ORKERS

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

At First **GLANCE**

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE increasing difficulties in which the Party of the New Deal now seems to be immersed are attributable entirely to the contradictions aggravated and generated by its much acclaimed relief measures. For instance, the recent defeat suffered by a Democratic Congressional candidate in Rhode Island is in nowise due so much to revived Republican popularity as to dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party because of the consequences of the AAA for the textile industry in New England.

With all that, it would be fool-hardy to bet on Republican chances in 1936 Hoover's "prosperity" spectre still haunts the G.O.P. Colonel Knox, one of the whitehopes now being shoved forward by the reactionary wing of the Republican Party, is nothing but a soiled stuffedshirt. There is, however, one ray of hope for the Party of the Elephant. This is Borah. If Borah could or should be nominated-and his chances of nomination today are better than ever in his long Republican career-then the Democratic Party would have a lively and not very comfortable time of it in 1936. Borah can match all of Roosevelt's liberalism with something to spare-in foreign as well as domestic relations. Borah cannot be worsted in oratory, color, vig-or, initiative and industry in the realm of bourgeois politics even by that tempestuous demagogue, now the landlord of the White House. Borah can claim much of the "good" and disclaim as much of the evil of the Democratic Party as any standard-bearer that the Republi cans might put up.

But we are still very far from seeing Borah nominated, even with a reactionary running-mate like Vandenberg, Ford's Senator from Michigan. Heavy industry and oppressive finance capita aren't yet ready to take a chance with such a nominee, despite the lure and lustre of the Borah myth in the mid-west and far-west where the Republican Party must at least recoup its fortunes if it is to stand the slightest chance in the electoral college in the coming year. This symbol of the remnants of American in-dividualism in the ranks of the petty bourgeois is not an all-together reliable pillar for the biggest capitalist interests in such times of strain and stress as are

THE signs of the time are changing as rapidly as are conditions. On the eve of the involuntary exit of Hoover from the Capital, the agricultural areas of this country were deeply stirred by "tea parties" organized by the farmers with "neckties" (ropes) in hand for the representatives of insurance companies seeking to foreclose their farms. With the arrival of Roosevelt and the AAA, with the momentary improvement of conditions in the agricultural districts, fore-closures abated and, for a while, these tea and necktie parties became as rare as a hen's tooth.

But recent press dispatches indicate that discontent in the rural areas is again mounting. Within 48 hours northern Missouri farmers took for a ride a continue his splendid struggle against tion to intimidate the increasing numcouple of United States Marshalls who tried to foreclose in behalf of Wall Street Insurance corporations. This is welcome news indeed. This is the beginning of the breaking of the Roosevelt soap bubbles in the rural mid-west. Representative Lemke was not at all stretching the truth when he said: "Unless Congress acts before adjournment there will be disturbances as this country has never experienced. Self-preservation is the first law of nature and whenever we put two million families into misery, trouble must be expected."

At last even some of the best paid Roosevelt boosters are admitting that the mortgage situation is becoming worse-in no small measure because of the momentary increasing land values and the price of farm products flowing from some of the New Deal "remedies" The latter have encouraged mortgage holders to try to grab off the The Supreme Court decision against NRA has only whetted the appetite of these land grabbers because of their notion that now is the time to make their miserable hay.

SPOKEMEN for the present National government in England are now raving about their great achievement of bringing unemployment down to less than two millions in the British Islands. This is being hailed as a sign of the success of the Baldwin government and as (Continued on Page 3)

New York, Saturday, September 14, 1935.

SOLIDARITY FEATURES CLERKS' STRIKE

Green Burocracy

Committee Appeals To A.F.L. Convention Against Green's **Methods Of Suppression**

The convention of federal locals of automobile workers is over. President Green has returned to Washington and the delegates to their various homes but what happened at that convention will not be forgotten for some time to come.

The delegates to the convention knew very well that they were at last to receive a charter as an international union of the A. F. of L. but what they did not know was that the burocracy continued to have the most profound distrust of them. Hence the most determined efthe delegates voted overwhelmingly in the country were represented. Delagainst Dillon—Green's nominee—for egates from newly organized units came browbeat—and when that failed to impress the delegates he just forced his The name of the organization slate down their throats.

Resentment among the auto workers and delegates at this high-handed action ran high and finally resulted in the elec-tion of a committee of seven from the convention to appeal against Green's action at the convention.

It is to be expected that the auto workers will secure the support of many delegations at the A. F. of L. convention in the struggle for the retention of the autonomous rights of the international

Research Men Declare Strike

Seventy underpaid chemists of the Consumers Research Buro went on strike this week in New Jersey. The demands include a \$40 weekly minimum (it is now \$16 for chief chemists!) double pay for overtime, and union recognition. John Heasty and several others were fired for union activity, this action precipitating the strike. The union is affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The silent front of the corporation heads was broken by the erstwhile peerless leader of the American League Against War and Fascism, a Mr. J. B. Matthews, who denounced the strike as tion of the A. F. of L. the work of "radicals" and "outside agitators". Mr. Matthews, no doubt will call out the State Troopers against the maliciousness of these striking chemists who are not satisfied to work 60 to 80 hours per week to supply the facts for his triumphal lecture tours before the women's clubs of America.

It is rumored that Mr. Matthews will ticket this fall.

Auto Union Scores $| extbf{\emph{C. P. O. Convention}}|$ ClosesWith Unanimous Resolution

Trade Union Report Draws Intensive Discussion; Condition 12,000 shipping clerks in New York's Of Revolutionary Movement Discussed For Two Days; Unanimous Resolution Carried

three days of exhaustive discussion, with the almost unanimous adoption of a resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the election of a National Committee of 23. Thus our enemies who had speculated so much on the outcome of the convention are left very much disappointed.

The convention consisted of over 80 regular delegates and a number of fratforts on the part of President Green to ernal delegates from such organizations saddle this young international with a as the Lithuanian Communist Opposiburocracy of his choosing. And when tion. Practically all important centers against Dillon—Green's nominee—for egates from newly organized units came President, Green pulled wires, cajoled, from Buffalo, N. Y., Lansing, Mich., Bal-

The name of the organization, which the National Buro had proposed be changed, remains the same for the time being. The convention voted to give full power to the incoming Buro to change the name of the group when and if it is found advisable.

The Fifth Convention of the C.P.O. Jim Cork on the international situation, (August 31 to September 2) closed after Charles Zimmerman on the situation in the trade unions and Jay Lovestone on the present situation and our tasks. Needless to say most of the discussion centered around the latter report since that also involved an estimate of the present position of the Communist International and our attitude to it. The resolution dealing with this section of the discussion will be found elsewhere in this issue

A letter from the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) presented the tremendous difficulties of underground work in Germany today and the crying need for assistance. Our convention expressed its sympathy with the relatives of the 14 comrades who had been killed and sent its greetings to the many hundreds now in concentration camps.

The Convention sent revolutionary greeting to Comrade M. N. Roy a pristo Comrade Jack Soderberg, a class war The reporters at the convention were prisoner of our own bosses.

Dress And Cloakmakers Out In Support Of Strike Of Shipping Clerks

NEW YORK, N. Y .- The strike of the garment industry is arousing nation-wide attention. This is true not because the shipping clerks are considered such an important craft but for the simple fact that this strike has brought forth a degree of labor solidarity unseen in the American labor movement.

At this writing 30,000 cloak and dressnakers, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, have walked out on strike refusing to work with scab shipping clerks. Needless to say this development did not come about without the sympathetic action of the leaders of the I.L.G.W.U. Charles Zimmerman, a vice-president of the I.L.G. W.U., spoke before the strikers and told them that altho the agreement with the manufacturers makes it possible for the I.L.G.W.U. to call a strike yet there is nothing in the agreement to make union dressmakers or cloakmakers work in the same shop that employs scab clerks. The thousands of strikers massed in the halls understood the meaning of these words and rose to cheer for many minutes. The same stand was taken by oner of British imperialism in India and President Dubinsky who informed the employers, when they charged a breach of the agreement, that he would do nothing since the members of the I.L.G.W.U. have the full right to refuse to work with scabs.

This attitude on the part of the leaders of the I.L.G.W.U. and the sympathetic action by the thousands of dressmakers and cloakmakers must be greeted by every progressive worker who has the interests of the labor movement at heart. It is one of the most encouraging signs of labor solidarity and labor shown by the strikers and their sup-porters it is a foregone conclusion that they cannot lose.

militancy. With such spirit of militancy

A word must be said about the scandalous attitude of the Communist Party press. The Daily Worker and the Jewish Daily Freiheit have gone out of their way to lie and misinterpret developments in the strike. While the Daily Worker comes out one day and, by accident, truthfully reports the speech of Zimmerman and the enthusiasm of the strikers, the Jewish Daily Freiheit appears the same day with a lying and slanderous story to the effect that Zimmerman had told the strikers that support of their strike was impossible because of the existing agreement. A clear case where factional bias led the Freiheit to deny the favorable development of the strike.

Again the Daily Worker of September says editorially:

... For a week now union officials in the garment industry have beaten their chests and shed crocodile tears while making all sorts of promises to the shipping clerks. remained for the workers without any orders from their officials, to turn these promises into action." (our emphasis).

The Daily Worker is here taking advantage of certain technical difficulties in connection with the walk-out of the garment workers, to lie about the support of the garment unions. They know very well that the only union that has been backward in its support is Truck-men's Union Local 102. Yet, the Daily Worker permits itself to lie about the

Again the Daily Worker lies when it declares that "conferences are now going on in which the strikers are not par-ticipating." The Daily Worker knows very well that the only conferences that were held were those between the manufacturers and the I.L.G.W.U. over the walk-out of many thousands of workers. The bosses insisted that the dress and cloakmakers return to work and the union leaders insisted that they cannot do so since the manufacturers have failed to come to a settlement with the Shipping Clerks Union. Anyone who is in the slightest acquainted with the facts knows that this attitude has been of tremendous aid to the strikers.

For what purpose does the Daily Worker sow suspicion and dissenssion? Instead of hailing the attitude of the I.L.G.W.U., which is unique in the trade union movement, the Daily Worker continues its slander.

These outright lies can be of help neither to the strikers nor to the Daily Worker itself.

Reactionaries Threaten Split In New York Teachers Union

Lefkowitz And Linville Resignation Coming; "Rights" Expect A. F. of L. Convention To Lift Teachers' Federation Charter; Union Unity Now In Danger

The Linville-Lefkowitz administration worsening working conditions. With leaders of the Union for the past twenty years, comes as the culmination of their readiness to do anything, including wrecking the Union, rather than tolerate the presence of progressive and leftwing elements in their m'dst. In the course of their desperate un:on-splitting tactics the battle shifted from Local 5 New York, to the convention of the American Federation of Teachers, and later, when Wm. Green rushed to the aid of the reactionaries, became a question which will find its place among the issues facing the forthcoming conven

The long entrenched regime of Lin ville and Lefkowitz had become increas ingly alarmed over the growing influence of the various groups of militants progressives and left-wingers. They but tressed their power by every trick and manouver known to labor burocrats.
They did not hesitate to abolish membership meetings. They raised the hue and cry of "Reds". They used the bourgeois press and the Board of Educasive action in the face of wagecuts and

of the New York Teachers Union has resigned. This move on the part of the ganize the mass of the teachers into the Union, but effectively frightened away the more timid and conservative among them. At the same time, they sought to destroy the effectiveness of the union by driving out the militant and progressive elements.

Finally, over the heads of a majority of the members they called in the A. F of T. to investigate Local 5 New York The investigating committee recommended the revocation of the Local's charter in order to allow the Linville-Lefkowitz clique to reorganize a "safe and sane' local. Under the pressure of militant and progressive forces at the convention the Executive Council balked at this wręcking move. Lefkowitz and Selma Borchard

Washington representative of the teachers, rushed to Bill Green for help. The President of the A. F. of L. telegraphed the Executive Council to revoke the charter under the threat of expulsion of the entire A. F. of T. from the American Federation of Labor. The convention was thrown into an uproar. Widespread continue his spiendid struggle against tion to intrinuate the first transfer of teachers who demanded aggres ranted "interference with the autonomy sive action in the face of wagecuts and (Continued on Page 2)

C. P. O. Convention Resolution On Seventh C. I. Congress

The resolution printed below, adopted by the Fifth National Convention of the Communist Party (Opposition), supplements the theses presented by the National Buro (printed in Workers Age of July 13, 1935). It brings up to date all evaluations and decisions of the C.P.O. in the light of the deliberations and actions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

The Fifth National Convention of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) herewith adopts the following evaluation of the Seventh Congress on the basis of the material at hand to date in regard to its deliberations and decisions.

We propose this declaration to the Buro of the International Communist Opposition with a view of aiding in the adoption of a unanimously agreed upon final resolution by the International Communist Opposition and all its sections. 1. The Seventh World Congress marks the definite col-

lapse of the ultra-left course of the Comistern. (Carried

2. While the ultra-left course has broken down completely, thanks to objective experience and the constructive criticism and activity of the I.C.O., it cannot be said that it has already been replaced by a correct line of strategy and

tactics. (Carried Unanimously)

The Seventh Congress has laid a basis for the adoption of the tactical and strategical course proposed and fought for by the I.C.O. in the following fields: a) trade unions b) united front; c) so-called theory of exceptionalism; d) Farmer-Labor Party; e) discarding theory of third period and social-fascism; f) revolutionary transition slogans.

But it must be understood that to make a real new turn without at the same time recognizing and acknowledging the falsity of the old, is impossible. It is not at all a question of who was right, far more is it a question of winning the confidence of the workers in the genuineness of the change of policy. It is likewise a question of re-educating large sections of the Party membership, corrupted by years of preaching of the sectarian dogmas. Neither task can be accomplished unless it is frankly and clearly acknowledged that the old sectarian course has proved completely bankrupt and must be scrapped and replaced by more effective tactics. (Carried Unanimously)

The Congress has further adopted a resolution for the democratization of and the establishment of a more collective leadership in the C.I., in many respects along the

(Continued on Page 2)

conclusions which I have briefly indi

cated is all the more striking because

Trotsky today so mercilessly excoriates

the opportunistic course of the Comin-

tern, a course the main outlines of which

he himself helped to sketch not so long

own political memory was never very

turns, twists and returns, he has always

ness of the political memory of the

long while, thruout his long career o

The First Fruits of The Opportunist Line

Michael Gold Forgets France Is Still An Imperialist Power; Compares It To Soviets: And Insists Its Army Is A Guarantee Against Fascism

Such are the first fruits of the new

(Continued from Page 1)

5. Because of the long period of ultra-leftist sectarian-

been launched and extended, the adoption and execution of

a completely correct tactical course and the establishment of

a genuine democratic inner-party regime can be accomplished

only thru sharp political struggle on the part of the I.C.O.

and, for the C.I. must necessarily be a drawn out process,

6. Precisely because of this situation the Congress suf-

7. The new and real menace of opportunism in the C.I.

accompanying its break with leftism is most painfully indi-

strategy for Communist Parties in countries momentarily lined up on the side of the U.S.S.R. in war. The basic

in "the mechanical transference of tactics from the C.P.S.U.

8. Here we underline the fact that these beginnings of

leviations in no wise afford even the slightest basis for de-

claring that the C.I. has become Social-Democratic and

social chauvinist. In the sense that August 4, 1914 repre-

of social reformism, ingrained in the Second International,

there can be no talk of August 4th for the C.I. It must

tho this course is pursued with the most sincere desire of

tarily aligned with the U.S.S.R. from the already definite

A sound differentiation of the erroneous position of the

defending the Soviet Union.

If you think your stomach can stand be of much use to comment on the very it, turn to the August 13, 1935 issue of affecting appeal on behalf of the "glorithe New Masses for the most revolting ous wines of France." One thing is cerpiece of intellectual degeneracy and po- tain—given the proper hint, Gold's care litical servility that even that notorious sheet can furnish. Read Michael Gold's limits! article, characteristically entitled "A Love Letter to France."

The official Communist movement today in the throes of a new turn—this time in the direction of the grossest opportunism. Illegitimately translating the line of Soviet diplomacy, especially in the Franco-Soviet pact, into terms o its own strategy, the French Communi-Party, with the full approval of the Communist International, has virtually given up its opposition in principle t ourgeois democracy as embodied in the Third Republic, with all the consequences in policy and tactics. In justificatory ationalization, bourgeois France is be ing idealized in the crudest manner, its lines of the demand of the I.C.O. for the re-organization of not so much from an expression of a positively wrong course decadent civilization lauded to the skies, the Comintern. (Carried Unanimously) its armed forces hailed in true patriotic fervor. The vulgar democratic sentimentalism so often ridiculed by Marxists mentalism so often ridiculed by marxists gripping the Communist International for years, because of when manifested by the petty bourgeois when manifested by the petty bourgeois the very methods thru which the break with ultra-leftism has philistines, is now the rage in official the very methods thru which the break with ultra-leftism has

A PEN SLAVE SHOWS HIS WARES

Michael Gold is the pen-slave of the dominent burocracy in the official Com- steeped in vagueness, confusion, hesitation and vacillation. munist movement. As such he shows an (Carried Unanimously) anxious sensitiveness to the shifting mood of his patron and a supple readiness to translate the official "line" of ness to translate the official "line" of sponsibility for the past ultra-left errors initiated and directed the moment into his own characteristic medium of expression. Whatever spiri- primarily by the E.C.C.I. Herein also lies a contributory tual integrity and political self-respect reason for the creeping in of very serious opportunist errors he may once have had, has long ago in the attempt to break completely with the old ultra-left gone the way of his undeniable talents course (participation in peoples front governments, etc.). as a writer, corrupted and ruined by the (Carried Unanimously) stranglehold of an unscrupulous buro-

Knowing all this, we are yet unable to suppress a shudder of unbelief in tions of principle as hourseast demogracy and revolutions of principle as hourseast demogracy and revolutions as to suppress a snudder of undered in tions of principle as bourgeois democracy and revolutionary reading Gold's article in the New Masses. To what depths has he sunk!

"This (France) is the most democratic land I have ever been in, outside the Soviet Union. "Everywhere, in subways, streets (a party in power) to the Communist Parties in the capital-

and parks, one meets soldiers—list countries." (Convention Theses, II, 4). (Carried Unan-France has the largest standing army | imously) n Europe. It is a conscript army of young peasant boys with fresh, naive They are the least militaristic soldiers toughness, just boys in uniform, sons sented a culmination in action of the fundamental concepts I have ever known-no swagger or

of the people.
"It is hard to put the thing i words, but the attitude of the people be recognized, however, that if the present policy of the C.I. to these soldier boys is different from in France, Czechoslovakia, etc., on the problem of a mixed that of Americans or Germans to their war, and on bourgeois democracy, is continued it is bound own army. It is more like the Soviet to lead to outright social chauvinism and reformism, even to improve its organization and work, to strengthen its posi-

"The Fascists will not easily turn this army against the people."

HEALTHY REALISM

It is surely impossible to add another social chauvinist or social pacifist position of the Labor word! France, the "most democratic" and "least imperialistic" country, almost on the par with the Soviet Union! Its vast armies just congregations of innocent peasant boys, simple-minded youths out on a pichic, apparently. Such an unmilitaristic army "will not easily" (mark the success) of pick and work of the Proph of Pick at the 7th Congress, lending blanket approval to the policy and work of the France C. you, will not!) be turned "against the approval to the policy and work of the French C.P. gave C.P.O. as an independent force engaged in constructive people" In the course of this profound international endorsement to the beginnings of opportunistic revolutionary mass activity. This is the best way of securing social study in France, Gold must sure- deviations that had lately raised their heads in the C.I. The the strength we need for restoring the unity of the world ly have come upon the not altogether declaration of Ercoli and Dimitroff on this question, while party of Communism. (Carried, 80 For, 2 Abstentions) ready been turned "against the people," shall we say once or twice in the last fifty years. He might also have learned by questioning his versatile friend, Paul Vaillant-Couturier, that certain "obscure pedants," known as Marxists, actually contend that the bourgeois army, with all its naivete and peasant simplicity, is in its very nature turned against the people. But, of course, this is mere academic theorizing in this new age of "healthy realism" ushered in by Dimitroff, the deputy leader of the world proletariat!

After all this it would be an insipid anti-climax to refer to Gold's sloppy and somewhat forced enthusiasm over firemen's bands, street names and children's schools in the "Red" suburbs of Paris, curiously reminiscent of the more unrestrained excesses of the old Viennese "municipal socialist"; nor would it

Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition)

JOIN!

cies of the Communis Opposition write to

(OPPOSITION) Box 68 Station "O" New York City

SEPTEMBER ISSUE **NEGRO VOICE** (Issued by Harlem Section C.P.O.)

CONTENTS EYES ON DARKEST AFRICA By Jay Lovestone ARE THE U. S. NEGROES A NATION? By Will Herberg NEGRO WORKER ORGANIZES By William Kay AFTER THE CIVIL WAR By Clarence Jenkins OTHER ARTICLES 5 Cents a Copy

C. P. O. CONVENTION RESOLUTION

ON SEVENTH C. I. CONGRESS

C.I. on the war question for parties in countries momen- nants of its old errors and the avoidance of the new oppor-

MUSIC CELEBRATES STRIKE GAINS

This group of Chicago Opera stars is part of the musical program at the Dressmakers Celebration

Mms. Leskaya recently created the role of "Lady Macbeth of Mzensk" at the Metropolitan. She

The massed chorus of the I.L.G.W.U. and a full symphony orchestra will complete the celebration

of the gains won by the dressmakers in their general strike two years ago. The mass meeting will

and Mobilization to be held at Madison Square Garden, next Wednesday afternoon. Left to right:

Maestro Alfredo Salmaggi, director; Bruna Castagna, Contralto; Anna Leskaya, Soprano,

Mme. Castagna received acclaim for her "Carmen" at the Lewisohn Stadium,

sang for many years with Challiapin at the Imperial Theatre in Moscow.

outline the issues in this, the season before the expiration of the agreement.

Secure from WORKERS AGE 51 WEST 14 STREET

Dressmakers Celebrate Improved Conditions

Plan To Jam Madison Square Garden Wednesday Sept. 11; Many Famous Artists To Participate: Mobilize For New Victories Is Joint Board Call

dustry will be fired by the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union at a vast membership Celebration and Mobilization at Madison Square Garden, the afternoon of next Wednesday. Al-

indicating improvement, still suffer from equivocation, suffe

The C.P.O. pledges itself to fight, jointly with the

linger and for speeding up the process of the C.I.'s return

10. The Convention categorically rejects any idea aimin

at the organization of a new International, on the grounds

11. We declare that at this time there is no basis for th

organization of a new Communist Party or for the trans-

12. The breakdown of the ultra-leftist course itself, the

formation of our group into a new Communist Party. (Car

course along the lines laid down by the I.C.O. without

tion particularly in basic mass organizations of the working

to help insure the Comintern's speedily overcoming the rem

tunist deviations, as well as to hasten the realization of

for us from the Seventh Congress necessitate a marked in-

even greater energy. (Carried Unanimously)

The opening gun in a militant pro- event was made by Julius Hochman, gram of activity "pointing" toward the General Manager, only a few days ago, a expiration of the Agreements in the in- rush for tickets has developed that makes it certain the Garden will be jammed to its topmost row.

> Gains won in the General Strike two years ago and their effective enforce ment will be celebrated by a program of internationally known opera stars and a full symphony orchestra. Leaders of the Union will convert the meeting into a "mobilization" by outlining the issues on which the battle lines will be drawn when the Agreements expire, January

While it is understood that Union leaders are discussing a complete proof wages, hours, protection for minority crafts and a host of other issues, M Hochman has made no secret of the fact that the Union will brook no compromise on the issues of contractor limitation as from their failure to declare definitely that "the basic settlement on the jobbers' premises and Communist slogan of transforming the imperialist war into the unit system of labor price settle-

ism, because of the hero cult and the rigid burocratic regime a civil war remains unchanged but assumes a new, concrete ment. form for Communist Parties in countries having an alliance Work will cease in the industry next ready being made by many shops to march in a body to the Garden. Intense I.C.O., against whatever remnants of ultra-leftism may still interest is being displayed by the dressmakers and the Madison Square Garden to a completely Leninist tactical course, against the serious for discussion in the shops. It shares opportunism now manifesting itself in the C.I. (due to the interest only with the recent \$4.75 supcontinued resort to mechanical transference of tactics in plementary agreement

certain fields and aggravated by the E.C.C.I.'s inability to The musical program will consist of cope in a Leninist manner with the consequences of the Anna Leskaya, soprano; Bruna Castacollapse of the ultra-left line and the problems of its replace- gna, contralto; Pasquale Ferrera, tenor; ment by a sound, Leninist, strategical course). (Carried and Gino Montanari, baritone; all stars of the Chicago Opera Company. There will also be a full symphony orchestra under the baton of Maestro Alberto Baccolino. The musical program will be outlined in the decisions of our Fourth Convention. These directed by Maestro Alfredo Salmaggi grounds have since been fortified by a whole series of events. The complete massed chorus of the LL G.W.U., directed by Lazar Weiner, will feature the choral singing. In commenting on the event, Mr

Hochman said: "This great meeting gives the signal for an extensive plan of Union activity that will reach a climax when our agreements expire. The mere indication of its replacement by a sound strategic Dressmakers will be ready for any evencomplete and clear substitution of this character having been gram is dedicated to the gains we won in the general strike two years ago and achieved yet, the fact that the decision for the re-organization achieved yet, the fact that the decision for the re-organization enforced through the splendid discipline is still only on paper, the continuation of the system of our membership. The spirit of that mechanical transference of tactics, the persistence of the magnificent general strike lives today. hero cult, the developing serious menace of opportunism in It will be a stirring occasion worthy of the C.I. ranks, all of these lead us to reject categorically any idea of giving up or at all weakening our political struggle of the history they will write in the imfor the replacement of the course of the C.I. On the con- mediate future." trary, our struggle must be continued on a new basis with

13. Precisely to the extent to which the I.C.O. is able simprove its organization and work, to strengthen its posi-Teachers Union class, will it be able to emerge victorious in this struggle and

f an international union", was extunist deviations, as well as to hasten the realization of healthy unity of the I.C.O. with the C.I. thru a complete tion heard the appeal of the spokesmen restoration of party democracy and a complete return to of the United Committee to Save the Union, B. Davidson, C. J. Hendley, and 14. We, therefore, reaffirm our objective and perspec- Celia Lewis. In executive session it tive, both the favorable and the unfavorable results ensuing voted 100 to 79 to save Local 5 and against Green's demand for the revocacrease in the emphasis to be placed by us on building up the tion of the charter. Then, to show their resentment against reactionary "redwitch-hunting" the convention voted down Abraham Lefkowitz and Selma Borchard for vice-presidents. Almost simultaneously with the Auto

Workers Union, the A. F. of T. has policies. These are strong signs of the developing opposition to Green that will make the A. F. of L. Convention an his torical event.

The resignation of Linville and Lef-kowitz and their followers in the Executive Board of Local 5 will undoubtedly be followed by their withdrawal from the union. They will take with them many members who will be fearful of their jobs if they continue their identifi-cation with the "reds". It will be a signal for the Board of Education that it has a free hand to drive out of the school system the best fighters for teachers

Upon the United Committee to Save the Union will fall a task of no small proportions. They are now faced with a united front of the labor burocracy and the Board of Education. Only the wholehearted co-operation among the various groups in the United Committee, only the fullest support of all progressives in the labor movement and the assistance of every forward looking element in the ommunity can save the Teachers Union from destruction and the teachers from a vicious red-hunting campaign by the Board of Education.

Build the Weekly "Workers Age"

TROTSKYISM - VANGUARD OF OPPORTUNISM By WILL HERBERG To Trotskyism belongs the undeniable distinction of having shown the way to

the Communist International in every on of the latter's disastrous adventures with false policies and suicidal tactics. The rez and Pieck for outright and unasham- ment of the struggle for a "strong demo- the Humanite of May 24. Thorez justidismal years of ultra-leftist sectarianism ed opportunism. were foreshadowed in the later Trot-NATIONAL DEFENSE 3. Even in defense there is this fam-

skvist program (attitude to the German events of 1923, to the Anglo-Soviet Unity Committee, to international trade union unity, to the question of a workers gov- of bad conscience, Trotsky rushed to exernment, etc.). In the United States, in plain: "Did not the Bolsheviks stand for practise of the slogans issued by Trotfact, it was the notorious document, such a program from April to September "The Right Danger in the American 1917?" Russia in the throes of a bourtoo Trotsky was the first to tread the glorious but slightly musty today! road, to show the way—a fact which can-

ing to strengthen the democratic institutions of the bourgeois state, that is, PEOPLES FRONT the state itself. Hence, finally, the "peo-ple's front" as the alliance of the prole-in the "basic characteristics" of what tariat with the bourgeois radicals on the he was pleased to call a Marxist policy, THOREZ AND TROTSKY basis of the latter's fundamental atti- Trotsky did not draw all of the tactical way for Fascism in Germany and Austria, I have already examined in a previous article and the current turn in French events is bringing confirmation that is unfortunately only too conclusive. But where, outside of Social-Democratic circles, did this conception first find expression and an advocate? At the seventh congress of the Communist In

ternational at the hands of Pieck, Dimitroff or Stalin? No-not at all! Over there appeared an article by Leon Trot-sy, entitled "Our Present Tasks." It was less it goes the way of NRA via the intended, according to its author, to outline the "basic characteristics of a truly passed it since this was written). Marxian policy for the coming period." "truly How did Trotsky picture this

STRENGHTENING DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES

way as the Comintern does today.

1. "The victory of National Socialthe basis of his analysis, "has brought | tee will not permit doubts as to the con about in other countries... the strength-eming of democratic tendencies." A year block the suggested legislation."—and later, Thorez justified his opportunist insists that in these words the Presiden strategy on the same basis: "... among admitted the invalidity of the bill. the masses of the people, democratic sentiments are all the stronger today it finally reaches the Supreme Court. because of what happened in Germany." Only those who deliberately blind them- much. He will have convinced the mine selves to reality can fail to see that operators of his desire to help reorgantimes is not the "democratic tendencies" and will also have created the illusion of the masses but rather their disillusion among the coal miners that a law sinoment with traditional democracy, with parliamentarism and all its fraud and corruption. And where is this more true than in France? It is precisely upon this mood that Fascism is bound to the side of the labor movement upon this mood that Fascism is bound to the coal miners that a law ear is one of constitutionality, the objection and democracy, has of this group lies much deeper. In the dustry still suffers—and the competition of other fuels (gas, oil and electricity). They insisted on and finally secured the usual many incursion upon their almost feudal pay incursion upon their almost feudal rights and powers. Thus they object to measures for the reorganization of the problem over its Jews' be taken serious—the wind showing the labor movement of the Cuffey bill comes from the war—a disease from which the war—a disease fro

tity—is positively striking. Indeed, if members." anything, Trotsky has the edge on Tho- It becomes clear that in as far as hours pany stores. The miners will have to be ers Age.

cratic government," for "real democra- fies the latter-day chauvinism of the ago. But this is nothing new; Trotsky's y" in and thru the bourgeois state? alliance with the Radical-Socialist party alistic which included the Soviet Union."

Present C.I. Opportunism Was First Proposed by Trotsky

Party," that served as the joint program geois-democratic upheaval just beginning WEIMAR AND and as the common starting point for to pass into proletarian revolution and CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY both Browder and Cannon—for the official CP after 1929 and for the Trotsky to this super-Marxist. In precisely the article Trotsky took occasion to reiterate world revolution, the ruling classes himself for his remarkable political group. And now, that the Communist same spirit, Thorez and his friends cut even more positively than before his of France, England and Italy would unclarity and vision, after an unbroken group. And now, that the Commitment of the destriction of the destrict together without significance that here ments of the Jacobins of 1793, once so ed Weimar Constitution slightly re- actly the opposite conclusion—but exact-What does it mean to call for a "strong the revolutionary struggle against Fas- utterly un-Marxian. Thorez: Because ish revolution after he had confidently not be conjured away by any amount of democratic government" in a fully decism in Germany. It proved an unfor- France is allied with the Soviet Union predicted that no such revolution could or France? It means to demand the strengthening of the concentrated political power of capital! What does it mean, length of forget about it very soon. It cannot be altopossibly take place, the same Trotsky is today indignantly denouncing the Because the Soviet Union is allied with communist International for adopting TROTSKY LED THE

Stellighting of the CI is rooted in its sudden

Stellighting of the CI is rooted in its sudden

Stellighting of the CI is rooted in its sudden

Stellighting of the CI is rooted in its sudden

Stellighting of the CI is rooted in its sudden

Stellighting of the capitalist of a power of capitalist does it mean, enough to forget about it very soon. But apparently the ghost would not down be altogether a proletarian state. For before, he had himself proclaimed as the before, he had himself proclaimed as the original community of the conversion to the typically reformist conception that bourgeois democracy constitutes the bulwark against Fascism. dictatorship? It means support in prin- which so indignantly rejected the pro- identity in political orientation and class Hence the relapse into the threadbare ciple of the bourgeois state and of the posal for such obviously appropriate character. It never seems to occur to ideology of vulgar bourgeois radicalism. Social system for which it stands! This Hence also the perversion of the united is where the CI, shown the way by Trot-

6. The deadly parallel becomes absotude to the democratic state and there- conclusions of his own analysis. But lutely complete when we come to exfore under their political hegemony. The here again the Comintern has done it amine the method of political analysis disastrous consequences of this entire for him. For what is the "people's employed by both in estimating the improvementation, which virtually opened the front" but the organizational embodi-

at all possible? The "people's front" in France is merely the realization in

vamped, become the transition slogan of ly the same method—shallow, unrealistic, up as the special interpreter of the Spansembly as the rallying cry in the strug- Union and France have reached it from gle against the semi-Fascist regime in Poland! Trotsky may well be proud of remains just as imperialistic and the

Franch C.P. by exclaiming: "It would ndeed, on what other basis is a political be monstrous to consider a side imperi-And in the Verite of June 21, Trotsky relied somewhat cynically on the short justifies his rejection of the Soviet Union as a proletarian state by exclaiming: masses. The same Trotsky who flew into "The French bourgeoisie would never a fury of anti-Brandlerism only a few have completed an agreement with the U.S.S.R. did it continue to see in the latter a revolutionary factor. . . Had "crimes" charged against it, the same

TROTSKY'S MEMORY

What Is This Guffey Bill?

measuring the coal mined?

WHY THE GUFFEY BILL?

tion of the coal operators.

a year and a half before Trotsky had laid minous Coal Control Bill has passed the half" of the miners employed. down the line with his characteristic air House and will most likely run successfully the Senate gauntlet, thus becoming In the Militant of December 9, 1933 the law of the land-since Roosevelt's Supreme Court route. (The Senate has

excluded for a test before the Supreme Marxian policy"? In exactly the same | Court is a certainty. The Minority of against the bill primarily because it considered it unconstitutional. The Minor President Roosevelt to the Chairman ism in Germany," Trotsky laid down as of the Committee—"I hope your commit

But no matter what the outcome when OPPOSITION Roosevelt will already have accomplished what has been strengthened in recent ize and stabilize the bituminous industry of the masses but rather their disillu- among the coal miners that a law "ex- is one of constitutionality, the objection the war—a disease from which the in-

upon this mood that Fascism is bound to thrive if the proletarian movement is a position to the Guffey bill comes from in a position to the Guffey bill comes from in a position to the Guffey bill comes from in a position to the Guffey bill come and an application to the Guffey bill come and the progressive Miners of America, a spit-away from the United Mine Works and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing? (Section 74, Part III) altho they well know from yield the present period; it is to consider the industry needs most is industrial peace and these convict oneself of incurable political blind-ness.

TRINGGLE FOR*

"REAL DEMOCRACY"

2. In line with his analysis, Trotsky propose—for the whole world apparently but specifically for a group of countries including Beigium—that the Communists urge the Social-Democratis to launch a "real" struggle for a "struggle for a "s

Fascism. The similarity—nay, the iden hours are to be accepted by all code chiselling into the meager wages of the

GREETINGS!

JOINT COUNCIL KNITGOODS WORKERS UNION of I.L.G.W.U. and U.T.W.A.

> Louis Nelson, Manager HARRY SPINDEL, President

of labor are concerned the U.M.W.A. | measuring of coal." In the unionized

The provisions for determining wage rates is somewhat more promising for the independents, in that district settlements are not excluded, but also here i calls for an agreement between, on the one hand, producers of more than twothirds of the coal, and on the other,

The objection that really counts—the source from which the appeal to the pressed by the keen competition of the courts will emanate—is the one coming open-shop coal fields. from sections of the bituminous industry itself. With the Mellon interests in the forefront, needless to say, although the cry of tremendous over-development during

upon this mood that Fascism is bound to opposition to the Guffey bill comes from the miners having "the right to organize industry. Naturally during such a pelly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the ly as a straw in the wind showing the labor movement is not opposition to the Guffey bill comes from the miners having "the right to organize" industry.

ne coal barons had thru their own police on company property would be loos-ened if the miners were to move away from company property. Why should the mine operators give these conces-

> are not at all certain of working out to their benefit. At least there is a reasonable doubt about it. Similarly these operators are bitter against the provision that "the employes are entitled to select their own check-

reighmen to inspect the weighing and

sions, especially as the economic pro-visions, elsewhere provided for in the bill

paid in cash (instead of tokens) and the ppressive hold upon the miners which **GREETINGS**

USSR just as proletarian with the al- proof that England is now well on the liance as without. The chauvinism of way up and definitely headed for com-Thorez is but the other side of the medal | plete recovery. We make haste to strike a timely tho jarring note of warning for these feverish optimists. A thoro examination of the status of British economy will dis-

close that it is already about at its saturation point of recovery and that unemployment trends will cease improvement unless of course a good-sized war comes along to change the picture. The big housing boom which has been so also about to come to an end. The latest By GEORGE F. MILES

of labor are concerned the U.M.W.A. measuring of coal. In the unionized coal fields this right was not won without bitter struggles why then should istration leaders the Guffey-Snyder Bitusinous Coal Control Bill has passed the minous Coal Control Bill has passed the minous Coal Control Bill has passed the minors employed.

of labor are concerned the U.M.W.A. measuring of coal. In the unionized coal fields this right was not won without bitter struggles why then should these open-shoppers give up their historic right of under-weighing and sands of workers busied in the building Hence the bitter opposition of this secindustries are dismissed.

What is even more decisive as an inthe export trade which is so vital to From the above the impression might one hand, producers of more than two-thirds of the coal, and on the other, representatives of more than one-half Guffey bill is to reform labor conditions the miners employed in the district. The the miners employed in the district. The same provision, permitting for joint set-from the truth. Nor is it true that the tlements of wage scales for more than bill originated with John L. Lewis or tlements of wage scales for more than one district, can be used, however, to with the U.M.W.A., despite the fact that young any independent union which young a hold in a single district times) to call out the hituminous miners. In general the whole bill is quite definitely directed at centralizing control in the hands of the largest organization in the field—in this case the U.M.W.A.

THE EMPLOYERS

OPPOSITION

times) to call out the bituminous miners in general strike unless this bill is put over. The main economic proposals—in the main economic proposals—in the main economic proposals—in the field—in this case the U.M.W.A.

times) to call out the bituminous miners in general strike unless this bill is put over. The main economic proposals—in the field—in this case the U.M.W.A.

THE EMPLOYERS

OPPOSITION

times) to call out the bituminous miners in general strike unless this bill is put over. The main economic proposals—in the tractual relations with the U.M.W. but conclusion of this report to the effect that: "The decline in employment in the of the problems of the depressed areas To this complaint of cut-throat comthe problem of unemployment in the country as a whole."

The discussion on the Guffey bill will the workers cannot exercise excessive miners thru overcharging in the com- be continued in an early issue of Work- vigilance against the fascist monster now being reased in the U.S.

> To organized labor movement on Labor Day 1935, with the wish that the coming year will see valiant efforts to make New York a union city

DOLL & TOY WORKERS UNION Local 18230, A. F. of L. 161 Lafayette Street, New York City

For information the activity and poli-

COMMUNIST PARTY

THE C. P. AND THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY

This is the third installment of an exhaustive article dealing with the present situation in the revolutionary working-class parties of France. Especially does this ar-French Communist Party.

The article is reprinted from Gegen Der

Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) IV. THE S.P. CONVENTION AND THE

COMMUNIST ATTITUDE On June 9th, immediately after the cabinet crisis, the SP convened in Muehl hausen. The congress reflected in various ways the effects of one year of in its positive and negative aspect. We wish to discuss the following points taken up at the congress:

1. PHYSICAL DEFENSE AGAINST FASCISM

Paul Faure, secretary of the SP, representing the leading center of the SP,

All of which indicates the positive ef rejected any special measures or special fect of the united front, despite the eragainst fascism. He characterized such on the mass of SP members which have methods. "I shall never believe," said centrism, but the break is nearer than he, "that my party will resort to the ever before. However, the left wing of methods of violence of the Croix de Feu." the SP (Pivert, Zyromski) has been im-Even if Paris were taken by fascists, peded in its leftward progress, and he continues to theorize, there would be thrown into confusion due to the opporcounter-attacks from the provinces. "Pro- tunist turn in the united front tactics of visional governments" would spring up the CPF. This becomes particularly eviaround the socialist municipalities. The dent in the position taken by the left position of Paul Faure is typically cen- wing on the question of a "left governtrist and defensive. He ignores the role ment." We shall try to prove this below of Paris as a political center even in a by means of draft resolutions and disworking class uprising. He fails to see cussions at the congress.

what a tremendous advantage it would The resolution of the Northern Fedbe for the fascists to hold the center of eration on the "Struggle for the Seizure political and military force. His blind of Power and against the Crisis" says hatred of the "left" Paris leads him to the following: rely on the decentralized, scattered ac tion of the province. However, Pivert the representative of the left wing, o the other hand, demanded that the Party take concrete measures for the defense of its branches and membership, fo direct action" against fascism.

2 NATIONAL DEFENSE The position taken by the "left wing on this question reflects the confusion resulting from the Stalin-Laval Communique. The right wing of the SP Leon Blum, to come out openly and completely for national defense.

social-patriotic explanation "openly and Blum, in the Chamber, on the attitude is attacked by Hitler." Leon Blum had added that in such a case the entire a) T French working class would be for na- an dictatorship, the councils or soviets government two main thesis were ad- nothing but words remain. The practical tional defense and would fight on the are not mentioned and therefore rejected.

side of the bourgeois government.

Nowhere does the resolution state that the apparatus of the bourgeois state that the party leavership of the apparatus of the bourgeois state that the apparatus of the apparatus of the bourgeois state that himself on the other nand differentiated himself on this question. He was opposed to all war. "War?" he asked, "never! . . The SP must be the main force in the struggle against war, under force in the struggle against war, under the apparatus of the bourgeois state reject participation in a coalition and enlarged left cartel in order to wage election campaigns thru this cartel and decisions on this question, in other words, force in the struggle against war, under reject participation in a coalition and lebas introduced a resolution simply confirming previous party decisions on this question, in other words, force in the struggle against war, under reject participation in a coalition and election campaigns thru this cartel and decisions on this question, in other words, force in the struggle against war, under reject participation in a coalition and replaced left cartel in order to wage election campaigns thru this cartel and decisions on this question, in other words, force in the struggle against war, under reject participation in a coalition and replaced left cartel in order to wage election campaigns thru this cartel and decisions on this question. In a coalition graph of the participation and the participation and clearly a

"We Socialists have made it clear that we are of the opinion that under certain conditions our national and incertain conditions our national and infined to the limits set by revolutionary 4. PARTY LEADERSHIP ternational duties coincide. If our country were invaded and attacked of power is possible "thru a coup detait of power is power is possible "thru a coup detait of power is power is power in the power in the power is power in the power in the power is power in the powe since then. . . Isn't it true that Vaillant-Couturier is today using practically the same formulation that used in Tours? I believe that the change in the Communist position is a result of the united front and as such facilitates the establishment organic unity. Joint slogans are entirely possible. This question is no longer a condition for unity. Besides, a united, independent party will deermine our position on this question.' Thus Leon Blum's position is the same

as that of the Independent Socialists in Germany during the war: defense of the fatherland (in a bourgeois state) in case the enemy crosses the borders. It is conditional" national defense, socialpacifism, centrism.

3. ON THE SEIZURE OF

The following quotations taken from the discussion on this question are of significance. Severac, one of the secretaries of the SP declared:

"The notion that a successful revolution can be fought thru military and technical preparedness constitutes a great danger to our party. . . . We cannot fight fascism with its own methods..." He sees "the greatest possible hope for the success of the revolution in the fact that society is permeated with socialism and that the weapons raised in defense of the capitalist regime will fall from the arms of those who wield them."

Zyromski on the other hand demanded the arming of the proletariat.

"The weapons of the bourgeoise their entire defense apparatus, their cannons and garrisons must be seized. The theory of the arming of the proletariat must be systematically propagandized in the strongholds of the bourgeoisie. The revolution cannot be

The Communist Stand on the Decisions of the Muehlhausen Congress ing and after the crisis of the Fland

mprovised, we must prepare for stop at the general strike. c) "Socialization" is conceived of the Party leadership full power to parti-This development in the SP, as indialong the lines of the "plan" proposed cipate in a "left government" under a 5. THE C.P. STAND ON THE cated by the discussions at the Party by the reformist trade unions, the CGT given condition. The general content of

Congress, is the result of the united front namely socialization of key industries, with the CP. It is characterized basical- etc. This is linked with the slogan: the following: The party leadership ly by the following facts: The resolu- "Tout le socialisme" (full socialism). (the Permanent Administrative Commit tion of Paul Faure and Severac, i.e. the The draft resolution of the left wing tee) is instructed to work out a propaeadership around Blum, on the seizure (Zyromski-Pivert categorically rejects ganda plan and to make energetic and of power was withdrawn in favor of a the possibility of a peaceful, gradual persistent efforts for the establishmen resolution introduced by the Federation seizure of power: "This requires the unof the North which is more "left" but leashing of the direct force of the masses still centrist. Why was the Faure-Sev- of workers and peasants. . It is danerac resolution withdrawn? Because the gerous to believe that the realization of parties, the trade unions and the workers majority of the delegates were opposed our aims can be brought about thru parto it and demanded a more "left" reso- tial or occasional seizure of power, be it lution. The majority was strongly in-fluenced by the Paris section, the Seine which does not have the support of the working class confident of its complete

torship of the proletariat."

a) The concrete form of the proletari-

b) The question of insurrection, in-

The SP must organize a defense corpu organizations for physical defense rors made by the CP in its application, for the protection of its institutions, etc. And at the same time, organize the methods as "adventurous" and placed been radicalized and have moved to the "general arming of the people." On the them on the same level with fascist left. They have not yet broken with "general arming of the people" the resolution says:

"The act of arming the people as revolutionary measure rests above and the proletarians who are the masters of the streets, the docks and the factories-fraternization which will result from systematic propaganda carried on in various ways and in all

ing on depending on democratic institutions. It says that "the Party must b onvinced that its actions will remain "We want full power... It is not ineffective so long as it chings to the dea question of piecemeal conquest of fense of democratic institutions which political power, we want to capture are curtailed by fascism before they are full power thru the proletariat. The dissolved and destroyed."

The left resolution lacks an undertempt to transform capitalist society standing of the role of workers and peasinto a collective or communist society ant soviets as the organs of proletarian n which the forces of the state as a uprising, in the beginning, and as the whole break the resistance of the van- organs of proletarian state power, after quished bourgeoisie . . . is the dicta- the successful completion of the revolution. Secondly, the plan of the CGT is This resolution, then, accepts the slo- accepted as "a first step to socialism."

The decisive differences between the and rejects the idea of a gradual seizure two resolutions are: the rejection of the social-patriotic explanation "openly and coalition policy in a bourgeois state. ceived 2,025 votes; that of the left 777, side of parliament.

Nevertheless it can hardly be said to a Trotskyite resolution 105, a resolution Of the beautiful resolution passed by of the working class in case our country tarian dictatorship and the seizure of 229 abstained and 58 were absent when proletariat; on the impossibility of cap- give the floor to the Militant:

Leon Blum placed his own position as dispensable to a revolutionary seizure of The resolution of Lebas was adopted fies all fundamental resolutions, and

GRANTED FULL POWER

such would be the case. At the Tours prepared for in secret." Thus organizaments the Congress adopted unanimous party congress in 1921, when this position was brought out. Maurice Tho-

LABOR DAY 1935

E Greet the organized labor movement and the unorganized

masses who need the frame of its pro-

tection. We reaffirm our abiding faith

in the power of solidarity. Let Us

Face Forward . . . toward new gains

in the economic struggle . . . toward

peace and the destruction of fascism . . .

toward a classless world washed clean

is in essence only a confirmation and continuation of the tactical line of the practical outcome of the Congress, grants CPF, the line of the "Peoples Front."

the "resolution of immediate action" i

and peasants parties.

The resolution goes on to say:

for immediate action with the cooper-

ation of all kinds of experts and or

the basis of the plan which the Party

worked out in Toulouse and the plan!

of the CGT which will suit the ma-

jority of the people who are determ

turing power peacefully and gradually

ties, particularly the Radicals.

BENJAMIN EVRY

President

industrialists.'

ined to end the misery created by the crisis and, basing itself on the work-

Class." This proposal had been sub features of this document are the followwith the "united party of the proleta-riat." Nowhere is the name Communist suggested. b) The document likewise "In agreement with these, the par-fails to mention the need of a separation ty will make all efforts to organize all from the 2nd International and the need anti-fascist organizations and all de- of affiliating to the 3rd International. It mocratic elements which have sprung up spontaneously since February 6.... The Congress accordingly gives organization whose sims and methods the Permanent Administrative Committee full power to speed up its efforts in the direction of unity and to arrange a meeting without delay seems to include the 2nd international. which would include the delegates of But what becomes of this criterion of political and economic working class struggling against the "governments of and peasant organizations and the the bourgeoisie" at a time when the CP representatives of the most impor- is ready to support a radical socialist tant groups which have shown their i.e. a bourgeois left government under determination to fight against fascism certain conditions? This distinction between the 2nd and 3rd Internationals At first, meetings are to be held in loses its meaning. c) The proposal ige departments and districts against the nores the question of an armed uprising. excesses of fascist violence. Further- In this case where it is important to difnore, there is to be an energetic cam- ferentiate between centrism and commupaign for the dissolution of the Chamber. nism, the question of armed uprising "It will be necessary in view of the cannot be ignored. new plebiscite to work out a program

(To be continued)

Workers Party Conducts Discussion

ing masses, will break the resistance Workers Party is now proceeding in a of the big capitalists, the bankers and very energetic if not exactly comradely manner. From the Trotskyist press the The document refers to elections indicating that this enlarged left cartel kept out but in the local bulletins this will carry on elections and will form a struggle looms very large.

government (tho this is not expressly We pick up a copy of the "Philadelphia of power. These are, indeed, conces- possibility of a peaceful and gradual stated) which will be supported by the Militant" of August 10 and discover that sions to the progress which the Socialist road to power and the demand of con- left cartel including the Communists in this paper has a flourishing "Workers The left wing issued two diametrically opposed statements. Zyromski gave a opposed statements. Zyromski gave a fundamental rejection of a power. The resolution of the North repetry bourgeois mass organizations outpares very "favorably" with that of the Daily Worker. In fact it is superior to the Daily Worker when it comes to represent the Communist view of prole- introduced by the Rhone department 83. the congress on the dictatorship of the strong and colorful language. Here we

sters and unworthy of member sis all their own)

delphia labor movement will not be safe (Emphasis and exclamation marks

for when the case of these "RATS' finally came up for a hearing they were made to pay the "supreme penalty" by a three months suspension.

suspension a permanent one.

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SEASONABLE

6th Ave. at 14th St.

Labor Day Poses Difficult Problems

Momentous problems confront Amer-| union-wrecking aims of the strikebreak ican working class been faced with such eering? a critical situation, beset with such dangers, and faced with such opportunities LABOR PARTY to mould not only the course of events IS NEEDED in the United States but also thruout | The gravity of the situation in which

the world. ing problems be on the order of the day, that today American labor is totally unpressing for solution, at the forthcoming equipped to meet the challenge of the convention of the American Federation employing class and its government. Po of Labor. The Fifty-fifth Convention litically, labor as a whole, is not only of the A. F. of L. to be held at Atlantic unorganized but is bound as a whole to City early in October will have to tackle chariots of the political parties of Wall these questions and tackle them decisive- Street. A most degrading spectacle inly. Very much will depend on the an- deed was the performance of William swers given by this highest gathering of Green and the dominant New York Fed our biggest and, decisive body of organ-cration of Labor officials at the last state

casion for taking stock, for placing the 1936. In fact, it is too often that our questions in bold relief and for definitely union officials are all too anxious to belabor in these critical hours.

heavy clouds of war gathering for years whining before the powers that be to heavy clouds of war gathering for years withing before the powers that be to are about to break in a hellish downpour have the American government break all workers in the trade unions, when all the whole legislative program sponsored organized workers, when all employed by the Illinois Federation of Labor. Such starting in Ethiopia which Italian im- relations with the Soviet Union. perialism is preparing to drench in On the industrial field, the forces of and unemployed must review the past outstanding leaders as Victor Olander blood. The armies and navies, the air- labor continue divided and paralyzed as with a view of improving out present and John Fitzpatrick were enraged a fleets and chemical divisions of the big against the mighty corporations. Not and little powers are all set, ready to plunge the world into an orgy of indescribable carnage. Once an imperial-describable carnage. Once an imperial-describable carnage. Once an imperial-describable carnage of the superior continue divided and paralyzed as against the mighty corporations. Not this advise of insuring a much better future. On this action. Olander said that "the work-this day all workers should make up their minds and prepare to take the nector of the state were hurled back a quarter of productions aiming to remove the forthcoming the same of the superior continue divided and paralyzed as against the mighty corporations. Not this action. Olander said that "the work-this day all workers should make up their minds and prepare to take the nector of the state were hurled back a quarter of productions aiming to remove their minds and prepare to take the nector of the state were hurled back a quarter of productions aiming to remove the forthcoming the state were hurled back a quarter of productions are superior continue divided and paralyzed as against the mighty corporations. Not this action. Olander said that "the work-their minds and prepare to take the nector of the state were hurled back a quarter of productions are superior continue divided and paralyzed as against the mighty corporations. Not and insuring a much better future. On this action. Olander said that "the work-their minds and prepare to take the nector of the state were hurled back a quarter of productions are superior of the superior of the state were hurled back a quarter of productions are superior of the supe ist war breaks there can be set no insuperable limiting boundaries to restrict
superable limiting boundaries to restrict

REACTION GIRDS FOR BATTLE

But not only are the openly anti-labor UNIONISM forces sharpening their weapons, the onservative a labor officialdom as we

ican labor today. Not since the outbreak ing government officials in their much of the last imperialist war has the Amer- vaunted attempts "to root out" racket-

the army of labor finds itself cannot be In no small measure will those burn- exaggerated. It must be stated frankly convention where they grovelled before they begged and shrieked to be allowed And Labor Day is indeed a fitting oc- on the Democratic Party bandwagon of What are we up against today? The the role of William Green in his constant done.

the areas of destruction.

In every capitalist country the forces of blackest reaction are rapidly organmisuse and abuse the last A. F. of L. izing their bands for the ruthless exter- convention decisions so as to perpetuate bosses and their government of strike- deal while any of the old party politicians mination of all labor organizations thru the suicidal and archaic craft union set the establishment of fascist dictator-ships. In the U. S. the collapse of the practically nothing to organize the un-

NRA has rudely shaken the foundation organized, to help assimilate and make MUST BE HEARD of all the illusions developed amongst good union men of the hundreds of thouto organize "unions" of their own, as in the automobile industry.

FOR INDUSTRIAL

Worst of all, the moment an honest government itself, led by none other voice of constructive criticism is raised the pace for a most vehement onslaught practices, many of the highest officials of close our ranks against the rising tide and Cook County" was thus born. against the workers and their organizations. It is Roosevelt, whom too many labor officials are hailing as a friend of labor, who has lent terrific impetus to the wage-slashing plans of the avowed open-shoppers. Witness his coolie wage ized and tied up with the parties of the labor working class of the Soviet Union with the restrict of the highest officials of savage fascism and the ever-growing described of savage fascism an open-shoppers. Witness his coolie wage ized and tied up with the parties of the working class of the Soviet Union, with the statement proceeds to say: schedule of \$19-\$90 per month, the "work big capitalists—the Democratic and Re- the momentarily defeated workers of or starve" edict of General Johnson and publican. It is as clear as broad day-Mayor La Guardia in New York. It is light that labor will be an easy prey for the White House that has with a firm the giant auto kings, steel magnates and consistent hand assumed the lead of and oil monarchs, so long as it clings a new and better day—the DAY of every move to detour and defeat labor to the ox-cart technique of union organin all its heroic struggles, in all its va- ization—to the useless and harmful sysliant efforts to better its conditions. This tem of craft unionism. It is apparent is the story of the prevention of the steel that with high-handed autocratic methstrike, of the repeated calling off of the coal strike, of the sabotage and crushing of the inspiring battle waged by the their officials honestly and constructively textile workers, of taking the guts out particularly when the latter are derelict of every move made by organized labor, in their duty to the unions, our labor by the workers in the factories for the organizations can only become sterile first time in the ranks of the trade and decay.
unions, to win a foothold for unionism

This must not be. A new day is ahead

in the plants of the basic industries. Who for American labor. The workers in this can forget the infamous Wolman board country, the American workers who have outcome of the carefully evasive selfin the auto industry? Who can forget shown the world that they know how to criticism engaged in by the recent sev the insult and injury heaped by Presi- defend themselves and their hard-won enth congress of the Communist Interdent Roosevelt upon even so docile and conditions, will not let matters drift and national on the trade union question, can now have when it showed the least sign time. Labor Day should be the day of of the Freiheit, the most influential or of saying no to the studied plans of the Administration against the wage-workers? Who can fail to see the sinister

FOR A MILITANT FIGHTING

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Dressmakers Union, Local 22

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION



PEARL HALPERN, Chairman CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, Secretary-Manager RESERVE

Take My Stand

SAT. EVE. SEPT. 28

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— Two Plays —

By E. England **Until We Turn**

By Louis Vittes

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.Tickets from **WORKERS AGE**

had helped to illustrate very clearly the indicating the path to be traversed by come the handmaids of the blackest re- on all we have done and left undone, and complete bankruptcy of the policy of de actionary conspirators. This is exactly also on all that should not have been pending upon a capitalist party for fav-

Labor Day 1935 must be the day when Democratic Parties joined hands to kil

Let Labor Day be the day when all the workers as to the Roosevelt Administration being a friend of labor. Wage scales and working conditions, living On occasion these officials have even tively inside the unions for making bigstandards and the right to organize and strike—gains won by the workers thru years of desperate struggle—are all endangered. Incipient fascist coteries like ance which has been begun against the wages, to win union recognition and to representing 60 locals of the A. F. of L. make labor's voice heard and count.

Let Labor Day be the day when all there were several hundred visiting trade the Coughlin outfit are already preparing constant and spreading menace of com- make labor's voice heard and count. inish and has at times been deliberately progressive and militant workers will unionists listening in on the conference pledge themselves to work unceasingly The decision of the July 14th conference for transforming the craft unions into militant industrial unions and for preparing the organization of a powerful cussed and turned down in favor of a

resolution to launch such a party on the Labor Day 1935 should be the day spot. This was carried by a two to one when we make an unbreakable pledge to vote and the "Labor Party of Chicago Germany, Austria, and Italy groaning under the barbaric voke of Fascism, with the workers of the whole world to hasten

'Freiheit' Says Wm. Green Is Fascist

A significant indication as to the ne go the way they have been going all this be found in the September 2, 1935 issue nized trade union expert of the paper,

"At the convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Green's order to revoke the charter of Local 5, New York, was rejected and it was declared that such an order to smash cluding 20 planks among which, besides the economic demands of the trade a union merely because it was, accordto Green, 'under Communist influ- unions there are also to be found such ence', meant working along the lines provisions as opposition to war and fa of Fascism. Doubtless there will be found those who insist that such things should not be said about Green. But can anyone find another expression for his conduct? Is an order such as his far from Fascism?" What is this if not a reversion to the

crude "social-Fascist" nonsense of 1929-1933? What is this if not the old identification of everything on earth with Fascism, supposedly repudiated by the seventh congress? And if such an outcropping of gross sectarianism is possible in the official organ of the C. P., it can just be imagined what confusion reigns generally among the party membership who, after all, are supposed to carry out the line!

One thing is clear: Until the ultra-leftist course is not merely dropped in its immediate manifestations but is openly and honestly repudiated in its very sible for the C.P. to develop effective tactics of mass work.

Chicago Trade Unions Set Up Labor Party

Once again the trade unionists of Chi-|cism and for nationalization and colleccago have taken the lead over their bro- tive ownership of the most important thers in other large cities. On August 25 industries. The Labor Party also pledges a large number of trade unions gathered itself to "cooperation with the workers to discuss the question of a Labor Party of all nations." and ended up by actually launching

issued a call for a conference for August

No one was more surprised at the re-

sponse and the impatient demand for

such a party than the organizing com

mittee itself. For a number of politica

evelopments in the country and state

The attitude of the leaders of the State

Federation of Labor and the Chicago Federation of Labor reflected a deep re-

sentiment of the Chicago workers gen

"It is believed that the present situ

ation calls not for a non-descript third

party seeking to serve widely diver-

serving the interests of Labor and a

gent interests, but a Labor Party

those who are oppressed and exploited

by capitalists and profiteers, and who

stand firmly on the side of labor i

the political and economic struggl

Also the statement cites the role o

the two old parties in a simple and

straightforward manner such as any

"All thinking workers reject with

contempt the idea of company union

in the factories. They are now real-

izing that the Republican and Demo

cratic Parties are nothing but politi-

cal company unions. They are fi-

nanced and controlled by the employ-

function against the workers in poli-

tics the same as the company unions

function against them in industry. I

requires a real Labor Party to serve

the political interests of Labor jus

as it requires bona fide Labor Union

to serve his economic needs." (Ex-

cerpts from Federation News, Augus

The conference adopted a platform in

24, 1935).

ers the same as company union

trade unionist can understand Listen t

OLD PARTIES

LABOR PARTY

DOUBLECROSS LABOR

such a party. As early as July 14 a conference was RESOLUTION

held by 53 active trade unionists from 33 The declaration of principles of this locals. These concluded after estimating Labor Party came in the form of a resothe sentiment for such an independent lution which we are certain is bound to party of labor, that the time had come become a model for the growing Labor to begin. They promptly elected temporary officers, named themselves "Labor Party Conference Committee" and

"WHEREAS, the preamble of the American Federation of Labor states that a struggle is going on between oppressors and oppressed-between capitalist and laborer, and,

"WHEREAS, This struggle grows out of the divergent interests of capital and labor, which interests cannot be served by the same political party.

"WHEREAS, there is now a rapidly growing recognition that the Republican and Democratic parties are nothing but political company unions, functioning against the workers in politics the same as the ordinary company union functions against them in

industry, and,
"WHEREAS, a Labor Party supported by the unions and serving the nterests of all who stand on the side of Labor and not on the side of Capital is necessary to advance the poltical aims of Labor, and,

"WHEREAS, such a Party will be a most effective means of serving the immediate and future interests of Chicago and Cook County workers, of uniting the forces of Labor on the political field, of utilizing their political strength for the improvement of social and industrial conditions, and of electing officials who will use the power of government in the interest

of the working people, and,
"WHEREAS, the wage workers, headed by the unionists, being the largest and most solidly organized class, should take the lead by first consolidating their own ranks behind a move to establish Labor's organization in politics as well as in industry

"THEREFORE, be it resolved . . . that, the position of this Labor Party shall be in expressed opposition to the political parties supporting capitalism and shall not participate in the primaries of such parties or give support to any of their candidates. This shall apply also to candidates who run as so-called 'non-partisans', as in the struggle between capital and Labor. there can be no such thing as a 'non-

partisan' position. . . .
"THAT, the Labor Party of Chicago and Cook County is hereby organized by this conference in accordance with this resolution and its Executive Committee is directed to secure the support of all Chicago and Cook County unions for the Labor Party, to raise the necessary funds, to send out printed matter, to send out speakers, and, when sufficient support has been secured, to call a convention to put a local Labor Party ticket in the field....

"THAT, this conference extends friendly greetings to, and asks the support and co-operation of, all oppressed or exploited sections of the population who stand with Labor and against Capital to build a powerful and victorious Labor Party.

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LABOR DAY GREETINGS

City ...

from
MISCELLANEOUS LOCALS JOINT COMMITTEE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION composed of

Miscellaneous Branch Cutters' Union, Local No. 10
Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 20
Blouse & Waistmakers' Union, Local No. 25
Designers Guild of Ladies' Apparel, Local No. 30
Corset & Brassiere Workers' Union, Local No. 32
Ladies' Tailors Workers' Union, Local No. 38
Whitegoods Workers' Union, Local No. 62
Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local No. 66
Children's Dressmakers' & Housedress Union, Local No. 91
Cloak & Suit Truck Drivers' Union, Local No. 102
Button & Novelty Workers' Union, Local No. 132
Ladies' Neckwear Workers' Union, Local No. 142 Ladies' Neckwear Workers' Union, Local No. 142 Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union, Local No. 155 Ladies' Tailors Alteration Workers' Union, Local No. 177 Out of Town Department

Ioint Board of the Dress & Waistmakers' Union **IULIUS HOCHMAN**

General Manager PHILIP KAPP Secretary-Treasurer

of hunger and exploitation.

all on the fraternization of the pro letarian soldiers who are the masters of the garrisons, the arsenals, the flee strata....

The resolution strikes a note of warn-"We want full power . . . It is not

pre-requisite for every effective at-

gan of the dictatorship of the proletariat

the voting occurred. On the question of participation in the on the application of "full socialism," anced. Zyromski introduced a resolu- result of the Party congress is the fact government under certain conditions. elections. This practical decision nulli-

S.P. CONGRESS

On the eve of the conference Humanite published a proposal for organic "United Party of the French Working Unity" on May 29th. The characteristic ing: a) The document is concerned only

The pre-convention discussion of the

"We wish to take this opportunity to warn all members of trade unions, workers organizations and clubs, etc. and all workers of Philadelphia to able RATS, operating under the names of LEON GOODMAN and of BANKS (alias BROOKS). These members of the lumpen proletariat have shown themselves to be gangany workers' organization." (Empha-

The document closes with the followpermits cooperation with bourgeois par- ing blood-curdling warning: "the Phila-It is obvious that this result, which for decent workers until we DRIVE Following these revolutionary state- impedes the development of the left wing THESE RATS FROM OUR RANKS!!!

sition was brought out, Maurice Thorez took the floor and rejected such
rez took the floor and rejected such
rez took the floor and rejected such
gether. The proposed concrete weapons riol. This resolution, looked upon as the
was only possible because of the opporletting have shanged.

These sentiments apparently comwas only possible because of the opporletting have shanged.

Among the very restricted few around the Trotsky group this has created considerable hilarity. As for the "RATS." Goodman and Banks, they should conward and not a penalty. The three months of reflective thought on the Trotsky group as a whole might even lead these two to make this condition of

SPAGHETTI INN

REASONABLE

WORKERS

mist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.





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Saturday, September 14, 1935.

EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

At the negotiations which resulted in the pact of Rome, France gave Italy a free hand in Ethiopia in order to check FALSE REASON Italian imperialist designs in the eastern section of the Mediterranean. At the beginning England's policy was quite obviously the same. France dealt with Italy in the same manner that Bismarck had dealt with France after the war of 1870. Bismarck had encouraged and facilitated French colonial imperialist policy to keep France busy outside of Europe.

The strategy of France and England, as far as Italy was concerned, was the following. A conflict in the Balkan states would set Europe aflame immediately. Ethiopia is more remote, geographically speaking. A war in Ethiopia would therefore remain a "local" affair.

In this column we have consistently pointed out the falseness of this illusion. Today the shortsightedness and falseness of such a policy has become clear.

The Ethiopian conflict is of world-wide importance. In the first place, it again raises the problem of European colonial oppression of Africa as a whole and furthermore, the question of the op-pressed "colored" people in the whole world. The Ethiopian conflict illustrates that native Africa is a powder keg ready to explode any moment as a result of the undermining of the authority of European supremacy in the colonies during the world war, as a result of the effect of the world crisis on Africa, and the existence of the Soviet Union. Secondly, the Ethiopian war raises the traditional life and death question of the British empire—the route to India is in danger. The English ruling class is menaced by 350,000,000 colored peoples. Thirdly, the Ethiopian conflict is indirectly affecting European politics—the problem of the domination of the Meditorreness the adaptal machine as resized. problem of the domination of the Medi-terranean, the colonial problem as raised by Germany, the opportunity given to They represent nearly 10% of the Italian Hitler Germany to attack Austria or to smash the clerico-fascist regime from the inside. Fourthly, the Ethiopian conflict again raises the Negro problem of the United States of America. All of which leads us to the following conclusions: Imperialist policy of today is both shortsighted and stupid. Imperialism today attempts to bridge one gap by creating another, to evade one conflict only to precipitate another. Secondly, the effects of the Ethiopian conflict point to the precarious objective condition the imperialist world finds itself in. The tension is so great, the bases of the imperialist ruling clique so undermined tory of Italy thanks to toleration or acthat there can be no "local" wars any tive aid on the part of England would more, that an enterprise such as the arouse the indignation and desire for Ethiopian war which 40 or 50 years ago revenge of all colored native peoples of could really have been a "local" war is the British empire. today threatening to break down the entire rotten set-up of world imperial-

The negative wisdom with which imperialist policy is pursued is organically related to its objective condition. "Correct" imperialist policies are no longer possible. Whatever is done and however it is done, is wrong and leads to addi-tional catastrophes. Imperialists have become stupid. A sure sign that the end

ENGLAND PRETENDS **IGNORANCE**

England pretends that Mussolini is concealing his aims. This is not true. Mussolini has stated his aims very clearly. His aim is to turn Ethiopia into an Italian colony and he is attacking Ethio-

pia for that purpose.

England very nobly proposes to Mussolini to turn Ethiopia into an Italian colony without violence and without war, pointing to Egypt where England has technical and military "advisers." Mussolini, however, answers that he must first subdue Ethiopia in war. He is correct from the imperialist point of view because the British "advisers" in Egypt are the true rulers of the country only because England first conquered Egypt because she keeps a constant corps of soldiers in Egypt and can, if necessary, concentrate her fleet at the coast of Egypt at any time. The noble English proposal is in reality an empty shell, a demagogic maneuver equal only to the maneuvers of Mussolini.

The English press, in its attempt to a tyrant who refuses to accept a peace- prestige of the League. The resigna- revolutionary action of the working class. valuable and important pamphlet for the produced.

ful proposal and stubbornly insists on a war with Ethiopia.

LAND HUNGER

Pretense and falsehood is found on made with consideration for Chinese senboth sides. Mussolini is apparently en-sibilities and for the interests of other gaging in war in order to colonize Italian peasants in Ethiopia. The rest of the imperialist world takes this excuse at face value. In reality, this is nothing but the usual imperialist tommyrot. The exploiting interests of the capitalists are disguised and made popular by appealing to the hunger for land of the peasants. The Italian peasants will probably get nothing but their graves in Ethiopia. If the semi-feudal, parasitic estates were overthrown in Italy, especially in Southern Italy, the peasants would have suffi cient land.

England has suddenly discovered that the Italian fascist regime has begun to totter, that the Ethiopian excursion is not popular with the Italian masses and that Mussolini could be done away with as the ruler of Italy. England's diplomacy is to develop and encourage "revo-lutionary" sympathies in Italy just as she did in 1916-17 in Czarist Rusia. Let us hope that the Italian working class will return the favor as did the Russian working class then.

Adowa does not have to be repeated. The Ethiopians can wear down the Italians by guerilla warfare. The strength the Soviet Union and other powers. of Ethiopia lies in the barbaric condi- Krutch, however, believes that this obtions, in its standard of living, its customs. Armaments will be supplied by England and others, and particularly by capturing those of Italy.

Eight thousand men of the Italian army have been sent back to Italy because of illness and the war hasn't even starttroops.

France has asked Italy to apply the Morocco method to Ethiopia. If this were done Italy would have lost long ago and it is very doubtful whether or not France could afford another Morocco today.

ROUSING THE COLONIAL PEOPLE

England is in a rather contradictory position. A victory of Ethiopia over Italy would raise the self-consciousness of the oppressed native peoples. A vic-

Thus war must be prevented. But in order to really prevent war England and if necessary actually engage in such pe has set in order." a war. England does not want to do this for various reasons. She does not. want war and does not want to apply the necessary measures to prevent war. On the other hand, she is ready to grant concessions to Italy which can only be realized thru war. Under such circumstances England cannot possibly have a clear, unequivocal political stand on this question. Only the working class can have that because the struggle for social emancipation is in complete harmony with the struggle for the national emancipation of the native colored people of Africa and receives strong support from it. The contradictions of French policy are similar to those of England.

WHAT NEXT FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Ethiopia as the imperialist dynamite keg demonstrates that the field of battle in the next world war will be much greater than that of the first. Africa played a minor role in the last world war. In the next world war, however, it will play a major role. And consequently also in the coming second stage of world revolution.

Will the League of Nations survive the Ethiopian war? Whether or not the is correct in utilizing the smallest posis certain that such a war would mark the death of the idea of the League of Nations. The conquest of Manakara of Manakara of the conquest of Manakara Nations. The conquest of Manchuria by tically nil and that the force which alone pretend naivete, represents Mussolini as Japan was the first serious blow to the can maintain peace is the independent

Books of the Age

By Bertram D. Wolfe

TODAY, by John Martin. Rollins Press, Winters Park, Fla. 225pp. \$2.50. Take prematurely old, pre-war British Fabianism, transport it to Florida, paradise of the retired middle class, and have it comment upon fascism, communism and americanism and you get-this book John Martin claims to have known Engels-that is, he once met him. Back in the '90's he read Karl Marx, but quite evidently didn't understand what he was reading. He was chairman of the Labor Party in Hackney, and in 1899 came to America to lecture. It was love at first sight, the women's clubs fell in love with him and he with them; now he's an American citizen, a little better than 100%, and Professor of International Relations at Rollins University, Florida. He believes that the League, the World Court, the Kellogg Pact, are slowly leading us to a warless world; that it is nice of the United States to have "taken China under its benevolent protection for reasons which are not entirely clear' but if we want to avoid war with Japan we must limit ourselves to asking that "their exploitation of China shall be powers"; that with Japan behaving as it does "the United States cannot neglect munity." home defense"; that Italy, Germany and Russia are three largely similar dictatorships driving the world toward war; that France, England, and especially the United States are three noble if bewildered democracies; that in America the police are "just friends"; that "you call Europe." young people need not hunger after the flesh pots of Russia"; and finally, oh snake in paradile!—that an American 'imagined leader" would preach Americanism, would promise "insurance against ruin thru enforced idleness,

WAS EUROPE A SUCCESS? by Joseph Wood Krutch. Farrar & Rhinehart. 88 pp. \$1.50.

'sound body for every citizen," "a con-

scription of youth for labor in place of

the European conscription for warfare,'

so that all the old folks might bask per

petually in Florida sunshine and hearken

to the words of the sage of Philistia.

Mr. Krutch's question makes no sense. France, Germany, Spain, Italy, part of Krutch, however, believes that this obvious fact, with all its important implications is purely secondary, and that Europe is that part of our experience occupied by, say Plato, Praxitiles, Horace Rembrandt, Shakespeare, Newton, Beethoven and Proust-in short by a culture which continues from the Golden Days of Greece to the greasy days of gold.

"What was once only Athens became Greece, then the Mediterranean Basin, it from the Marxists. then all the Western part of the Conti-nent." In the same easy style, Europe oecomes Capitalism, bourgeois civilization becomes—not a culture, but Culture itself.

This undifferentiated and entirely imaginary continuity the author sums up in enumerating the high qualities of That European spirit which was born in Athens, rationalized in Rome and taken over by the Catholic church. . . . " And yet Krutch vigorously objects to the "over-simplifications" of the Com-munists! What have these several different cultural and social systems in common? One thing: some form of class oppression.

But without class oppression—no "culture"; without it no "humanity." "Humanity, as Europe knows it cannot be imagined apart from the social order European art has developed would have to threaten Italy with war and the realm of thought which Euro-

> The Stuarts of England, the Bourbons and the Czar Nicholas II, could also not battle for reaction. imagine their Europe ("humanity") without their social order, their aesthetes and artists, their philosophy.

It is clear that against such desocialized conceptions of history, of society of culture, as the creation and possession of the ruling class, Communism and its concrete expression, the Soviet Union must be set off as "the enemy."

The thesis which is presented in this book, then, is that the "radicals" and Communists are deliberately attempting to blow up the only worthwhile achieve ments of mankind. Every ally of the ruling clique speaks in the name of mankind. Every ally of the ruling clique speaks in the name of "mankind," for the defense of "culture," the "home," womanhood," or what not, according to the kind of audience he wants to reach

tion of Germany the second. The third blow which will be struck by the Ethio pian conflict will multiply the effects of the first two. One defeat of the League resulted in the others. The Soviet Union

DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACIES | All say the same thing but Krutch says

it better. That much must be granted While he was writing his attacks on Marx and Communism on the basis of first-hand misinformation, the Nazis were torturing their opponents in jail and burning libraries, the English not long before had bombed defenseless Indian villages, the Japanese were seizing China and millions in Europe were more or less starving. Of these events, not one word by Krutch; but he can say that Communism means the "standardization of thoughts, opinions, tastes, desires" "a sense of the that it would destroy reality, the worth and the sacredness of the individual . . . ;" that, "Unless . . . some sense of the worth of the individual is retained, a soviet republic might often find nothing repulsive in the idea of sending thousands to die upon the battlefield, or thousands more to endless toil in mines and factories if, by so doing, it seemed to be benefitting in some way the community as a whole."

But this is exactly the picture of social order which cannot exist apart from the "Europe" Krutch is defending-with this difference: that thousands upon thousands of lives, of "sacred individuals" are sacrificed, not for the "community" as a whole but for the profit of a small ruling section of the "com-Mr. Krutch looks for imaginary ills abroad, and remains blind to the very real ones all about him. Such is the nature of that "detachment . . one of those civilized luxuries the pursuit and indulgence in which constitute essential elements in that complex we

There are many marvels of myopia such as "Governments . . . exist to preserve order and to promote human happiness," and "Wars and revolutions have been the price paid for failures to restore equilibria, and orderly transitions like that which England made when she grew into a democracy are the reward of in telligent concessions." These maxims These maxims might have been copied out of a high school civics textbook, but that is hard ly the last word on the subject. Let Mr Krutch read, now that he is graduated from high school, the various white books, blue books and other documents issued after the world war. That may give him a notion of what governments What is Europe? Commonly, it is the continent occupied by and comprising France, Germany, Spain, Italy, part of or "English History" how terror and the army were used to effect the "orderly mentary government.

The man who writes —"It has been interesting volume of speculation "The Ascent of Humanity' that man's development takes place neither in an ever-riskind of spiral" would not be seduced into discovering that Mr. Heard heard about Labor have not only gone on record but

Krutch has with Marxism, but this refusal to go to the sources does not prevent him from pronouncing judgment.

Krutch has no knowledge of economics -he admits it; of politics, he has notions of the kind set forth above; of society, he has only reactionary conceptions; of history, the accepted but unacceptable notions; of art, only the "cul-tured" aesthete's "sensibilities"; of science, hardly a trace; of philosophy, the same; of Communism, only ignorance fortified by prejudice. What then have "detachment," "intellectual honesty," "fair-mindedness," "individuality," "urbanity" to do with any question Krutch

We will allow Mr. Krutch to pass sentence on himself. "It may be suggested as a possibility that the most important, which Europe has created, the sensibil- the most fundamental thing is rather the manner or the temper than the conclusions themselves." So much for the detachment, intellectual honesty and company. They are convenient covers under of France, Calhoun of the slavery South which Mr. Krutch, the ex-liberal, does

Mac Stuart

SOUTHERN SKETCHES NO. 1-HIN-TON ROWAN HELPER, by Hugh Talmage Lefler. Historical Publishing Co. Charlottesville, Va. 45pp.

Despite an occasional parenthetical whiff of Southern prejudice, this is a scholarly, compact, comprehensive and picturesque biography of the mind of that most significant spokesman of the Southern poor whites, Hinton Rowan Helper. His stirring work, "The Impending Crisis" is skillfully summarized so that its moving language lives again in the summary.

A little too much space is given to

Southern "refutations" (they riddled his biased counter-statistics, but for his burning hatred of slavery and the slavocracy they had no refutation). Rather too much is devoted to the subsequent decay of a mind great only for one issue but even that is useful in revealing the true picture of the precursor of the Pitchfork Ben Tillmans, Bilbos, Tom Hefflins, Talmadges and Huey Longs that represent the degeneracy of the Southern poor white so long as he does not solve the problem of his proper relationship to the "emancipated' Negro.

Despite its brevity, this is a truly

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

CONVENTION APPROACHES

As the convention of the American Federation of Labor approaches it becomes clear that William Green and the clique around him are going to face some very serious difficulties. The apparent unity which existed on the surface of last year's convention is not to be repeated. It appears as if whatever latent problems were dividing the organized labor movement are due to come to the surface, much to Green's embarassment.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The last convention forced the opponents of vertical unionism to retreat and a motion was written into the records authorizing the mass production industries to organize along industrial lines. But where is that decision? What has happened to it? It has been torn to shreds by the rock-ribbed craft unionists without even a protest from Green who we are told "sympathizes with the vertical union supporters".

There is every reason to believe that the convention will want to know what has happened to that decision? Why did Green permit the flagrant violation of this convention of the auto workers to grant them a charter as an International Union. But even here not all auto crafts are included. Besides, it comes after a long period of stalling, when many workers have dropped out of the unions in disgust, when many federal locals are a mere shadow. The auto workers in convention in Detroit have shown what they think of Green and the Executive Council by delivering a well directed and resounding slap in the face to Green. He asked for the appointment of his lieutenant, Dillon, as President and the convention turned him down flat.

The auto workers, and other delegates to the convention will have something to say at the convention. Even such conservative organizations as the Mass. State Federation of Labor could not keep from passing a resolution for industrial unionism. There is no question in our minds but that a majority for industrial unionism could be secured if the locals were permitted to discuss and decide this matter in a democratic manner.

THE LABOR PARTY

Since the 1924 venture in supporting the candidacy of LaFollette over which, incidentally, the Executive Council still shudders, the A. F. of L. fell back heavtransition" from absolutism to parlia- ily into the swamp of supporting the parties of capitalism. It is safe to say that this convention, much more so than suggested by Mr. Gerald Heard in his last year, will hear numerous and strong voices for a Labor Party.

Such state conventions as Oregon and Ohio have gone on record for the organiing curve nor in a mere circle but in a zation of such a Party. Such central lahave actually organized a Labor Party. That is the kind of acquaintance Hartford and a number of others have crutch has with Marxism, but this reestablished official bodies to prepare for the organization of such parties. Add to that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and others pledged to speak up for a Labor Party and one begins to appreciate the fact that the Labor Party question is not going to be downed so easily.

When such conservative leaders as Victor Olander, the head of the Illinois Federation of Labor, can conclude that the two old parties are giving labor the run-around and that a Labor Party is needed, then it will not be so easy to howl down the proponents of a Labor Party as a bunch of "foreign agitators" or "communists boring from within". ..

THE "RED MENACE"

In an attempt to smother all progressive action the burocracy will attempt at a very early stage, to blow up the "red menace" balloon to monstrous proportions. The recent exchange of notes between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is going to be of some assistance to these reactionaries. Nevertheless we must say now that there are an increasing number of trade unionists who are not easily taken in by the cry of "reds". The Furriers industry has proved that. Another example is that of the Teachers convention in Cleveland which took a position against a "pogrom" on the radicals in the New York local, thereby causing Green to intervene.* Still another example is the leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union which has taken a stand against discrimination for political convictions.

If the progressives are well organized at this convention these cries of "reds' should not disturb them. They should have no difficulties in branding these cries for what they are—attempts of the reactionaries to hold on to their leadership and their policies when the situation demands new policies and new leaders.

* Green's proposal was rejected by a vote of 100 to 79. The union is protesting Green's attitude as interference with its autonomous rights.

understanding of the Southern poor whites and the comprehension of the greatest spokesman they have so far