# Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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# C.P. GIVES INDIRECT AID TO ROOSEVELT

# Democrats Adopt Platform With Liberal Veneer

### PLATFORM DODGES DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Labor Clause Contains Loopholes To Avoid Any Commitment Of Party; Farley's Steamroller In Complete Control At Convention

> By JAY LOVESTONE (Special Correspondent Workers Age)

PHILADELPHIA.—For five days and nights Farley whipped his cohorts into the wildest and noisiest political convention ever held in this country. Cowbells kept the Democratic donkeys hopping, braying and doing everything but kicking. Sirens, pig-calling, crowing, light-flashing, organ-pealing, applause-meters, monopoly of the air, a furious brass band, Jack Dempsey, Gene Tunney, Dizzy Dean, Lilly Pons, One-eyed Connolly, an Indian princess (pure blood), a live mule, Major Bowes talent, Harry Hirshfield, more than forty Senators, at

least twenty governors, a special Mummers parade, prayers of all stripes, a battery of cabinet members, a horde of Yankee diplomats, and last but most important-President Roosevelt himself-were all brought into play to perform in one way or another so as to sweep off their feet not only the eleven hundred odd delegates but the country as a whole listening on the air. It was to be a grand stampede.

Farley's Follies of 1936 had three tasks to perform, three stunts to put over, three grand notions to sell to the country in order to clinch the overwhelming re-election of President Roosevelt. These three

1. To put over the idea that here was a living, virile, confident aggregation of Democrats in striking contrast to the sluggish, apathetic, floundering collection of Republicans steeped in passimism and panic.

2. To convince even the most

## **OFFICE WORKERS** WIN STRIKE

against the Metropolitan News Co., distributors of newspapers in New York City. The agreement, signed Wednesday, June 24, provides for the following: (1) Closed Shop: (2) A \$21 week minimum, (3) A 10% increase for all workers who had not received increases within the past year; (4) Time and a half for overtime; (5) Seniority rights; (6) Reinstateof workers discharged in the Oct. 1935 strike.

The agreement covers fifty workers and is to run for one year. This victory, following upon the successful conclusion of agreements with the Jewish Day and the Jewish Morning Journal, marks an auspicious beginning for the new president of the BS & AU. Samuel Baron. Brother Baron headed the union negotiating committee. The successful settlement of the strike shows what a militant, constructive, progressive leadership can do even in this most difficult field of white collar workers.

cynical skeptic that all was milk the car pass, whereupon the scabs and honey, the completest of har- jumped out brandishing guns, and mony and homogeneity, in the Democratic fold. Only "Five Blind The sheriff has arrested to the sheriff has a sheri Men" took a walk and landed. . .

numbers of the middle class folks in the cities and towns the idea that in these hours of stress and strain the Democratic Party was a a gun. genuinely progressive party dedicated to the social welfare of the overwhelming majority of the country, free from all big business KNITWEAR UNION taint, and above all led by a miracle-maker, a super-human, sort of gift of god. To say the least, of course, this giant among giants was none other than Franklin Delano Roosevelt, now occupying the White House and to continue to occupy it for the next four short

Every decision arrived at on the convention floor, every syllable uttered in the convention hall, every camera clicking countlessly, every Klieg light torturing incessantly, every type of noise put on the air was dedicated to the achievement of these three goals. This was Farley's strategy. And to this strategy A signal victory was scored by the platform, the keynote speech, controlled the knitgoods manufacturers to the speech of acceptance were all the knitgoods manufacturers to the speech of acceptance were all take up the question of the renewthe Bookkeepers', Stenographers, the speech of acceptance were an the Kinggoods manufacture the Bookkeepers', Stenographers, and Accountants' Union (Local subordinated—at least in so far as take up the question of the renew-least of the greenent with the additional demands of the Union be silly to think of Farley not being able to help himself to anything and everything at the Philadelphia convention. Farley was the firm hand, Roosevelt, the charming voice.

> To what extent did this strategy work? How far did Farley get with his plans? What is the real significance of the Democratic convention? What is the election outlcok? What is ahead for the Democratic Party? What's class-conscious labor to do in this situation?

### The Convention At Work

If noise-making, howling, shrieking, jumping, dancing, walking, velling Waahooo-Wahoo, handclapping, parading and literally going nuts are to be considered yardsticks of intelligence and industry, of vitality and confidence, then this convention of nearly three thousand delegates and alternates was the epitome of genius and joy. Actually, everything was (Continued on Page 2)

## STEEL BARONS **USE TERROR**

Boss terror swooped down on the striking steel workers at Portsmouth, Ohio, resulting in a pitched battle between the armed strikebreaking thugs of the employers and the strikers. The strike pulled out 5,000 workers under the banner of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Work-

strikebreaker was killed when the company attempted to transport food from one section of the mills to another on a freight car. The strikers refused to let

The sheriff has arrested a picket, James Sexton, on charges of 3. To sell the great mass of murder. This action is a deliberate workers and farmers, the great frame-up, since it is admitted that the scabs opened fire, and since the Sheriff's "evidence" consist of his word that he saw Sexton with

# PLANS STRIKE

The eventuality of a general strike in the knitgoods industry when the present collective agreement expires on July 15th was provided for at a special joint meeting of the executive boards of the three locals comprising the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, at Union headquarters on Tuesday, June 23rd. At this meeting it was decided that a General Strike Committee be established.

The meeting decided to call a tional demands of the Union.

Realizing that the present attitude of the employers might not permit for a settlement through negoiations, the Executive Committees stressed the importance of proceeding with preparations for a general strike. To keep the membership informed of whatever transpires at the conferences and to have them ready for any emergency, the Executives decided upon the following meetings:

June 25th-Meeting of all helper crafts comprising the younger and most exploited sections of the industry.

July 2nd-Membership meeting of locals 155 and 2085 U.T.W.A.

July 14-On the eve of the expiration of the agreement a general membership meeting to give instructions to the Union membership as to the course of action to be taken on July 16th, the day following the expiration of the agreement.

### NO PRINCIPLE INVOLVED IN VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT, SAYS BROWDER

New Deal Platform Is "Progressive"; Minor In "Peace" Report Paves Way For National Defense; S.P. Hit As "Sectarian".

> By M. S. MAUTNER (Special Correspondent Workers Age)

The nominating convention of the Communist Party, assembled at Madison Square Garden, chose Earl Browder and James Ford as presidential and vice-presidential candidates respectively, running on the slogan of "A free, happy and prosperous America for all", emphasizing that this is possible under capitalism. The platform of the party includes demands for old age, and other security laws, unemployment insurance, the government's taking over and running closed factories and mines, nationalization of munitions, moratorium on mortgages and other immediate economic demands. On the field of foreign policy it calls for sanctions against nations that conduct a foreign war contrary to the provisions of the Kellogg Pact. The platform called upon the "people" to safeguard their "traditional" rights and demanded unconditional freedom of press, speech and assemblage. The issue of the election, it claimed, is democracy versus fascism, and therefore called for the defeat of Landon.

(A detailed analysis of the platform will appear in the next issue).

The ninth convention of the week in New York, and delivered itself of a maze of contradictory analyses in most cases and glaring omissions of analysis in others. After seven years of crisis, seven years of "bolshevization", seven years of "liberation from Love-stoneism", the Party finds itself being "Americanized" by making the most vulgar opportunist concessions to the Democratic Party in the elections, to American imperialism on the war question. The line of the Seventh Congress was amplified and applied to the American scene, with dangerous results, on every important question facing the class-conscious workers.

The organization of the convention was a perfect example of the "new democracy"-by which the leaders explain to the membership. No speaker could get the floor without first having received permission of his state The state chairman then applied to the speakers' committee, who had to be told what "experience" the comrade wished to relate. Then and then only could he get the floor. A few of the higher-ups, Stachel, Hudson, Childs, and state leaders, "elaborated on" Browder's reportthat is, touched on none of the questions raised therein, but reviewed general activities of the party in the trade union field. Rank-and-file speakers stuck closely to their appointed tasks, a recounting of the most recent strike in their areas.

### Discussion Divorced From Reports

No one discussed the report of Browder or of Minor on the "peace question." After Minor had spoken the delegates dealt with the progress of the "united front and people's front" in their localities just as they had done after Browder. So obvious was this sharp division between the reports and the discussion, and therefore between the "role of the leaders" to explain, the the question.

Communist Party, U.S.A., met last and that of the rank-and-filers to accept and discuss the success of a line in the past which was just being "decided" now, that Browder was forced to discuss the glorious "unanimity" of "his" party in the summary. After all, how can it be that a group of workers, recruited from various sections of the country, some new in the movement, some old (and knowing better), should all not only agree, but be so crystal clear as not to even raise a single question or express doubt? (Especially considering the (Continued on Page 3)

The Chicago Federation of Labor has adopted a resolution demanding that the Executive Council withdraw its "ultimatum" to the. Committee for Industrial Organization to disband.

This action swings into the camp of the industrialists the second largest city labor council in the country, and one which has a history of progressivism. It is today the basis of the soundest local laber party, the Chicago and Cook County Labor Party.

The resolution stresses the long xistence of the problem of organization of the unorganized and states that "the action of the A. F. of L. . . . in serving an ultimatum . . . on the C.I.O. is provocative and gives the press of the enemies of labor basis for talk of 'split' and, ... the entire approach to the problem thru emphasis on ultimatums is disruptive of labor solidarity.'

Therefore the Chicago Federation called on the Council not to take action prior to the convention "which alone" has the right to set-

## **EUROPE TODAY**

### Spain's People's Front In Crisis

THE People's Front in Spain is in serious crisis. The country is decisions were made for the delegoverned by the Left Republicans with the support of the Social gates in smoke-filled rooms, no dishas been strengthened thru the election of their leader Azana to the floor, no committee reports gates or the radio listeners was chairman of Roosevelt's convention presidency altho it would have been quite possible to elect a Social were open to debate or amendment Democratic president. The president of Spain has great powers. He from the floor, no questions could may dissolve parliament and is in a position to dictate the composition be posed to the convention officers

The People's Front policy prevented the working class from assuming the leadership over the peasants and farm laborers to com- was a devilishly efficient machine plete the agrarian revolution. The peasants were ready for such action, but they could not act without the political and organizational help of for the occasion. Along side of it, the working class, without the existence of workers' and peasants' the Republican steam-roller at alliances. On the other hand, it had become impossible for the working Cleveland was really a horse and class to collaborate with the liberal bourgeoisie in the People's Front and to organize the revolutionary struggle of the peasants at the same time. The slogan of workers' and peasants' alliances issued by the Communist Party was bound to fall on barren ground under these circumstances. Both Communists and Socialists forced the peasants to tee on Rules and Order reporting accept the miserable agrarian reforms of the Azana regime providing thru Senator Bennet Champ Clark pears in harmony and peace, unity a small minority with strips of land on which no peasant can eke out of Missouri for the abolition of and homogeneity in the Democratic ous, aggressively liberal. Not only a living and leaving the vast majority without any land at all. The the two-thirds rule in selecting the Party. In a large measure this is the speech but also the demonstration of party. In a large measure this is bourgeoisie, thus, systematically isolated the peasants from the working class and prevented a unified, centralized revolutionary peasant

the two-thirds rule in selecting the presidential nominee, brought in this recommendation to abolish a movement.

The government has already begun a terror campaign against the peasants. The "energetic" minister of the interior, Quiroga, or- ly and simultaneously included a is due to the fact that the forces dered the shooting of 19 farm laborers who had taken possession of motion to close the discussion, to making for disruption of the Demsome large estates. His intentions are plainly to ward off a peasant shut off debate. First of all, the ocratic Party, as we have known military adjutants, soldiers, special

The "left republican" government is also taking steps against the aye and nay vote was taken. There That is why it is still possible to placards bearing the legend "Curworking class and its organizations. The syndicalist unions have taken was a considerable number yelling over the leadership of economic struggles, since the Social Democrats nay. Permanent Chairman Robinhindered the extra-parliamentary actions of the workers, particularly the it was really never opened. It the more liberal—yet only mildly significance. For the moment, the and Communists in their subservient role to the People's Front have son decreed the discussion closedon the economic field. Communists and Social Democrats of the reform- was hard to tell whether the ayes ist unions permitted the arrest of strikers and supplied scabs in a or nayes had it, without resorting waiters' strike in Madrid led by the syndicalist union (CNT).

The government is now proceeding to close the headquarters of the Syndicalists in Madrid and to arrest their leaders.

A section of the Social Democrats and Communists in the Cortes is now demanding the dismissal of the Minister of the Interior. They fail to realize however, that the issue is not the personality of the Minister of the Interior but the left republican People's Front government and the People's Front itself which began by disrupting and weakening the revolutionary forces of Spain and has now become an instrument of an open, counter-revolutionary attack against the revolutionary organizations of the workers and peasants. This development of the People's Front in Spain is not a Spanish peculiarity. I is a result of the coalition policy with bourgeois parties. It is a sign of what will happen in France.

### Blum Takes Over The Government

In the course of this week, Leon Blum will take over the government of France. The Socialist Party of France held its conference a few days ago, and has given certain indications of what might be

As a result of the People's Front policy, the left wing of the S.P. organized in two groups led by Zyromsky and Pivert respectively, is disarmed and confused. The conference was controlled by the right wing under the leadership of Paul Faure and Leon Blum. The resolution of the conference was adopted unanimously.

The greatest significance (to be sure, of a negative character) must be attributed to the section on "People's Front Committee." It specifically states that such committees can only consist of representatives of those parties and organizations represented in the People's Front, thus preventing the development of broad class organs of the ing called for a sharp fight against working class which might in the course of time develop into soviets. the right wing, is now proposing Czechoslovakian parliament ab the donkey stable. We have in mind The People's Front committees as outlined by the S.P. can be nothing more than auxiliaries of a bourgeois coalition government in which the Radicals have the upper hand. (Resolutions must be adopted unanimously, so that rejection by the Radicals would be decisive). The C.P. made it easy for the S.P. to reject a broadening out of the People's Front committees. It formulated its demand in such a way as to give tion of Social Democrats, Catho-viously trying to follow the new capitalist system, yet they do difthe impression that the People's Front must be extended to the rightto the Croix de Feu and the Catholics.

Two characteristic points in Leon Blum's speech must be noted: 1. He rejected the role of a "Kerensky government"—which had Belgian Labor Party, Vandervelde, been attributed to him by the right—with the cynical and unfortunate- who is called "Boss" by the So- Bauer Corrects C.P. ly justified remark that he could not discern any Lenin in France. In cial Democratic workers of Belfact, the C.P. in an official letter to the conference again assured the gium, has come out for the Peo- national Communist policy based Crassly these differences come to a S.P. of its loyal support "without reservations", which includes the ple's Front, that is, for the partion on the resolutions of the 7th World head over the question of social approval of military credits.

2. Blum demanded that the trade unions (read, trade union burocrats) keep a close watch on the strike movements.

The strikes of the metal workers in the Paris region, in which the workers occupied the factories in order to prevent lock-outs and which contained a considerable element of spontaneity, brought refreshing winds into the labor movement. In the majority of cases, the factories occupied were ammunition concerns. The action of these workers was very encouraging. The trade union leaders of the C.G.T., however, regardless of their political affiliations, are obviously at- offend the king, and that he would C.P. and the S.P., the voluntary inadequate social legislation. But tempting to end the strikes and to start negotiations instead. They were careful not to inject political demands. Jouhaux declared that the 40-hour week demand is a political question which must be solved fore chose a straw hat as a com- alition proposals to the Schuschby parliament. Moreover, they failed to call upon workers of other industries to demonstrate their solidarity. Such is the effect of the People's Front on the trade union leaders. The objectives of the trade to the monarchy. It goes without to the monarchy. It goes without spectacle of the Austrian Social clearly any unbridgeable differunion leaders lie along the lines of "industrial democracy", of collaboration between the representatives of trade unions, employers and the a soviet dictatorship fighting for portunism of the C.P. and correct-the whole the Roosevelt document government. There was absolutely no opposition by the Communists to this line. The strikes have spread to a number of other industries of the C.P. and correct the whole the Roosevelt document power have no business with a monarch. This ridiculous action munist viewpoint.

# THE "NEW DEAL" CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 1) cut and dried, no decisions were really made by the delegates, all in public. There was in operation a juggernaut, not a steam roller. It which Farley had oiled and greased buggy-with the horse crippled and old and the buggy shaky and breaking down.

For example, when the Commitvote came on closing discussion. An it, are not yet sufficiently matured. band, and covered with a bevy of to a show of hands. Robinson followed the same course in determining the vote on the proposition itself. Senator Wagner, reporting for the Resolutions Committee, followed the identical procedure in retting the convention's "approval' of the platform.

Farley, as stage director, would | progressivism is anathema to him put over in any other fashion. It ivered his address it would not be nominated. Certainly, the convention delegation consisting of a very nor of Alabama (Scottsboro). large proportion of paid government officials or party corporals and seargents have all the confidence in the world that Roosevelt and Garner will clean up in the there will then be a free for all in tions are very much justified.

#### A Storm Is Brewing

Superficially, outwardly, all appractice in force for more than a on to what they have. In a more 1940. Likewise, the comic opera hundred years, it also automatical- basic sense this surface unanimity performance of Governor Curley of collection as the reactionary crew from the Southern tier of states, the Tammany types in the industrial centers of the east and middle and far west, and the more recently recruited forces in the rural com-

are there. Here we do not have in reactionaries in whose domain the mind at all the Smiths, the Elys, ground for fascism is most fertile and the Colbys. They and their ilk will accept their loss of domination We cite these instances merely to have lost considerable influence in in the party convention. It does llustrate procedure and not, at the Democratic Party ranks. In mean that the present party leadthis time, to evaluate the specific the coming election campaign they ers are aware of the sharpening of proposal and platform adopted as will play no significant role. Ra- antagonisms and are now taking such. There is no doubt that the ther we have in mind types like steps to prevent another paralysis results, even if there were debate, Scnator Carter Glass of Virginia, such as the 1924 McAdoo-Al Smith would have been unchanged. Yet, Even the slightest tinge of social case. More than that, by 1940 the

### Meet The King!

The People's Front policy of the Communist International has had a confusing and demoralizing effect on the left wing of the Belgian Social Democracy. Despite the heavy defeat as a result of its coalition policy, the left wing of the Belgian Labor Party aware of | Doing A Straddle the reason for the defeat and havmunist Party.

in the government.

Thus the left wing, confused by the right opportunist line of the enter the fascist organizations en waverings, inconsistencies, and re-C.I., is aiming in the dark.

The leader of the C.P. of Belgium, Jacquemotte, has made a visit to the king. He declared among other things that he would

factories has become the dominant C.P. of Belgium wants to show its crew will demand more than one ability to govern in present-day pound of flesh in the reapportionbourgeois Belgium which is head | ment market in order to have and ed by a king. "Audience at court" to hold as much as possible of its were the exclusive privilege of erstwhile position of virtual vetothe revisionists before the warof the right wing of Social Democracy, which thus tried to prove | How Liberal Is The Democratic its fitness to govern under the mon-

The Communist fraction in the

demoralizes the regime.

offend the workers. He there- is expressly forbidden and any co- Wadsworths. promise. He claims to have told nigg government are ruled out.

not allow the performance to be Judging by the way Robinson delwas an iron hand with a golden incorrect to conclude that he also smile. I doubt whether any stimu- has real misgivings. One should lus to the confidence of the dele- never forget that the permanent was a foregone conclusion that inson of flogging and share-cropper Roosevelt and Garner would be re- fame (Arkansas). The same evaluation must be made of the Gover-In fact, no small part of the act-

ing in these Follies of 1936 was in preparation for 1940 when Roosevelt will be out of the way and coming elections. Their expecta- the question of a Democratic nominee for the presidency. Thus, Governor Earle delivered a speech of a certain sort. It was amongst the best offered in any capitalist party conclave-relatively frank, vigor-

The decision to abolish the two thirds rule is of great historical Southern delegations yielded on the basis of a meaningless promise to recommend to the convention of 1940 a plan for reapportioning the convention delegations on the basis of Democratic voting strength rather than population. However, this Nevertheless, the incongruities does not mean that the Southern Democratic Party will be in a more and the method of occupying the |can have only one meaning. The difficult situation and the Southern

### Party of Roosevelt?

power over presidential nominees.

In comparison with the Republican outfit the Democratic coterie is in general decisively more liberal. When we say that, we do not over-Chamber of Deputies of the look the variety of types herded in another coalition government with stained in a vote on a large mili-only the present dominant policies the Communist Party included-a tary loan of about 6 billion Czech and persons. Historically, it is cor-People's Front. In reality, such crowns. In the senate, the Com- rect to say that the Roosevelt is no a People's Front would mean noth- munists voted against it. In this less anxious than Landon to pering more than the present coali- manner, the C.P. of Czech. is ob- petuate and strengthen the present lics and Liberals plus the Com- instructions of the C.I. and at the fer over no unimportant items in same time to placate the revolu- the realm of methods and policies The right wing leader of the tionary sentiments of the workers. to be pursued to achieve the stabilpresent system of capitalist exploi-In line with the present inter- tation and bourgeois oppression. cipation of the Communist Party Congress of the C.I., the C.P. of legislation. Here Roosevelt on the Austria has called upon its mem- whole symbolizes a more progresbers and upon all anti-fascists to sive section of capital despite his masse and has made a disguised sort to stratagems supposedly as a proposal for coalition to the Schus- matter of smart politics. Governor hnigg government-if the latter Lehman's struggle with the Republican majority in the New York However, in a united front pact State Legislature is illustrative. not wear a soft hat so as not to recently concluded between the Lehman demanded only the most not wear a top hat so as not to entrance into fascist organizations even this was too much for the

While a point by point comparison of the Democratic and Repub-

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 1) constant flood of letters to the question box of the Daily Worker, and the ferment in the lower ranks of the party).

To answer this situation, direct result of the burocratic stultification of the party by the present regime, Browder resorted to the most shameful demagogery. Delivering his summary, he called out "Does any one disagree with the line of the party? If so, I will gladly give up the platform that he may express his opposition! Even excluding the question of a handpicked delegation, or the practice of burocratic expulsions for any and all disagreements, the party leadership was well aware, that having set the stage in such a fashion, practically arousing a lynchspirit, making the whole question of differences in discussion one of deep-dyed crime possible only from a class enemy, that none would step forward. More accurate would it have been had Browder called for any to discuss at all his report or the draft resolution!

#### Browder Kowtows To F.D.R.

the speakers in the form of the theory that "the Democratic platmost revolting hero-worship, ref- form shows progressive features, erence to the "deep love for Brow- and a generally progressive tone. der." his "masterful report," "full This was due to the fight of John agreement with the line expressed" L. Lewis and other progressive -followed by such a speech as forces. In doing this, Lewis cor made clear that the "line" is some- rected his previous policy, which thing to be applied and not discus- we had criticized, of giving a blank sed and understood.

The report of Earl Browder did not merely repeat and elaborate try." So the Communist Party's (dealt with in last week's Workers tic Party, has been accepted by Age) but added certain new fea-Age) but added certain new features, on the Roosevelt question, on demagogy of the New Deal "prothe trade unions, and on the party's attitude towards violence, which attitude towards violence, which deepened the opportunist crisis.

Omitting completely even the pretence at an economic analysis der's next contribution escaped his contained in the draft resolution, keen mid-western eyes. But it re-Browder plunged into the morass presents, truly and fully the whol of the party's policy in the 1936 mess. Once again he had to face elections. Forced on the one hand the question of why Roosevel by the persistent questions and could not be supported since his doubts of the party members on the platform was now progressive. Roosevelt question, and on the "Because", pontificated Browder, other, by the inexorable logic of "the Democratic Party is a capitalthe People's Front policy, Browder ist party, whose ruling circles are "faced" the question of supporting controlled by Big Business, THE Roosevelt in the elections "if the SAME BIG BUSINESS THAT IS Landon-Knox ticket is the chief ATTEMPTING TO DRIVE IT enemy". And in attempting to OUT OF POWER!" Such an analy answer this, Browder plunged the sis defies all comment. party deeper in its own contradic tions, practically erasing the whole principled attitude of the Commu nists towards the bourgeois state.

elsewhere in this issue. But can a full-fledged fascist regime'

**Roof Gardens** 



108 West 43rd St., New York FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 10th, 1936 at 8 P. M.

LOU ROSS and his Orchestra

- Auspices: -Summer Labor Institute of the New Workers School

45 CENTS

Continuing the analysis which its role in the coming elections. ". . . we declare that Landon is the chief enemy, do everything to shift the masses away from voting for him, even tho we cannot win their votes for the Communist Party, even the the result is that they vote for Roosevelt." The truth of the matter is, of course, that the latter is precisely what the party wants, instead of rolling up, its own independent class vote

When Browder summarized, he apparently wished to make sure that the policy of capitulation to the New Deal was thoroly under-Such discussion was dismissed by stood. For here he developed the check to Roosevelt. The platform represents concessions to th workers and farmers of this coun-American people's front.

It is really amazing that Broy

### Whose State Is It?

In dealing with the program of the "two tendencies" (i.e. Fascist-"Let us be very clear on this Republican Party, and People's tated by dogmatic rejection in some to learn that the state apprinciple of the idea of supporting paratus belongs to no class today, a bourgeois candidate under any probably being the personal propand all conditions. Lenin long ago erty of Roosevelt. For Wall Street, Lemke as a "Landon stooge." This

grant that in very special and doesn't as yet control the govern- never criticized it, and bemoaned tered so pompously by the guberspecific cases it is permissable to ment, we "the people" can make its defeat uncritically). Lemke was natorial candidate one hint could support a bourgeois candidate, how a race for it, as in point 4 of the not really a fighter for the farmer, be discerned. It was apparent that this applies to America in general, "second tendency's" program: "Re- | we learned, because he tied up re- | Minor was preparing the way for where the problem is to tear the store control of the government financing, which is OK, with a "jacobin defense" policy in workers away from the bour- to representatives of the people's Coughlin's inflationism. At the America, for the defense of the geoisie, or to 1936, in particular, organizations, thru a broad peo- same time, Bill Green was scored American imperialist government where the problem is to smash the ple's front." While the continued for opposing the bill! decay of capitalism in America brings into disrepute, more and a false position and leaving un- ing to make this statement openmore, the whole concept of "peo- clarity in the minds of party mem- ly, he developed this idea by imallows Roosevelt no policy, save ple" and the "representatives of bers are still remnants of the old plication: "jacobin defense" is the as he steals from the yet unborn the people" the corrupt and bought days, sustained only by the false policy in Czechoslovakia and property of the people of the corrupt and bought days, sustained only by the false policy in Czechoslovakia and the people of the fascists out of the people's front and from Hearst, al-tools of finance capital, a state of and burocratic regime. A few other the fascists out of the ternately, Browder clearly revealed affairs which the Marxists have examples intruded themselves, such army"—the slogan in France. Can always fought for in order to free as a reference to "Wm. Green's anyone deny that the latter is a the masses from their bondage to fascist proposals to the Republican correct policy and applicable in

ernment?

These methods of slipping out of with the Soviet Union. Not darcapitalist politics, the Communist Convention," or the business of America, asked Minor? Look at Party revives the old populist illusions about "restoring the country bolster the party line, as by mainto the people" (typical bourgeois taining that the Chicago Farmer- tional Guard that the Black Ledemagogy). Precisely when did the Labor conference endorsed state- gion received its guns and ammu-"people" have control of the gov- labor tickets (when it deliberately tabled the resolution) or that Lewis raise and apply the slogan of Very little differentiation exists sent "greetings" to that convention

Browder Distorts Lenin

gle for the sake of the socialist struggle or ignore the latter

for the sake of the former? No, a class-conscious worker calls

himself a Social-Democrat . . . precisely because he understands

the interrelation between the two struggles. He knows that

there is no other road to socialism but the road thru democracy

thru political liberty. He therefore strives for the complete and

consistent achievement of democracy for the sake of attaining the

ultimate goal-socialism. Why are not the conditions for the

democratic struggle the same as the conditions for the social-

ist struggle? Because the workers will necessarily have differ-

ent allies in those two struggles. The workers wage the demo-

cratic struggle together with a section of the bourgeoisie'

(Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 153). Taken from the report of

Browder's speech, as printed in the Daily Worker, Thursday,

'our guiding principle on this question" (People's Front, de-

fense of bourgeois capitalist democracy.) But what did Comrade

Browder forget to mention, after giving chapter and verse?

HE "FORGOT" TO STATE THE HISTORICAL SOURCE OF

THIS QUOTATION! He "forgot" to state that this was written in

a polemic against the Russian Populists who believed Socialism

would come thru the peasant communes, who in the words of

Lenin, "have no faith in the capitalist development of Russia"

ary class. ABOVE ALL LENIN WROTE OF FEUDAL RUSSIA

GOVERNED BY AN ABSOLUTE MONARCHY, BEFORE

THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC CAPITALIST REVOLUTION

HAD OCCURRED-he urged the fight for the overthrow of

feudalism because he knew that until the forces of capitalism

were given full play to develop, the proletariat could not organ-

DOES BROWDER THINK WE ARE LIVING IN A FEUD-

ize its forces on its own class basis.

LUTION. TO SOVIET DEMOCRACY!

and therefore in the creation of the proletariat as the revolution

It is this quotation, Comrade Browder confessed, which is

in a war in which it was allied

American form it becomes the slogan for "keeping the employers' from becoming officers in the National Guards"! Let proletar-"Can a class-conscious worker ignore the democratic strugians lead the strike-breaking armed

forces! Since it follows that this thoroly false slogan applies to America, then, his audience was left to understand, we can have a revolutionary defense of imperialst America, as in Czechoslovakia. The practical task, the main emphasis of the great campaign of

nition, hence in America we can

cleaning the fascist out of the

National Guard. In its specific

the Communist Party for "peace" s to send delegates to the World Peace Congress at Geneva this autumn. Not strikes, mass demonstrations, mobilizations of mighty labor protests against the Roosevelt War Appropriations, but participation in a sterile pacifist congress. How stupid this pacifist cloak over the remnants of the evolutionary communist position on war, looks, can be seen when Minor stated that "anyone who

#### does not support the armies of China battling against Japan, is not really for peace!

Deeper Into Swamp The Ninth Convention undoubtdly marked the intensification of the opportunist course in the American party. Under the slogan of "realpolitik", the "practical" politicians who are preparing for a People's Front government accused the Socialist Party of "doctrinnaire sectarianism"—that is. opposition to the People's Front. One of the few things that is to be welcomed in the present Socialist Party, its opposition to Roosevelt, marks the S.P. in the eyes of Earl Browder as "doomed to play no serious role in the mass life of this country". Such a strug-German Social Democracy, to carry out a crass and vulgar opportunism, a policy of cringing be-The second major report of the the latter party there was no real fore the Democratic Party. For convention was delivered by Robert censure for its own policy of lynch-

No attempt at a real analysis whole party could a campaign of moment, Hathaway had to go back to the wrong position of the party on the Frazier-Lemke inflation bill, and make it sound right. We now evade the strategic and tactical ship be educated? Yet despite the discover that the party didn't support it (altho they enthusiastically of "mixed war". In a so-called size of his audience, Earl Browder. reply to the analyses of the Par- pundit extraordinaire, did not enty's war position made by the lighten his people "concerning the C.P.O., Minor stated: "Our ene- reformist opportunism of Lovemies accuse us of having dropped stoneism.

own bourgeoisie'. We have not." party membership would mean to And that was that. For the most | be forced to raise the very issues part, the international analysis which are puzzling the party and was a rehash of what was said at causing a ferment in its ranks. This had to be and was avoided.

IS BROWDER UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION IS YET TO COME? LENIN'S POLICY, WHEN A BOURGEOIS CAPITALIST REVOLUTION HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN FEBRUARY 1917. WAS NOT TO ACCEPT IT AND CALL UPON THE MASSES TO SUPPORT IT. HE CALLED UPON THE MASSES TO FIGHT IT-TO DRIVE AHEAD TO A PROLETARIAN REVOquestion" (i.e., Roosevelt) said Frontism), all pretences at Marx- between such phrases and those —when he sent it a cold telegram gle against "sectarianism" is a Browder, "Our answer is not dic- ism were dropped. It may surprise that wil be flung about by the of refusal to participate and called threadbare cover, reminiscent of

upon it to vote for Roosevelt. group Browder sees as a "Hearst "Struggle for Peace" taught us that such doctrinnaire policies are not revolutionary". Browder teaches us, is organizing to "Seize control of all govern-What Lenin taught is dealt with mental machinery, moving towards since they will find Lemke opposite the communication of the com since they will find Lemke oppos- years, the tradition of the commucial security and relief, of building Landon as well as Roosevelt. nist movement has been to discuss ing the army and navy—there was Significant in the party's treat- the "Struggle Against Imperial- chiding for its "retreat" before the ment of such politicians was the struggle list War", but Minor reported on Liberty-Leaguers—as if it basicreport of Hathaway on the agratian question, wherein he read a tive of the false policies based on Congress of the rian question, wherein he read a tive of the false policies based on letter from a party comrade who wondered if it would be alright to support Lemke. "since the party to support Lemke. "since the party to support Lemke." support Lemke, "since the party had never criticized him." At this

the Seventh Congress.

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### Edmondson, Anti-Semite, Linked To Hitler

Robert Edward Edmondson, the boss of Edmondson Economic Service, 80 Washington St., New York City, has been indicted on charges of criminally libeling Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College, Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, and the Jewish religion, in New York courts.

Daily there pours from 80 Washington St. New York, tons of antisemitic literature to all parts of the United States.

#### Self-Exposure

Describing the beginning of his "crusade", Edmondson wrote in his bulletin of Jan. 28, 1936, The Patriotic Crusade Against Jewish Anti-Americanism; "On March 27 1934, I issued a bulletin headed: Bankrupt Leadership', declaring that Republican leadership had shown bankruptcy by refusing to reform anything, and that Roosevelt had indicated it by trying to reform everything. A prominent investment interest asked me why I had published this. I replied that it was a patriotic duty to expose bad political leadership. 'Is that all?' I was asked. 'Yes,' I answered. The questioner then held me spellbound for an hour. He and his associates had studied the Jewish problem for years. He unfolded a story of politico-economic subversion of France, Britain, Germany and Russia, producing historical suppressed records of fact and authority, largely Jewish, furnishing documentary evidence that Jewish leadership had caused the depression and was moving to take over the United States thru the Jewish-Radical Roosevelt administration.

"When he had finished I asked: 'What are we going to do about it? He said: 'I don't know.' 'I do,' I declared. There is but one course. Pitiless publicity is the only cure for public evils, and I am going to Broadcast Jewish anti-Americanism, and expose the plot. The Real Issue is: Shall a minority rule?

"I immediately began the campaign, using several thousand dollars of my own resources to get it on a self-supporting basis by revolving receipts. I have circulated over five million pamphlets which have been reprinted and distributed by between 1,000 and 1,500 volunteer patriots . . . I have desk room in a printing plant of friends who have loyally stood by me. high European authorities have written me that my method of direct attack on the cause is the only effective way to defeat communism . . . German emancipation from Jewish communism points the way. " (our emphasis).

### Swastika-Branded

Who is the "prominent investment interest" and "his asso ciates" who are financing Edmon-Who are the "High European Authorities" who correspond with Edmondson?

The outstanding sympathizer with Edmondson's ideals in Europe is the Nazi dictatorship of Germany. Edmondson gives the game away with, "German emancipation from Jewish Communism points the way."

American fronts?

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### Mooney Greets C.P. Convention

"To you one and all I extend the hand of proletarian fellowship in militant solidarity. May your deliberations prove of great benefit in furthering the best interests of the working class. I give you my pledge to keep the working class flying until the end whether it will be within these gray walls or out there in the great fight with the rest of you. I greet you in your onward march to complete working class victory. I know you will let nothing prevent that working class unity which alone can win our every fight and defeat our every foe. I send you all my most affectionate conmradely greeting from this fighting proletarian heart."

TOM MOONEY.

# "New Deal" Convention

eralized a bit in its last secret hours in order to counteract the possible effects of that illegitimate offspring of the GOP—the Lemke-Coughlin racket.

The Democratic platform is more skillfully formulated and is far more rubberized. In the hands of a Farley and in the mouth of a Roosevelt it can be of any number of uses. It is so flexible in many respects that it is very difficult to violate it. This is especially true of the handling of the question of a constitutional amendment to enable the federal government to deal with the problem of social legislation. The platform grants the theoretical posisbility of a constitutional amendment being necessary for such purposes, but it does not advocate such an amendment. What is still worse, in speaking of this issue and its relation to so-called states' rights and federal rights, the platform refers to "their respective spheres" and thinks of an amendment possible to keep "cach within its proper jurisdiction.' This is hollow hypocrisy, befogged evasion, deliberate dodging.

And while Senator Wagner was reading the extremely putty-like labor plank of the platform, officers of the United Rubber Workers were being treated in a truly Democratic fashion in Alabama and workers were picketing the convention hall in protest against Robinson's role in the Arkansas flogging. From the angle of evasion and omission, this section of the platform is especially significant.

As was expected, the high light and climax of the big show was the address of the President at Franklin Field. The writer has not seen such a massing of people at a political meeting in years—except in Nazi Germany. More than a hundred thousand jammed the arena in the face of intermittent showers and not very comfortable arrangements. Here one could see as clearly as possible how much Roosevelt stands head and shoulders above his partners in politics. The speech was well constructed, superbly delivered, and put over with solemnity and a more than usual varnish of sincerity.

But let no worker fall for all this drama. Lloyd George performed even more ably in his

Edmondson's poison literature is identical with that issued by William Pelley of the Christian Party. who has openly boasted of his Nazi connections and published the anti-semitic Protocols of Zion in the United States, Edmondson defends the Protocols and republished excerpts from the forgery Is Edmondson one of the Nazi in his pamphlet "The Hidden Em pire".

prime when he battled for far more substantial social legislation. Of Roosevelt thundered course.

against the "economic royalists." So what? Did he say a syllable about what he or his party did to remove the "economic royalists" and the causes making for them? Of course not. And there was good reason for this: The very NRA itself served to strengthen the trend towards monopolization inherent in capitalism, organic with the very system which Roosevelt is striving to serve and save. Furthermore, regulation and taxation of monopoly are not in themselves antitdotes to monopoly. At best they disturb some individual monopolists in the interest of the maintenance of the monopolist system as such.

There is the slimmest likelihood of Landon winning. The Liberty League and Hearst are allies of doubtful value to the Republican Party in the coming campaign. The Lemke fabrication may influence some Congressional seats but at a too high price in cold cash. The election will be hard fought. In spots it will be spectacular. The resulting relationship of forces in the House, the vote in the electoral college will very likely be closer than in 1932. But just now it appears that Roosevelt's popular vote will be at least as big.

From Browder to Hutcheson, labor appears tied in various ways and in varying degrees to the Reosevelt chariot of the Democratic Party. With the CP it is less frank, concealed and distorted.

The direction, however, is very definite. For its failure to put up a united labor ticket on an elementary but fundamental class basis in the 1936 elections, for its adoration and support of Roosevelt and his program this year, the American labor movement will pay a heavy price in the not distant fu-

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# "Our Capacity To Produce"

### By ECONOMIST

The inability to produce at full capacity reveals a basic flaw in the workings of the capitalist sys-The fact that the existing economic organization is unable to utilize its own wealth and production is a challenge to all those who openly avow its superiority over all other economic systems. Since the economic structure of capitalism is supposed to have given more in terms of wealth and comforts for the peoples of the world, it is equally pertinent to question the tremendous unused capacity or the existence of idle plants during all phases of the business cycle. The Brookings Institution, in its publication "America's Capacity To Produce",\* 18 very conscious of this indictment. that challenges the very foundations of the economic justifications of the status quo. Its statistics, diligently compiled by their researchers and conservatively estimated, indicate a possible increase of 20% in production if the present economy could function at capacity. Their investigations have led them to conclude that "we could have brought the 16.4 million families whose incomes were less than \$2,000 all up to that lev-Their grand conclusion shows that the 19% increase they estimated as the possible "added production . . . our industrial plant was technically capable of under the conditions prevailing in 1929." Translated into money it would mean an increase of 15 billion dollars in our national income, as of 1929, or an enlargement of the family budget of the nation to \$1500. This net result has been achieved after analyzing, in the industries and related trades of America, the inability of the industrial structure to produce at capacity in any of its parts. Capitalism thus falls far short of functioning at maximum capacity even during boom years when investments and profits have their throttles wide open. A very uncomfortable dilemma for the national economy!

### Superior Capitalism!

It should be emphasized that the Brookings Institution starts with a very practical and empirical premise: the infinite superiority of capitalism over any other economic system, past, present or future. Its facts therefore are not to be accepted as the last word on the subject. They have used the most conservative basis for their statistics. Their methods of computation on productive capacity were founded on the assumption of the present economic system as it now functions. The time factor was not estimated on a 24 hour basis, assuming a three shift system, but adopted the "custom of local industry. Such an approach greatly reduces the actual productive capacity of many in-This accounts for the dustries. low percentages achieved in the textile and other industries. Furthermore, the study assumed "seasonal production, shut downs in repairs, failure of power supply or

America's Capacity To Produce, by Edwin G. Nourse and Associates, published by Brookings Institute, Washington, D. C., 1934. 608 pp.

other unavoidable interruptions.' These latter factors provide great leeway in reducing the actual percentages of unused capacity during the prosperity period. But what is greatly ignored in the study is the tremendous extension of present plants, the new developments of technology, and the restrictive nature of business enterprise on the introduction of further improvements in our industrial structure.\*\*

#### Why The Failure?

The above leads to the all important problem which the Brookings' study raises at the end of their volume: "What was there in the organization or functioning of our economic system which caused us even in these favorable years to fail to attain it (maximum car pacity), to say nothing of the margin four times as wide which we are failing today to make available to the satisfying of human wants?" This failure to satisfy wants flow from the opposite desire to satisfy the insatable needs of profit-making under capitalist economy. The two facts are actually the reverse sides of the same medal: the under-utilization of production and the over-production of goods. Monopolist competition drives towards high operating and overhead costs; leading to higher investments with lessening returns to the sectors of consumption, especially the wage-earners; creating rigid market conditions; ending in glutted markets, unable to absorb the output at the quoted price levels. This reacts on industrial policy to the extent of curtailment of production in order to balance demand and supply factors in order to keep prices high. Business thus maintains solvency through the sabotage of production, maintaining rigid and high price levels. When these factors conjoin with other economic maladjustments, crisis results and adds to the already existing unused capacity (unused capacity has gone as high as 80% and 85% during the present depression in many cases, like construction and steel industries). In short, capitalism breeds its own irreconciliable contradictions; capacity to produce will and can be achieved with the replacement of capitalist economy by a planned Socialist economy.

\*\* Columbia University issued Economic Reconstruction which shows the tremendous possibilities of increased production—in some cases 200 %. See also Harold Loeb's Chart of Plenty.

### WIGWORKERS STRIKE

400 wigworkers, a section of the Doll and Toy Workers' Union, have struck in 12 New York shops. The workers are striking for union recognition and against extreme-'y low wages-from \$6 to \$10 for orty hours, being the wage in the industry. The union demands a \$16 per week scale.

The spirit of the workers, most of whom are youthful and new to the labor movement, is very high and militant. Mass picket lines are being thrown around the plants daily, and mass meetings, at which prominent labor leaders speak. are held at two o'clock daily at the Rand School.

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