, of course, it is important not only to stimulate the independent

Bruening. The whole idea of the People's its entire meaning and power in the poli-low" to the "Labor party" and thoroly discredited social-democratic policy of relying upon the so-called democratic bourgeoisie in the struggle against Fascism. The very essence of the People's Front is a coalition with the democratic bourgeois parties, political class collaboration, in plain unvarnished

What, then, has the Labor party to lo with the People's Front? The two stand in diametrical opposition to each other. The fundamental meaning of the Labor party is the class separation of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie and its parties; the fundamental meaning of the People's Front is the class collabora-tion of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie thru its democratic parties. The

Front is rooted in the time-dishonored tical development of the American fascist organizations and company and thoroly discredited social-democratic working class. The words "Labor party" unions! Such is the incredible sweep of remain, but nothing else! What kind of Labor party is it that includes company unions and even fascist organizations? And yet this is precisely the Labor party that William Z. Foster offers us authoritatively as the American embodiment of the People's Front. Declares Foster (The Communist, October 1935):

"The new mass party of toilers should also include sections of the sprouting fascist or partly fascist organizations and tendencies, such as company unions, American Legion posts and groups of the Coughlin or Long movement, etc."

Less than a year before, the Communist Party, then still in the grip of the significant outcome of the Labor party ultra-left madness, had contemptuously is the initiation of the process of politic-spurned all forms of the Labor party

the right-about-face in policy and orientation of the C.P. within the last year!

C.P. PREPARES FOR

SUPPORT OF ROOSEVELT

With the Labor party as the People's Front, the question of supporting Roose-

velt in the coming elections takes on a new and disturbing aspect. For the essential logic of the People's Front policy drives inevitably towards the support of bourgeois government of a democratic cast and, under proper circumstances, to actual coalition with bourgeois parties in such governments. In an article in a recent issue of the Workers Age, I tried to show how the current analysis of the political situation in the United States, developed at and immediately after the seventh congress of the C.I., logically implies support of Roosevelt as the representative of an anti-fascist coalition against the allegedly fascist forces of the Liberty League. Everything that has happened recently confirms this analysis only too well. People are already talking openly of supporting Marcantonio in the next elections when he runs on the Republican ticket. And after all, if you can support Herriot in France, Bruening in Germany. Benes in Czechoslovakia, why strain at Roosevelt in the United States? That the ground is already being prepared for such a turn to Roosevelt is indicated by that brazen declaration of the central committee published in the Daily Worker of January 11, 1936, a statement without a vestige of proletarian or socialist content, an indelible disgrace to any Marxist party.

Perhaps there may be those who will insist that it is certainly stretching things too far even to suspect the C.P. of being capable of such a monstrous repudiation of its own principles as would necessarily be involved in supporting Roosevelt in the next elections. But I am afraid that we cannot view things with such assurance any longer. Recent developments in Europe, coupled with what has been happening in this country in the last six months or so, unfortunately give us every reason to fear that virtually nothing is impossible as the opportunist avalanche gathers momentum. We must not wait for the accomplished fact, when it will be too late; we must raise the voice of warning now, while there is still time.

AGREEMENT IN CONFUSION

It is more than significant that, between the morbid sectarianism of the Trotskyites, on the one hand, and the reckless opportunism of the official C.P., on the other, there exists an inner bond of unity, expressed in the underlying similarity of analysis and estimation. Both the Trotskyites and the C.P. theoreticians envisage the Labor party as merely another name for the People's Front in America. But, whereas the official C.P. uses this alleged identity to cement a firm class alliance between the workers, on the one hand, and the working armers, on the other. This, however, can be done only if the working class is itself rganized politically in complete independence of the bourgeoisie and its parties.

every important respect count hard, and the working imagined!

When the Labor party is confused with the People's Front, as it is by the official C.P. today, the slogan is robbed of its entire class content; it is deprived of the bourgeoisie and its parties.

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With both it is the starting point that is the one extreme of sectarian sterility to the opposite of opportunist degeneration—from the "Labor party from be-live indicates of the communists" (resolution of Central Committee, January 18, 1935)! From the bourgeoistic of opportunist degeneration—from the "Labor party from be-live indicates of the communists" (resolution of Central Committee, January 18, 1935)! From the communists of the c

V. I. LENIN-1870-1924



political subordination of the proletariat to the so-called democratic sections of

al class emancipation of the proletariat except the notorious "Type D": "a Labor from bourgeois influence; the significant party built up from below on a trade outcome of the People's Front is the union basis but in conflict with the burocracy, putting forward a program of demands closely connected with mass strugthe bourgeoisie. A wider disparity in gles, strikes, etc., with the leading role every important respect could hardly be played by the militant elements, includ-

Zimmerman Rejects Plan of Ransoming Jews From Nazis

Sharp condemnation of the "transfer plan about to be brought to this country by a delegation of three prominent English Jews, Sir Herbert Samuel, Simon Marks and Viscount Birstead, was voiced today in a vigorous statement by Charles S. Zimmerman, head of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I. L. G. W. U., an organization of over 30,000 workers. The statement follows:

In a frantic effort to get out of their desperate economic situation and to break thru the world boycott, the German Hitlerites have concocted a cunning plan truly worthy of the Nazi mind. As it is to be brought to this country by three leading Anglo-Jewish financiers, this plan urges the Jews all over the world to raise a gigantic fund in order to finance the removal of propertied Jews from Germany to Palestine by leaving huge credits in the hands of the German government. Otherwise-the Nazi barbarians threaten -they will unleash another, even more frightful campaign of ruthless extermination against the Jews in Germany.
What is this but the brazen demand

of the bandit for tribute, of the kidnaper for ransom? The Nazi gangsters have the Jews in their murderous grip and, with utter shamelessness, they call for

We Keep a Promise

THIS IS THE LAST issue of the Workers Age—in its present form Regions. F. present form. Beginning February 1st (the next numwe will be no more-in our present limited space and

Though we haven't raised todate more than 25% of the \$5,000 we must secure, yet, we are fulfilling completely and immediately one of three objectives of the campaign. This is a daring venture on our part-to start publishing a biggerand we hope better—paper. Why such audacity on our part?

The answer is simple: We have faith in you, in your pledge, in your promise. We have a hunch that once you see us keeping our promise ahead of time, you'll do likewise.

More than that: Every penny due to our German comrades, due to the rebuilders of genuine trade unions in the Hitler Reich, has been rushed over by us-tho the quota for underground Germany is still very far from complete.

So the line we hew to is clear to all: No empty promises.

Only serious assumption of our responsibilities. No time lost in getting on the job to do what we have said we will doand what we all of us must do-in a spirit of service and loyalty to our class in these critical hours.

You! What do you say about yourself? Have you forgotten to give? Have you forgotten to pledge? Or have you forgotten your pledge? Surely it needn't be any of these. It's anything but fair to your class-and unfair to yourself -not to keep up the pace with us. We say this by way of reminder, rather than recrimination.

Don't leave urgent tasks untouched or unfinished.

Clear the decks. Act. Today. At once. We mean business Let's pull together—or the enemies of our class, the foes of labor battling for freedom and social progress will pull us apart and tear us to pieces.

Don't wait. Don't be late. Make good today-your pledge. Eventually you are bound to answer generously our appeal.

the tottering German economy from approaching disaster. In this way he hopes to get the Jews themselves to undermine the boycott against Germany and to supply him with the credits he needs to save the Nazi regime from impending ruin!

But how about the Jews, in Germany as well as in the rest of the world? How about the workers? What will this insidious plan mean for them? As a method of saving the Jews of Germany, method of saving the Jews of Germany, racket of extortion and blood-money. is being sponsored in this country by it is worse than futile. To the vast mass From an economic standpoint, the entire three Anglo-Jewish bankers. It is not

ightened against them as soon as they pecome hostages in a gigantic robber scheme to extort ransom from the world. German Nazism and fascism in general will gain a fresh lease of life from this injection of foreign credits and the deadly menace threatening the whole of mankind will thereby be greatly intensified and prolonged. Every fascist or semifascist regime in the world will be encouraged to try to work the same their blood-money, threatening to let it of propertiless Jews, it can bring no out on their helpless victims if they are relief whatsoever, while the Jews as a of the markets of the world with the scheme is bound to lead to a flooding

refused. In this way Hitler hopes to save | whole will find the screws of oppression | products of Nazi indastry, working under conditions of virtually prison or serf labor. The mass dumping of such goods into the outside world is bound to bring with it consequences disastrous to labor. for whom it will mean wage-cutting and increased unemployment, and to the calling to account o Jews, against whom it will only stir up press is a first feeler. resentment and anti-semitic prejudice Truly a scheme worthy of its Nazi authors!

It is significant that this vicious plan even impossible that it will find support (Continued on Page 4)

| Dodge Opens Drive **Against Communist** Press In New York

The Daily Worker was subpoenaed ast week for investigation under the "criminal anarchy" laws of New York State. Hathaway, editor of the Daily, was not permitted to learn who had preferred the charges, but stated that he suspected the influence of Hearst.

The secretiveness maintained by the D.A.'s office indicates that in all probability the powers that be are not sure of their ground. Neary, assistant to the D.A., was thinking of prosecuting on the basis of a quotation from the Com-munist Manifesto, written in 1848! It is not yet clear if this case is part of a real campaign of labor-hating open shoppism on a nation-wide scale, or is a local Hearst anti-red drive. The frame-up of the Omaha street-car workers, reported in these columns last week, would seem to indicate that the former is being prepared by the ruling class, and that the calling to account of the Communist

The answer to such a move can only be of one type-the mobilization of the forces of organized labor against this attack on the workers. The lessons of European defeats must teach the Amerlican workers that an anti-red drive is the smoke-screen for an attack on the labor movement.

the truth the YCL can get, almost trip ping over it, in fact, without seeing i

Translated by BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Reorganization of the Y.C.L.

By MOE STONE In spite of the dangerously false theories and practices that have been their elementary needs are filled in a the result of the Sixth Congress of the bourgeois, anti-workingclass environfavorable fact must be recorded. For the won to the labor movement if the labor first time in the history of the Young movement takes the matter of the organ-

Theory of Vanguardisn The condition of the Young Communist International today is a heritage of its partly glorious and partly inglorious past. During the first years of the existence of the Communist International, the character of the working of the post. During the first years of the existence of the Communist International, the character of the working of the labor movement to separate itself the youth leagues played the role of the youth leagues played the role of the post. During the first years of the existence of the Communist International, the character of the workers still are bourgeois minded, and above all the young workers. In the united States it is still the great task of the labor movement to separate itself the post of the labor movement to separate itself the post of the labor movement to separate itself that the YCL can never fill in any var. In the workers still are bourgeois minded, and above all a world economy, not merely the sum of "national" economics but above all a world economy, not a planned world economy, and above all a world economy, the contradiction because of the labor movement to separate itself the post of the labor movement to separate itself that the workers still are bourgeois minded, and above all a world economy, and above all a world economy, onto a planned world economy, and the contradiction because of the labor movement to separate itself that the workers still are bourgeois minded, and above all a world economy, onto a planned world economy, and the contradiction because of the workers. In the workers still are bourgeois minded, and above all a world economy, onto a planned world economy, onto a planned world economy, and bour all a world economy, onto a planned world economy, onto a planned world economy, and the contradiction because of the workers. In the workers is the workers in the workers in the workers. In the workers is the workers in the workers in the workers i spearhead of the revolutionary movement against the chauvinistic policies of the dominant socialist leadership. At the Young Communist International was truly the vanguard of the revolutionary movement. However, this temporary and transitional condition was temporary and transitional condition was the recognition of the past would be the first temporary and transitional condition was temporary and trans ment against the chauvinistic policies of the dominant socialist leadership. At munist movement the recognition of the dominant socialist leadership. At munist movement the recognition of the that reason are "people's front" labor The economic situation expanded by the young comrades at that time into an eternal and universal principle known as the "theory of vanguardism,"—a theory that considered the young workers as the most advanced section of the working class and, consequence, had all the unfortunate quently, the Young Communist Leagues the most advanced section of the communist Leagues the most advanced of the solution of the Communist Interests of labor.

The rise is by no means a rapid one, its limits can already be discerned. Englished the considered the young communist turn of the YCL brings up ternational. The Sixth Congress of the YCI took place within a few weeks of the Seventh Congress of the CI and as a consequence, had all the unfortunate quently, the Young Communist Leagues the most advanced to the new turn of the YCL brings up ternational. The Sixth Congress of the YCI and as a consequence, had all the unfortunate quently, the Young Communist Leagues the YCI is to be policies at hand to copy, with pitiful results for the youth movement.

The rise is by no means a rapid one, its limits can already be discerned. Englished the questions that are not answered at lamd's superior economic position in the right will excell those of the most advanced the young communist personnel turn of the YCL brings up the results of the YCL brings up the results of the YCL brings up the results of the YCL brings up the leadership. What have the YCL leaders to say about communist unity? Now that the YCL is to be done the young communist and young turn of the YCL brings up the results of the YCL beaders of labor.

The rise is by no means a rapid one, its limits can already be discerned. Englished the young communist provides the young communist of the YCL beaders of labor.

The rise is by no means a rapid one, its limits can already be discerned. Englished the youn

quently, the Young Communist Leagues the most advanced section of the competition of the youth movement.

After the formative period of the CI was over, this theory of vanguardism became an obstelle to the further development of the Communist Parties and was summarily suppressed. In its place, new programs were drawn up in which the role of the YCL was described by the leader of the YCL into a being politically subordinate to the party. It was considered at that time that just as the Russian YCL was a mass youth movement, broader than the Communist party organization which, while clearly so could the Young Communist League in all countries become mass youth movements, offering a comprehend way for organic unity with the Young in the capitalist countries become mass youth movements of the organization of the YCL was offering a comprehend with the Young knowments, offering a comprehend in the remaining activities to "every working boy and unrealizable. In the United States, for instance, any organization which will include in its rank that it is not not appear to the CP is restricted in the nature of the case of the term. And so it was explained to the Young Communist League in all countries become mass youth movements, offering a comprehend the Young Communist League in all countries become mass of the CPL in the program was of course unity with the Young Interview in the capitalist countries become mass youth movements, offering a comprehend the Young Communist League in all countries become mass of was program of social and cultural activities to "every working boy and unrealizable. In the United States, for instance, any organization which was the Young Communist League in all countries become a result of the CPL is restricted in the nature of the case of the term. And so it was contracted the communist the proposal of the Young Communist League of Nations States of the Young Communist League in the Young Communist League in the Young Communist League in all countries and non-party youth and the Young Communi everywhere outside the stand organization that does not take a stand on how "socialism is to be concretely ac-

internal struggle in the CI. Thus when handles "Marxism-Leninism."

the ultra left faction was at war with Such a "United Youth League" as the the ultra left faction was at war with Such a "United Youth League" as the unfortunate. But, somehow or other, I think this particular news item did not the leadership of the American Party in VCL prates about even if it could come think this particular news item did not the inner difficulties and contradictions to such proposals remain. 1929 the Young Communist Internation- about, would not have a single useful 1929 the Young Communist Internationabout, would not have a single useful al sent a letter to America in which the function to justify its existence. It would the mental response that was desired, in Germany and Italy have strengthened but she is preparing to utilize this situation. Young Communist League was told to not be a mass youth movement because be "the best interpreter of the decisions the YCL and YPSL together form only of the Communist International." Such an insignificant portion of the working instructions were of course not designed class youth and are at present lament-to make of the YCL a mass movement ably isolated from the mass labor movebut a "super-critical watchdog" of the ment from which alone a movement can party line. This reversion to "vanguard-ism" on a lower level went a long way Above all, this proposal of the YCL to make of the Young Communist comes at a bad time. It comes at a time League the "Young Communist Party" when many YPSL members are taking a

day.

The Young Communist League today at a time when the YPSL is playing a recognizes the futility of its existence and is taking steps designed to overcome the it to the left, and any separation of the living." to staking steps designed to overcome the it to the left, and any separation of the living." to staking a hard time supporting herself, but she had been "earning an honest living" to succeed the many is not yet completely armed, and she, left alone, was having a hard time supporting herself. But she had been "earning an honest living" to succeed the many is not yet completely armed, and she, left alone, was having a hard time supporting herself. But she had been "earning an honest living" to succeed the many is not yet completely armed, and she, left alone, was having a hard time supporting herself. heritage of the past. But, unfortunately the steps they take are ushering in a whole new series of errors that, in the leftward movement in their party. Forend will only make the YCL even more and its position even more hopeless.

It to the left, and any separation of the living, to quote the words of the news living from the artificial re-armament may well lead her to undertake war before the armament program has been completely carried out. Actually, none of far all is fine. But now comes the note of the participants in the World War were less.

Staged By—

Staged By—

Staged By—

Staged By—

The wagon wears out unlike the combined with the participants in the World War were transport.

Mass Youth League Needed What is the problem in the United their previous policies brought them. States today? There is the need for the organization of the working class youth "The Young Generation" cultural activities in an atmosphere their "front of the Young Generation." 82!

· AGE ·

Organ of the National Committee
COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION)

I day young people are attracted to the If the fascists speak of the "young generation" (and not only fascists do it Communist International, one ment. On the same basis they can be

of organization and methods. It is ad-problem the solution of which can be mitted now that a real change of outlook furthered by class conscious elements and activity is needed. The YCI Congress has had a favorable result to the ment. But in the last analysis, only the American Youth Congress is that moveextent that this fact was recorded and labor movement itself can take any steps ment,-the American Youth Congress, the problem raised. But the positive in that direction. Just as a labor party which, to quote the 'Young Worker' aspect ends there for in the concrete cannot have the program of any of the "does not recognize the class struggle"! solution of the problem especially as applied in the US the YCL falls sadly into

of development of the working class as a whole, so the labor youth league must | Especially is this policy suicidal in the have a very limited program reflecting United States. In this country, more than The condition of the Young Communithe character of the working youth, who in any other leading capitalist country, revolutionary move that the YCL can never fill in any way. and organizationally. For that reason we

possibly become a mass movement in the real sense of the term. And so it was, that in spite of all theories and programs, the Young Communist Leagues everywhere outside the Soviet Union everywhere outside the Soviet Union to uphold the principles of communism. How can anyone say that an everywhere outside the start that the sense of the YCL can be relied upon to uphold the principles of communism. How can anyone say that an everywhere outside the sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term. And so it was, two quotations show how little the pre-sense of the term.

Communist Parties.

In addition to suffering from the false orientation of the YCI program, the young Communist Leagues have also been subject to factional abuse in the program in the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of been subject to factional abuse in the lead, bringing hap
on how "socialism is to be concretely acfrom a Buffalo station a news item intended to be just another piece of hokum about the spirit of Christmas belong the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the confusion, to say nothing of the young communist Leagues have also of the young communist Leagues

to make of the Young Communist Comes at a bad time. It comes at a time her credit the raising of a family of twelve—no small achievement. Her hust had an all her children had passed on the same taking a communist position on "how Socialism is to be concretely accomplished." It comes to the reward and she left along may be the first communist position of the same taking a communist position on "how Socialism is to be concretely accomplished." It comes to their reward and she left along may be the first countries for the communist position on the way that the same time revolutionary forces are maturing in a number of European to their reward and she left along may be the first countries. The same taking a communist position on "how Socialism is to be concretely accomplished." It comes to the same taking a communist position on "how Socialism is to be concretely accomplished." It comes to the same taking a communist position on "how Socialism is to be concretely accomplished." It comes to the same taking a communist position on "how Socialism is to be concretely accomplished." It comes to the same taking a communist position on the way that the same time revolutionary forces are taking a communist position on "how Socialism is to be concretely accomplished." It comes to the same taking a communist position on "how Socialism is to be concretely accomplished." It comes to the same taking a family nowever, irrespective of the peculiarities of its own situation points the way that the same taking a family nowever, irrespective of the peculiarities of its own situation points the way that the same taking a family nowever, irrespective of the peculiarities of its own situation points the way that the communist position on "how Socialism is to be concretely accomplished." It comes to the peculiarities of its own situation points the way that the communist position on "how Socialism is the way that the communist position on the way that the communist position on the way the same taken the communist position on the way the animous against the ICL policy. For the YCL there is one alternative left: to go through the motions of a mass movement by itself with no more success than sterner stuff. Her last chance of earning a living score to the motion of a mass movement by itself with no more success than sterner stuff. Her last chance of earning a living score to the motions of the motion of the motio

on a mass scale for sport, social, and The second aspect of the new turn is respect" slowly slipping away. And only parations for a war are therefore proceedtheir "front of the Young Generation."
This is not an accidental phrase to be used synonymously with a working class youth movement. With this phrase the YCL shows that what they are trying to organize is not a working class youth movement as outlined in the first paramovement as outlined in the f graphs of this article, but a "mixed-class" movement of all "non-fascist" of idleness, she can go back to trudging because of the initiative of aggressive imperialist countries and thus their economics. youth, including the YMCA, Settlement the streets. The remaining energy in Houses, etc. Whatever other mistakes her frail body can be used to keep her were made by the YCI programs in the off the relief roll, so that the taxes on past they were at any rate always clear the profits of the ruling class of Amerand correct in insisting on the working ica will be that much lighter. Merry class character of the movement. Today, Christmas!

Published every Saturday by the WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION Subtription Rates: \$2.00 per year, — \$1.25 for x months, — 5c a copy. Foreign rates: \$2.50 per tar — \$1.50 for six months. ers of working class organizations and the mass of members, has suddenly become conscious of the "masses" and is now incapable of distinguishing between working class and bourgeois organizarotten tree as capitalism. The YCL excuses its sharp departure

The Meaning of the Proposed from traditional class policy on the ground that "the fascists also speak of the young generation." Admittedly, it is an attempt to defeat the fascists by **Developments During 1935**

but capitalist agents in general) it is Europe from the rest of the world in a because capitalism depends for its existence on the lack of class conscioust the relations between Europe and the true of France; less so of Great Britain, tho here too there are developments in the relations between Europe and the cussions in America.

world economic relations, to mounting dangerous degree. tendencies of national isolation on the economic field, to a sharpening of the to be functioning quite normally. But unevenness of economic development of the conflict between "public opinion" and individual countries. Nevertheless, it the cabinet in the case of the Lavalmust be remembered that capitalism is Hoare proposals in which the governmen not merely the sum of "national" econ- found it wise to retreat, indicates that

ordinary exploitation of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie and on a system of credit inflation. (4) The consequences are growing financial differentiation of the war at the expense of termination of the war at the expense of the consequences. Christmas Story ficulties, an increase in state finances, Ethiopia. The result was the surprizing

piness and cheer into the lives of the GERMANY AND ITALY

the inward glow that comes from the and accelerated the tendency to seek a for feeling that the lot of the meek and way out thru war and thus avoid the tary field she is preparing on a tremendlowly has to some extent been made lighter.

The story was of an old woman of 82, who fifty years ago had nursed English the war the economic difficulties and revsoldiers and had been decorated by Queen
Victoria for her services. She had also to

Ing. Italy, however, irrespective of the

To sum it up, Europe in 1935 was well

To sum it up, Europe in 1935 was well

To sum it up, Europe in 1935 was well

ing a living seems to be gone. It looks adequate are even the most advanced war as if she will be reduced to sponging on preparations compared to the actual the state, her "morale" and "self- needs of a modern war. Economic preing on an enormously extended base, and

BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA

SEASONABLE FOOD REASONABLE PRICES

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By AUGUST THALHEIMER omies become more and more burdened It is, of course, impossible to isolate by war preparations. This is especially

ness among the masses. With a truly other continents were especially impor- Consequently, the bourgeoisie of proletarian movement that lives, dev- tant this past year. Europe gave rise to France is moving in a fascist direction Communist League, there is a frank recognition of the fact that the YCL is not a real youth movement nor can it ever become one with its present form The YCL leaders make no secret of what Mongolia. The Ethiopian war as well as crees has been applied on a large scale. their front of the young generation is the Japanese attack in Northern China The budget rights of parliament have to be like. They admit frankly that the have had economic and political reper- been narrowed down. The law to dissolve the fascist leagues passed by the French The general decline and decay of cap-italist rule has led to a disruption of strengthened the executive power to a

laws contradictory to those of the rest being thrown open even to non-communists, what have they to say on the prob-

the English bourgeoisie. But the motives

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LENIN ON THE "PEOPLE'S FRONT"

An Article Warning Against Misunderstanding The Role of the Petty Bourgeoisie

Translator's Intro duction

ciple: they put the relation of the proletariat to the petty producers in ar

The "People's Front"

gard the discontent of the proletariat alive. Now the Comintern has made a and reaction. awaken in them or an important part of them such efforts). In other words they are aroused to defend the foundations are aroused to defend the foundations of the works are aroused to defend the foundations of the works are aroused to defend the foundations of the works are aroused to defend the foundations of the works are always of the works. tions of the present system and so to speak to bring it back to its earlier con-

Against sections XI and XII I have

ening of the struggle naturally takes place also in the case of the small producer. But its "struggle" is very often the nationalists and populists, of the so-cial reformists and revisionists or "critics of Marxism." And right now, when the "sharpening of the struggle" of the small producers is accompanied by the "sharpening of the struggle" of the struggle" of the "socialist and populists, of the socialist and populists, of the struggle with many others."

Lenin's article was written in February or March 1902 but it has, as the reader and the Inevitability of this struggle with many others."

Lenin's article was written in February or March 1902 but it has, as the reader will discover, a palpitating timeliness to day. Party members can fittingly of existence and unemployment, the prosecutive for democracy, no one can maintain that the cent weird pronouncements on Roosevelt is neither Radical Socialist any more than our Democratic party is a fighter for democracy, no one can maintain that Herriot, Daladier and Cot, that the cent weird pronouncements on Roosevelt is neither Radical Socialist any more than our Democratic party is a fighter for democracy, no one can maintain that therriot, Daladier and Cot, that the cent weird pronouncements on Roosevelt is neither Radical Socialist any more than our Democratic party is a fighter for democracy, no one can maintain that therriot, Daladier and Cot, that the Cent was written in February or March 1902 but it has, as the reader day. Party members can fittingly observe Lenin Day by absorbing and application and degradation for democracy, no one can maintain that therriot, Daladier and Cot, that the Herriot, Da against the Mountain (i.e. revolutionary socialists-B. D. W.)-it is most untimly to throw any and every "sharpening"

into the same pot.
"The International Social Democracy stands at the head of the movement for the freedom of the toiling and exploited not a word of its conservative (and even masses." . . . By no means. It stands reactionary) character. That is entirely only at the head of the working class, of the labor movement, and if other eleand not classes that so adhere. And they attach themselves completely only when they "forsake their own standpoint."

"They organize their fighting forces." ... That is not correct either. The Social ing forces" of the small producers. organizes only the fighting forces of the working class. The conception chosen for the draft program becomes even les fortunate when we keep in mind not Russia but limit the picture to "developed" bourgeois society.

 $N \cdots E \cdots W$

First Number - Order Today

INTERNATIONAL

Edition)

Summa summarum. The draft speaks in a positive form of the revolutionary

point, in order to adopt that of the (i.e. revisionists—B. D. W.).

are reactionary.... If they ever become revolutionary ("if"!), it is only because they are afraid of slipping down into the ranks of the proletariat; they are not defending their present interests, but their future interests, they are forsaking their own stand-they are forsaking their own stand-they are forsaking their own stand-tip in order to adopt that of the like them disillusion him, and he will then come to us all the more surely, the more surely, the more decive him. And actual proofs of this theory are also given abundantly by history up to also given abundantly by history up to all of them to forsake their standpoint and adopt ours, and not the reverse; we do not abandon our standpoint, we do not abandon our standpoint, we do not merge our class struggle with that

revolutionary character. Only such a conception is in complete agreement with century that has passed since the Comthe entire spirit of Marxist teachings. munist Manifesto, matters have become accident, as an oversight, still it is an interior of the masses (the masses in general, and not only the workers). ... That is not correct either. The Social The Communist Manifesto declares for Democracy nowhere organizes the "fight-example that precisely in this connection, nothing has become different. "dictatorship," is irreconcilable with the "Among all the classes that conference front the bourgeoisie today, the proleinterpretation of the procession of the proleinterpretation of the proleinterp tariat alone is really revolutionary. Agrarian Program precisely from this support the proletariat when the prole... The lower middle class—small standpoint). He said just this: so long tariat accomplishes his own revolution, nanufacturers, handicraftsmen, pea- as the small peasant proprietor doesn't the proletarian revolution, then it would sant proprietors—are not revolution-ary, but conservative. Nay more, they to us. His place is with the anti-semites. ship," then such an overwhelming

There the enemy was Czarist autocracy and the discontent of the small producers as identical and to lump them together. The discontent of the small producers very often arouses their efforts to defend their existence as small property owners (and must inevitably awaken in them or an important part.

porary alliances even with uncertain So Lenin's warnings and analyses have elements. No political party can exist even more force in the latter case than without those alliances." in the former.

letariat, could possibly be regarded as counts. This criticism has never before pressed. ducer. But its "struggle" is very often directed against the proletariat for the very situation of the small producers is the French "model" the "Possible of the Comintern is to be found in the proletariat must seek to or of the Comintern is to be found in itself sufficient to bring their interests in many respects into a sharp opposition to the interests of the proletariat. In general, the proletariat is not at all the general to one interests of the proletariat must seek to defend those interests of the petty bourgeoisie which do not conflict with the that section of Lenin's article which interests of the proletariat, but can never adopt the proletariat is not at all the French Communist Party and the Input pourgeoisie as its own in order to Lenin, German edition, Vol. V, pp. 38 to defend those interests of the petty bourgeoisie which do not conflict with the that section of Lenin's article which interests of the proletariat, but can never adopt the program of the discontented present at its from the German, and the French "model," the "People's Front" defend those interests of the petty bourgeoisie which do not conflict with the that section of Lenin's article which interests of the proletariat, but can never adopt the program of the discontented present at very and the Input provided and producer is expensed in the Committed it from the German, and the French "model," the "People's Front" defend those interests of the petty between the proletariat must seek to the French "model," the "French Committed against a Spanish translation, the checked against a Spanish translation, the french checked against a Spanish translation, the checked against a Spanish translation. The checked against a Spanish translation, the checked against a Spanish translation. The chec bourgeoisie. If it is so at times, it is only when the small producer recognizes only when the small producer recognizes the inevitability of his disappearance, when he "forsakes his own standpoint," in order to adopt that of the proletariat." The leading representative of the small producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken "his of the producer when he are not vert forsaken to the producer when he are not vert forsaken to the producer when he are not vert forsaken to the producer when he are not vert forsaken to the producer when he are not vert forsaken to the producer when he are not vert forsaken to the producer when he are not vert forsaken to the producer to ded revolutionary character of the small producer (completely one-sided and false present to the producer without devicting by so much as a hair's breadth to the small producers (emphasis to the producers (emphasis to the producer without devicting by so much as a hair's breadth to the small producer (completely one-sided and false present to the producer (completely one-sided and false present to the producer without devicting to the producer (completely one-sided and false present to the producer (completely one-sided and false present to the producer (completely one-sided and false present to the produ The leading representative of the small producer, who has not yet forsaken "his own standpoint," is very frequently that of the anti-semites and the landowners of the nationalists and populists, of the so-the nationalists and populists and populists are lattered to the producer, who has not yet forsaken "his attitude in France which finds its Manifesto, the teachings and writings of takes away the basis of our struggle with the 'critics' (Marx-critics or relation to the producer, who has not yet forsaken "his attitude in France which finds its Manifesto, the teachings and writings of takes away the basis of our struggle with the 'critics' (Marx-critics or relation to the population of the peasant to the takes away the basis of our struggle with the 'critics' (Marx-critics or relation to the peasant to the takes away the basis of our struggle with the 'critics' (Marx-critics or relation to the peasant to the takes away the basis of our struggle with the 'critics' (Marx-critics or re

but in Germany, the imitation of the ers have forsaken the class standpoint of "People's Front" in 1936.

indicate the conservative character of the petty bourgeoisie. And only in a conditional limited form can we indicate its

Further, in the draft the reference to of all kinds of unreliable elements. the dictatorship of the proletariat, which tation by the proletariat is expressed:

ion, is twofold: First, it indicates the energy with which the government has begun to prepare for the next war which will be a war involving similar in the property of the p

AT FIRST GLANCE

mean that it is revolutionary.) but says

In a positive form we can (and must)

onesided and wrong.

CLASS STRUGGLE ational Communist Opposition. (English onomic, political and tactical problems f the international revolutionary move

January - March Issue Contents

Problems of Illegal Organization Germany. By Leo. Road To Communist Unity—A Letter to the Communist International. Lenin or Luxemburg?

New York City

By Bern Brandon

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at least eleven million full-time unem- It is these qualifications which helped ployed? Has the "Brain Trust" gone dry on screwy ideas? What has been paralyzing these works?

One does not have to travel far or cance of this appointment, in our opin-

WE HAVE A HUNCH that Farley's as hardboiled a military man as could be picked for the post. He saw action the Literary Digest poll figures todate. These, unlike 1932, now reveal an anti-Roosevelt trend. Without going into any and France. But General Craig not and Roosevelt trend. Without going into any and France. But General Craig not and Roosevelt trend. Without going into any and France. But General Craig not any source only have contribly military experience. analysis of the short-comings or merits only has outright military experience, of the Literary Digest poll, let us give he also has plenty of training in mar-

majority would be assured that we could get along very well without dictator-ship (as the "Critics" also want to make us believe). The recognition of the neces letariat to the petty producers in an entirely onesided and false form. (For "the toiling and exploited masses" consist precisely of proletariat and petty bourgeoisie). These sections contradict directly the basic principles of both the Communist International and of most modern the International and of th

the International and of most modern social democratic programs, and they open the door to populist, revisionist and all possible kinds of petty bourgeois misunderstandings.

"The discontent of the toiling and exploited masses is growing"— that is correct, but it is completely wrong to reard the discontent of the proletariat gard masses is growing to the proletariat alive. Now the Comintern has made a long kept its teachings, its very text, and the middle class. True he was writing and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the bourgeois in the fatal policy of rejecting and reaction of rejecting and relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the Czar and not all alliances and regarding even the Socialists and the relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the Czar and not her relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the Czar and not her relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the Czar and not her relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the Czar and not her relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the Czar and not her relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the Czar and not her relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the Czar and not her relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the care replete with the petty bourgeoisie!"

In his matter is shown by the follow-united front and all alliances and replaced the provided warning, with analysis, with guidance on the relationship between the proletariat and the middle class. True he was writing on Russia under the Czar and not her relationship the relationship the relationship

phrase, which looks as if we were weeping about the ruin of bourgeois and petty bourgeois (!!), I would tel the simple facts: 'which by the ruin of the urban and rural middle classes the petty bourgeoisie and small peasant proprietors, widens or deepens the chasm between property-owners and propertyless'." *

I will be answered that in the counter Yet, never for a moment did Lenin As typical of these viewpoints of Lenin, draft it is a question of the positively forget that the petty bourgeoisie as a we have selected his analysis of the role conservative character of the small proditions.

"Its struggle, and above all the struggle of its leading representative, the proletariat, grows sharper..." A sharp-axing of the struggle naturally takes.

"A general wind quotations forget that the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class.

It is struggle, and above all the struggle, so we shall now with quotations of the small proclamation. The petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class. Position, is essentially reactionary. He with the drafting of a program for the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1902. For a conservative character of the small proclamation and the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class. Position, is essentially reactionary. He with the drafting of a program for the divergence of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class. Position, is essentially reactionary. He with the drafting of a program for the divergence of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class. Position, is essentially reactionary. He with the drafting of a program for the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its own class. Position, is essentially reactionary. He with the drafting of a program for the petty bourgeoisie as a class, seeking to defend its only elements that abandoned its class Plechanoff had written a draft program. system"), whereas its revolutionary standpoint and adopted that of the pro-

wider layers of the toiling population. Thru this conception is expressed the are reactionary.... If they ever be- Let them disillusion him, and he will lidea that the professional is the representation to the entire toiling population, idea that the proletariat is the represen

And further, the thought of represen

those needs, so that in its (the prole-tariat's) declaration of war against capitalism it may appear not only in its own name but also in the name of all the 'suffering and impoverished" masses knit one's brow much to find the why knit one's

(Continued from Page 1)

remarks—particularly after the Thomas diatribe.

This newest attitude of the C.P. towards American social-democracy in process of disintegration is fatally false.

Fawning is as wrong as fuming in Communist dealings with the S.P. If the C.P. will persist in its ultra-right, nonaggression-pact attitude towards the social-democracy, it is bound to lead to a break with Communist fundamentals. This warning of ours holds equally well-for the C.P.'s cautious but consistent campaign recently launched to prepare the membership and sympathizers for supporting Roosevelt—under certain conditions—in November.

It is high time that the C.P. membership con our part, we hope the Daily Worker and the New Masses will discuss and enlighten us about these questions we have and the New Masses will discuss and enlighten us about these questions we have On our part, we hope the Daily Worker and the New Masses will discuss and enlighten us about these questions we have raised and the challenge we have made.

The HAVE A HUNCH that Farley's as hardboiled a military man as could as hardboiled a military man as could record in the boot and shoe industry for maintenance of the foundation of production and have as their economic aims the Working class because all other classes rest on the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundation of private property in the means of productions are property in the means of productions and have a property in the means of productions are productions.

** Note by Lenin: The more "good things" of the Literary Digest poll, let us give the basis of our conclusion.

By New Year's Day (1936) Roosevelt's works Progress Administration had spent less than \$200,000,000 of its \$4.

O00,000,000 "job-creating" fund. Why reputed to be the largest and best administered in the country.

he also has plenty of training in marshalling, in regimenting, and militarizing exhibiting in the practical part of our program, the "severer" we must be with these unreliable and internally contradictory elements in the theoretical part of the program, without even deviating by so much as a hair's ply from William Green was received. without even deviating by so much as a hair's breadth from our own standpoint. Here, please, accept this, our standpoint, and then you will find all kinds of "good things" with

Books of the Age

THE SOVIET UNION AND WORLD | the magic wrought by the mind and hand Chicago Press. 254 pages. \$2.50. Reviewed by Ellen Ward

This book reproduces the series of lec tures delivered last summer at the eleventh Institute under the Harris foundation at Chicago University. The lectures included: Ambassador Alexander Troyanowsky, Ivan Boyeff, Chairman of Amtorg, Vladimir Romm, correspondent of Izvestia, Hans Kohn of Smith College and Malbone Graham, of California University.

(2) Soviet State Monopoly of Foreign much race hatred endures and flourishes Trade, (3) Geographic Tendencies in the Soviet Union, (4) The Nationality policy of the Soviet, traces its develop Policy of the Soviet, (5) The Peace Pol- ment from the very beginning of Bolicy of the Soviet.

Policy, Ambassador Troyanovsky points the difference in the policies of Chicherin out again and again that the keystone of Soviet diplomacy has been world flooding the world with blazing manipeace. He cites in great detail, example festoes calling upon all the workers of material contains very little that is new governments and form workers republics, to the close student of Soviet affairs Litvinoff was proceeding, step by step but it is all very useful and convincing to build up a series of sober peace pacts material to the average American who with those same governments; first with is just beginning to aquire an interest those of the so-called buffer states and in the Soviet Union.

The second lecture deals with the history and principles of the foreign trade ful notes on the peace policies of the monopoly and outlines the subordinate Soviet Union both in Lenin's day and development of the Soviet Union, point-speech of acceptance of membership in ing out that the fundamental task has the League, 1934; Treaty between Gerbeen the establishment of the technical many and the Soviet, 1926; Non-aggresand economic independence of the USSR sion pact between the Soviet and Finwith respect to the capitalist world. The land, 1932; Soviet-French Treaty of Mulecture also traces the growth of foreign trade from pre-Bolshevist control to our vakian Treaty of Mutual Assistance,

"Geographic Tendencies" in the Soviet Union is the title of the third lecture and on transport, raw materials, population it is the most delightful chapter in the etc; Maps on new and reconstructed book. It is wonderful, indeed, to behold towns and industrial centers.

PROBLEMS. Chicago, University of of men when he plans for society and not for profits. The redistribution of productive forces and the creation of in dustrial centers closer to the sources of raw materials have immeasurably increased the output in agriculture, iron copper, oil, locomotives and in other fields.

The lecture on the Nationality Policy of the Soviet draws a vivid picture of the whole complicated problem and shows with what felicity it is being solved in the midst of so many difficulties. These Their respective topics were: (1) Basic Principles of Soviet Foreign Policy, rest of the capitalist world where so

The last lecture, dealing with the peace shevist rule and contains many amusing In his discussion of Soviet Foreign passages—especially those relating to after example, proving his thesis. His the world to overthrow their imperialist later with the more distant lands.

The book also contains a series of useof foreign trade in the economic since; and appendices on: Litvinoff's tual Assistance, 1935; Soviet-Czechoslo-1935; Stalin's Report to the 16th Party Congress on Nationality, 1930; Graphs

Herberg Answers His Critic

To the Editor of the Workers Age: In the last issue of the Workers Age, there is a brief article by Edward Peters, future article on American fascism. taking issue in some points with the analysis of fascism made by me in a prehis main contentions and conclusions.

1. The definition of fascism developed conception, of course, but, in these days, this is not enough to make it "orthodox

2. Comrade Peters declares that: "It ler) government displays 'contempt for Peters seems to believe. conventional bourgeois legality,' that it employs 'unstinted violence,' and exhibits 'parliamentarism in decay and discredit'." Comrade Peters simply hasn't read my are: "the theories of the Catholic Church article carefully enough. I never said a sa represented by Coughlin; and antiword about "this fascist government" semitism . . . "The Coughlin movement or about other fascist governments. My is undoubtedly fascist and anti-semitism remarks were entirely limited to the fascist movement before it takes power.
such a movement, I said, arises under
I think the roots of fascism lie a little conditions in which "parliamentarism is deeper and extend a little farther. in decay and discredit"; such a movement displays "contempt for conventional hope that Comrade Peters will think bourgeois legality"; such a movement employs "unstinted violence" against the working class and its organizations. I specifically emphasized that, upon taking power, fascism undergoes a very characterizations, he wites, referring characterizations, he wites, referring the content transformation. My very significant transformation. My very to my examination of fascism "are valid words were: "We will leave to another in point of time and place but they are occasion an examination of the funda- of no value in determining just what mental changes that it (fascism) undergoes once it has vaulted into the throne." I am afraid Comrade Peters, on his part does not fully appreciate the profound and very vital distinction between fascism "on the make" and fascism in the saddle.

classification of state-types Comrade Peters makes is hardly one that will appeal to a Marxist. "There are three basic definitives of the relation of the state to the citizen and vice versa The first is Hegel-Hitler-that the state is master and the citizen a slave. The second is Jefferson-Mattei-Bellarminethat the state is a slave of the citizen. The third is that both the state and citizen are slaves of God, who by metonymy, is the Church. . . ." The trouble with this classification is that it is utterly abstract, unhistorical and superficial. der what head would Comrade Peters place the soviet state? Surely not under the third (theocratic) or the second (Jeffersonian) type. Then it must fall under type one-along with the Hitlerite state! It certainly is a very curious scheme of classication that can place two such diametrically opposed state forms under the same rubric. I am really afraid it will notedo as a Marxist analysis; it unfortunately ignores entirely the concrete class content of the state!

I cannot deal with this matter at length here altho I do intend to discuss it in a merely want to suggest one or two ideas. Religion, it seems to me, may very well vious article (Workers Age, Jan. 4. be put to use by the fascist movement or the fascist state, after it has been Peters says is quite interesting but I am given the proper nationalist or racialist afraid I cannot altogether agree with cast. But fascism is bound, by the very law of its nature, to regard the church (a socio-ecclesiastical organization, as an in my article is, unfortunately, not "an essential challenge to its totalitarian orthodox communist formulation," as claims. In some form or manner, the Comrade Peters too readily assumes. On church as an institution must be subthe contrary, it is a conception originally ordinated to the fascist state and, in the developed by the theoreticians of the end, "coordinated". I could very well German Communist Opposition in sharp call attention to the relations between disagreement with the then views of the fascism and the church in Italy, where C.I. It is a thoroly correct and Marxist a temporary truce has been reached, or to the situation in Germany, where there is open war. Nor are things in Austria communist," if thereby is meant "official fundamentally different, in spite of the communist." trian fascism. The church and fascism is incorrect to say that this fascist (Hit- are hardly to be identified as Comrade

5. It is surely hard to take seriously Comrade Peters' contention that in America the two chief sources of fascism

I cannot close without expressing the and where fascism exists in the United States." Really-"no value WILL HERBERG

January 15, 1936.

Zimmerman Rejects Nazi Proposal

(Continued from Page 1)

here in the United States among a handful of Jewish bankers and financiers. For what concern have the big Jewish capitalists in the fate of the masses of their race? What interest have they in a genuine and effective struggle against fascism? They are bound by a thousand golden threads of selfish interest to German capitalism and to the Jewish bank ers of Germany, who, in spite of year of humiliation and persecution, are still crawling at the feet of Hitler, literally begging him to be allowed to do his dirty work for him. In sponsoring or defending this nefarious plan of extortion and blood-money, the Jewish bankers are openly acting as go-between for the murderous Nazi bandits! In this country we are accustomed to regard kidnaping and holding for ransom as most heinous offences, frequently punished with death. the church and fascism is really quite so is brazenly committing in the face of HAVE YOU CONTRIBUTED simple as it appears to Comrade Peters. the word. And those who, for whatever

LOSING THEIR CHAINS ... by James Sand

The Anarchists in America

(Continued from last issue)

"Propaganda by deed" was in for a bad time in 1886. Out of a sympathetic march in behalf of workers striking against the horrible conditions in the MacCormack Harvester Company, there came a terrible tragedy in Haymarket Square, Chicago, in May of that year. A bomb was thrown into the midst of the crowd of sympathizers who had gathered there, and whom the police had come to disperse. No one knows who threw the bomb; no one has ever found out. It looked like an attempt to "get" the anarchists. Instead, it got a goodly number of policemen. The leaders of the Chicago group of anarchists were arrested. Anarchism was thrown into disrepute by the garbled reports of the newspapers. The name of Johann Most conjured up horrendous visions in the minds of the "respectable" people of America.

Fischer, Engel, Spies, and Parsons were sentenced to death and executed. Several others were sentenced to life imprisonment. Later Governor John P. Altgeld who was to prove such a firm friend of labor in the "Debs Rebellion" pardoned those imprisoned for the crime.

Most was a hounded man after this. Every public crime committed while he lived was more than likely to be charged to him, either directly or indirectly. But he did not remain quiet about Haymarket and the execution of his comrades. Emma Goldman described a speech he made on the subject, -the first time she ever saw or heard Most. "His speech was a scorching denunciation of American conditions, a biting satire on the injustice and brutality of the dominant powers, a passionate tirade against those responsible for the Haymarket tragedy and the execution of the Chicago anarchists in November 1887. He spoke eloquently and picturesquely. As if by magic his disfigurement disappeared, his lack of physical distinction was forgotten. He seemed transformed into some primitive power, radiating hatred and love, strength and inspiration. The rapid current of his speech, the music of his voice, and his sparkling wit, all combined to produce an effect almost overwhelming. He stirred me to my depths." Johann Most had made his most profound impression upon American life.

There is little else that need be said of him for the next twenty years. He spent two terms on Blackwell's Island for terroristic agitation, but he was not stopped by this. Morris Hillquit, in his autobiography, has a graphic description of Most and of a case in which he defended him. It is worth reading. Of course, the assassination of McKinley by Czolgosz caused Most to be hunted as an accessory, which he was not. It caused even greater hardship to Emma Gold-

Before he died Most had broken with Berkman on the question of individual terror, and had estranged himself from Emma Goldman too. But Most's death called forth a tribute from her at a memorial meeting to him. In her he lived on.

No more trenchant criticism can be made of Emma Goldman and her position in the American labor movement than the mere statement of the fact that she is now persona grata among the bourgeoisie. She is today a topic of conversation for rich dowagers, and a sales-talk asset for circulation managers. Her value is immeasurably enhanced in these twilight days of American capitalism by the fact that she detests the Soviet Union. Since she is thought to be a "radical," criticism of the proletarian state in action from her pen becomes a weapon ten-fold more powerful for the bourgeoisie than any they have. That her criticism of the first workers' society is based on either complete ignorance or conscious distortion of the ideas of Marx and Lenin does not trouble her in the least. But, then, this is nothing new with "philosophical anarchism." Since Bakunin clashed with Marx in the First International, the two ideas have not met on any common ground.

With Emma Goldman the difference becomes much clearer, since she alone among the leading anarchists has seen the Soviet Union come into existence and progress. She thinks that Bill Haywood's going over to Marx was treason to anarchism. So it was; but it also happened to be acknowledgement of the fundamental correctness of Lenin and the

Bolsheviks. In an article in the "new" devitalized American Mercury, she dilates on a theme now sixteen years old with her; to wit, "There is no communism in Russia." It is one of the most inane articles ever written on the subject of the Soviet Union. Communism is the ultimate aim of the social revolution. But it is the third stage in the march; the first being that of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the second, that of the withering away of the state: Then and only then, does the classless communist society come into being. Emma Goldman neither says this nor understands it. She calls the Soviet economy "state capitalism." One might as well call Hitler a Leninist: it would make about as much sense. To expect, as she does, that communism is going to spring full-panoplied from the head of capitalism is to believe in a divine spark in human nature which will suddenly burst forth without any urging. Emma Goldman is sitting and waiting for the emergence of that divine spark. Hindoo philosophers are also sitting and waiting for the emergence of Nirvana from their navels.

That Emma Goldman's anarchism would end thus was evident as early as 1919, when she arrived in Russia after her deportation from the United States with Alexander Berkman. Because men did not become angels as soon as the Bolsheviks seized power in November 1917, she thinks Lenin "a false Messiah." She denounced the incarceration of the old anarchist warrior, Peter Kropotkin. She says nothing of the fact that Kropotkin had urged the continuance of the war against Germany and had denounced the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Had the Bolsheviks done as Kropotkin wanted, they would have been utterly defeated by Germany and Czarism would have come back over the bodies of the Russian workers. But worse yet, Kropotkin denied the necessity for a proletarian dictatorship. He wanted the organization of small autonomous groups, self-contained and self-sufficient. Emma Goldman also wanted that and still does. But this is nothing more than a reversion to a medieval economy. It means turning back the march of civilization. It means a denial of the objective world. It is day-dreaming, at which anarchists are unusually adept.

What she wanted was no government at all. In what the editors of Harpers Magazine call her "last will and testament" Emma Goldman, now sixty-six years old, reiterates her stand on this matter.

Emma Goldman expected the revolution to be something like a lawn-party. So it might have been if the bourgeoisie had not wanted to retain their power, if the foreign imperialists had not intervened to save their investments, if the Russian nobility had surrendered their barbaric privileges without a murmur. So it might have been, in short, if not men. but mummies had been implicated in it. When human beings cease to be active creatures, life will be what Emma Goldman wants it to be. At present we still have to come to some compromise with an external environment if we expect to do anything towards changing the social system. All Emma Goldman can see is the society she wants. Marxists also see the society they want; only they know what they have to overcome before they can achieve it.

She was born in 1869 in Kurland, Russia. In January 1886 she came to America. Her childhood was a living hell for her, and much of her later agitation for freedom dates back to her hatred for the authoritarian cruelty of her father. Her early years here were marred by an unhappy marriage, which she finally sundered. Then she gave herself to anarchism She became a lecturer, edited Mother Earth, and became known as the leading exponent of anarchism in America. The fact that she was a woman cast a romantic halo about her. Her life forms an integral part of the story of social revolt in America, but hers is a story of fruitless revolt leading nowhere. It is explosive, coruscating, wild, and energetic. As far as the social revolution is concerned, it might as well have taken place on the planet of Mars. Today she finds herself an old woman, leading a leisurely, hum-drum existence, completely outside any significant social movement.

Next Week DANIEL DE LEON AND THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

this same guilt before mankind!

ing scheme the only answer it deserves We must not allow ourselves to be black- an instant our war to the death against mailed by the threats of the Nazi bullies or fooled by the "promise" of the Nazi perjurers. Under no circumstanres must ance to the victims of fascism and to we loosen the economic noose which is

Nazism and fascism. On the contrary, we must increase and extend our assistthe heroic underground labor movements slowly but surely strangling the gang

of the fascist-ridden countries. For the threatened with a lockout because of Jews snatched from the claws of their lied industries have been in question. tormentors only by the complete over-throw of fascism and fascism can be overthrown only by an uncompromising will do remains to be seen.

Approximately 90,000 workers are in-volved. What the Socialist government

reasons, act as his intermediaries share, ster regime in Berlin. We are certainly, and unvielding fight on all fronts, inside not ready to help the German capitalists of Germany and outside, a fight in which American labor and the masses of the American Jews will give this insultof jobs. We cannot afford to slacken for ply the necessary foundation and the necessary driving force in this great historical struggle for the very future of mankind!

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