

For Lieut. Governor:  
WILLIANA BURROUGHS

For Governor: ISRAEL AMTER

# WORKERS' AGE

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## 17 Years of Socialist Construction

by Will Herberg

In the seventeenth year of its existence, the year just gone by, the Russian Revolution entered into a profoundly new epoch of its development, an epoch as fundamental as the period of the New Economic Policy or that of the First Five-Year Plan. It is the epoch of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The dynamic process of socialist construction represents a dialectic interaction of objective economic conditions and human social action collectively directed at the historical goal of socialism. It is a process in the course of which mankind finds it possible increasingly to throw on the nightmarish burden of its own objectified, fetishized, social relations and reality to mold its own fate and its own future. It is the process by which mankind leaps from the "realm of necessity" to the "realm of freedom!"

### Zig-Zag Course Inevitable

The dialectic interaction of objective social conditions and conscious social action—which forms the essence of the transition period from capitalism to socialism—naturally does not result in a course of economic development that is either smooth or always apparently in the same direction. The zig-zag course of socialist construction, the spasmodic character of the processes involved, are too well known to require discussion. We need only pause to note the hopeless philistinism of those who, like the Trotskyites, attribute these inherent features of the period, as manifested in the Soviet Union, to the perverse caprices of their particular devil, Stalin. For socialist construction itself necessarily proceeds thru contradictions, thru the clash of inharmonious elements, since it emerges directly from the womb of capitalism with all the signs of its origin. "The capitalist economy," Bukharin points out, "develops thru contradictions reproaching themselves on an ever-expanding scale. The socialist economy, or rather its systematic construction under the proletarian dictatorship, emerges only gradually out of capitalism. And so it also develops thru contradictions, which are a sign of its transitional or immature character. But—and this is the significant difference—the socialist economy develops thru contradictions reproducing themselves on an ever-contracting scale, constantly and unevenly diminishing in scope and intensity." And so, tho' to the superficial glance the course of socialist construction may very frequently appear to be a haphazard or blind one, leading into blind alleys, returning upon itself, undoing its own work, the eyes that see below the surface will not fail to discern the grand dialectic scheme underlying it, organically integrating the various contradictory phases in a pattern culminating in the new socialist order.

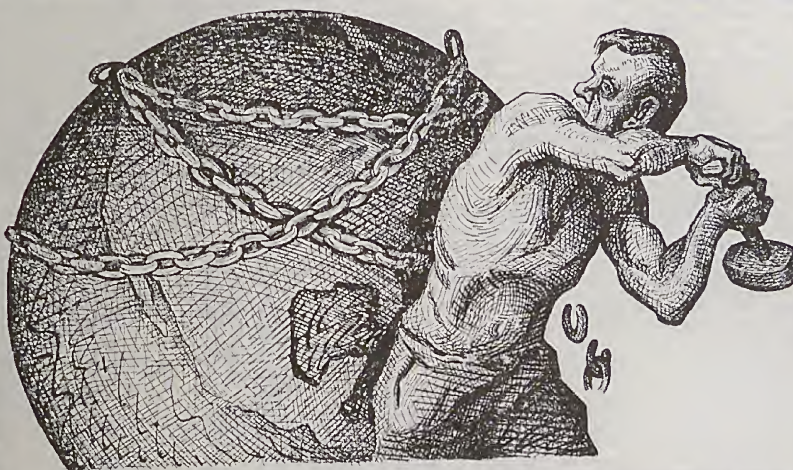
### Tasks After Revolution

When the Russian proletariat took power in November 1917 it confronted tasks in the sphere of economic transformation absolutely unparalleled in complexity and difficulty. For Russia was a land of the widest diversity of economic systems, ranging all the way from primitive patriarchal natural economy to ultra-modern trust capi-

talism. It was a country whose economic foundations had been shattered by years of depredation and war. It was a country facing impending catastrophe.

Before there could be any thought of advance towards socialism, it was necessary for the Soviet power to eradicate all of the remnants of the old aristocratic regime in economic, social and political life. The bourgeoisie had shied away from this task which was historically theirs; it was left for the proletariat to accomplish it.

Lenin himself emphasized in his article on the "natural tax" (April 21, 1921), was in essential outlines a revival of the old state capitalist program of May 1918, with major modifications to conform to the new conditions. The historical mission of the NEP was to rebuild the economic life of the country, shattered by many years of war and counter-revolution, to the pre-war level, to establish the decisive pre-



"The victorious Bolshevik revolution," Lenin tells us, "meant . . . the complete destruction of the monarchy and landlordism. . . The bourgeois revolution was carried out by us to the end." As this process was reaching completion, towards the middle of 1918, Lenin proposed, on May 5, 1918, a plan of socialist transition based on the form of state capitalism that later formed the foundation of the NEP. In Russia, Lenin explained, countering the utopian impatience of the "Left Communists," the road to socialism would be long, involved and circuitous, differing greatly in industry and in agriculture. In a situation in which "petty bourgeois economic relations" were the chief obstacle to socialism, "state capitalism would represent a great step forward."

But the whole matter never emerged into the stage of reality. For at this point the process of socialist construction was seriously affected by those extra-economic factors that have appeared again and again in Soviet history. Intervention, blockade and counter-revolution! The whole land was placed on a war footing and all placed on the resources of the Soviet state were turned exclusively to military purposes. It was the period of "War Communism," in which the socialization of distribution madly outstripped the basis in production. Economically it was all thoroughly irrational; it was justified only by military necessity.

The New Economic Policy  
The New Economic Policy, as

dominance of the socialist element in industrial production and transportation and to root it firmly in distribution, to stimulate the development of agriculture as far as it could go on the individualistic basis on which it still rested. With these aims in view, capitalism was given a certain limited freedom of action in those fields where the petty bourgeois economy had to be raised to a level adapted to socialization. The general line of the NEP was one of unexampled difficulty and was full of grave dangers; never did Marxism appear to better advantage than when it served the Russian Bolsheviks as their manual of action in overcoming these difficulties, warding off these dangers and bringing the New Economic Policy to a successful conclusion.

### N-E-W-S F-L-A-S-H

Joaquin Maurin Arrested  
Joaquin Maurin, leader of the Workers and Peasants Bloc and of the Iberian Communist Federation, under whose initiative the united front, which led the recently "terminated" Spanish revolution, was established, has been arrested on charges of treason. Grave concern is reported in latest dispatches from Spain on the arrest, the belief being expressed that his life is at stake. The Fascist hangmen now in power in stormy Spain are determined to murder the militant leaders of all working-class organizations.

### The First Five-Year Plan

Towards the end of 1927, the Soviet Union again stood at a turning point comparable in significance to 1918 and 1921. The NEP had practically exhausted itself; its basic aims had been largely accomplished. Socialist construction had to raise itself by a supreme effort to a new and higher level on which it could proceed along new lines. Economic development in the Soviet Union, especially in agriculture, could now go forward only in the form of a direct ad-

dustry, to the production of the means of production. Without a firm foundation of heavy industry, socialism or even the economic independence of the Soviet state would be impossible and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture a utopian fantasy. "Unless we build up heavy industry," Lenin had warned, "unless we find subsidies for it, we are lost as a civilized state. . . The only possible material base for socialism is heavy machine industry capable of reorganizing agriculture."

In agriculture, the First Five-Year Plan, for the first time, aimed not only at materially increasing output but also at replacing the petty bourgeois individualistic economy by large-scale collective operation. For this the expansion of heavy industry would provide the material and technical basis. In time, the collectivization of agriculture became the most striking feature of the First Five-Year Plan.

In the fields of distribution and the circulation of commodities the NEP had produced contradictory results. It had stimulated both co-operative forms and private trade. Under the First Five-Year Plan these spheres too were to be integrated into the general socialist plan.

The mutual relation between the capitalist and the socialist elements of the Soviet economy is the single most basic index of the stage reached in the process of socialist construction. Under the NEP the capitalist elements had received a certain leeway, even encouragement; this was to be reversed under the First Five-Year Plan which was to effect the expansion of the socialist sector to the point of reducing the capitalist elements to relative insignificance even in agriculture. In fact, just as on its positive sides, the First Five-Year Plan is to be regarded as a plan of campaign for a direct socialist offensive, so, on its negative side, it was a drive for the systematic liquidation of the New Economic Policy.

### Grave Errors In Execution

That many grave errors were committed in the execution of the First Five-Year Plan may be admitted readily enough and we need not excuse them because we can not explain or understand them. That explain or understand them. That many extra-economic factors intervened to influence the course of economic development is no less obvious. But more important than adventitious errors or extra-economic factors are the historically necessary and unavoidable negative consequences of the First Five-Year Plan produced by the contradictory form of development of Soviet economy referred to in an earlier paragraph. The internal reasons of the Soviet Union were sources of the adequate for the mutual harmonious expansion of heavy and light industry. The adequate expansion of one had for the time being to be sacrificed to the other. And, under the circumstances, of course, it was light industry that had to bear the temporary sacrifice since the immediate creation of a heavy industrial base had become a life-and-death necessity. Of course, the sacrifice was only relative; light industry experienced

(Continued on Page 2)

Jay Lovestone

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# Seventeen Years of Socialist Construction

(Continued from Page 1)

considerable growth but far from enough to meet the demands of the new situation. Thus arose the notorious "commodity famines" with all their economic and social consequences.

## War On The Kulak

The uprooting of century-old institutions involved in the collectivization of agriculture naturally tended to bring chaos into that field of economic life. In the village, the First Five-Year Plan unleashed an intense class warfare between the exploiting peasant (the kulak) and the peasant masses, for the collectivization of agriculture meant the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, their elimination as an independent element in the Soviet economy. Combined with the inevitable effects of the "goods famine" (the lack of light industrial products for the peasants to exchange their grain), these factors contributed to bring about considerable confusion and damage on the countryside and even tended to depress production in the early years of the First Five-Year Plan.

The economic sacrifices made necessary by the First Five-Year Plan were heavy indeed and the social consequences—a certain straining of worker-peasant relations and moods of dissatisfaction of backward proletarian and semi-proletarian strata—were inevitable. They were, as Bukharin once called them, the "necessary costs of socialization." It would be the merest philistinism to sigh in regret or to whine in despair over these heavy sacrifices and costs. It is something much worse, something approaching unprincipled demagoguery, to attempt to convert these sacrifices and costs into political capital, as Trotsky and others did, fortunately in vain.

In spite of everything, the First Five-Year Plan was an astounding success. All of its aims were achieved and more than achieved in something over four years. Above all the fundamental historical object of the plan was accomplished—the removal of the contradiction between socialized, the result of the urban proletarian revolution, and small, peasant individualism, which had resulted from the peasant revolution, involving the expropriation of the landlords and the division of the land.

It is not often realized that the First Five-Year Plan was the first genuine, all-embracing plan of economic construction in the history of the Soviet Union, in the history of the human race. Its successful execution called the attention of the whole world to the fact that the great Russian Revolution was not merely a political transformation, profound though it may be, but the herald of a new stage in the social evolution of mankind. In this lies its incalculable historical significance!

## Second Five-Year Plan

With the completion of the First Five-Year Plan, Soviet economy was ready, after a brief period of transition, to enter another distinctly new stage of development. Indeed, it is precisely the results of the First Five-Year Plan that constitute the basis and point of departure for this new stage of economic development. The Second Five-Year Plan is the official expression of the economics of this new period.

The Second Five-Year Plan is now about one year old but its significant features are already clear. Under no circumstances, can it be regarded merely as a continuation of the First Five-Year Plan; in their basic tasks, characteristic tendencies of development and social and political consequences there are marked differences between the two.

The Second Five-Year Plan aims to convert the Soviet Union into an advanced industrial country and to achieve the complete technical reconstruction of the entire Soviet economy on the most advanced contemporary models. In these plans electrification plays the central role.

Where the First and Second Five-Year Plans differ notably is in the internal relations within industry. The aim of the First Five-Year Plan was to provide the Soviet economy with a firm foundation of heavy industry and to achieve this the various elements of industrial life had to be thrown out of harmony. The Second Five-Year Plan, on the other hand, aims to create a basis for the mutually harmonious development of heavy and light industry. Does this mean that the latter is now trying to correct an "error" committed by the former? Of course not! It is precisely because the First Five-Year Plan drove so hard in the direction of heavy industry that it is now possible to speak of the restoration of harmony. In fact, what does the Second Five-Year Plan actually propose? To continue the expansion of heavy industry but to convert it from a receiver of subsidies from the national economy into a source of surpluses. At the same time, light industry is to be developed to the point where it produces twice or three times as much goods per capita as it does today. Without the industrial basis created during the First Five-Year Plan this would have been an utterly fantastic dream instead of the quite realizable goal that it is.

The greatest emphasis is placed in the Second Five-Year Plan upon technical training and education and upon efficiency and quality of production. This in itself means, as Stalin has pointed out, that economic development will necessarily be much slower in tempo than before.

In agriculture, also, the objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan are of major significance. It aims, of course, at increasing agricultural production and productivity, especially in the field of technical crops and livestock. It aims too at the completion of the process of collectivization. But whereas in the First Five-Year Plan, the typical form of the collective farm was taken as the artel, representing a relatively low stage of collectivization, in the Second Five-Year Plan it is proposed to elevate the typical collective farm beyond the artel, to the commune and, simultaneously, to expand the state-farm sector. To accomplish this will require the technical reorganization of agriculture, something now really possible because of what the First Five-Year Plan has achieved.

During the First Five-Year Plan the exchange relations between town and country were necessarily quite abnormal. Now this sphere too can be normalized as a result of the concomitant changes in industry and agriculture, primarily in the relation between heavy and light industry.

## Capitalist Remnants Doomed

It is one of the most significant aims of the Second Five-Year Plan to eradicate all capitalist remnants in Soviet economy, in agriculture and distribution as well as in industry. Private trade is to be completely eliminated and even artisan production is to be collectivized thru artels. Of course, nothing is to remain of petty capitalism in agriculture. With this accomplished, the entire Soviet economy will be universally socialist in character and the groundwork of a socialist society laid.

It is not difficult to see that in substance the Second Five-Year Plan, building on the achievements of the First, is calculated to make up for the latter's unavoidable shortcomings. In a very real sense the Second Five-Year Plan comes as the historical justification of the First.

## For A Classless Society

The social and political consequences of the Second Five-Year Plan are somewhat more problematical but in outline they can already be traced. It is almost immediately obvious that the extensive accretion of class relations, accompanying the early years of the First Five-Year Plan, will now be rapidly reduced; indeed,

# Dyers Stand Firm On Closed Shop

Mills Warned To Keep Strike Breakers Out

PATERSON, New Jersey, Oct. 28 — Thousands of striking dyers workers tied up the industry in Paterson and Passaic county last week in a strike for wage increases and the closed shop. Over 90% of the dyers are reported out and the industry paralyzed. Determined to hold out until some of their demands are granted, the conference with the employers ended in a deadlock on Sunday as the mills stood adamantly opposed to the closed shop. The only concession the employers were ready to grant was unacceptable to the union—the same wages for thirty-six hours as they now receive for forty hours.

Anthony Ammirato, of the Paterson Dyers, Local 1733, Federation of Sisk and Rayon Dyers and Finishers of America, warned the manufacturers that "there is apt to be trouble if any attempt is made to bring in thugs or strike-breakers." Paterson textile workers demonstrate again that they cannot be broken, that they are in the van of America's textile workers in the battle for better working conditions.

This is already taking place before our eyes. The abolition of the extraordinary powers of the GPU and the readmission to the suffrage of millions of former kulaks, are only two of many signs going to show the general relaxation of social strain in the Soviet Union. Similar symptoms are to be found in every field of public life, sometimes in unexpected form. There is a characteristic moderation noticeable in the present social policy of the Soviet power, a moderation neither possible nor expedient in former years.

"In order to destroy classes," Lenin writes, "it is necessary first of all to overthrow its landlords and the capitalists. . . . But this is only a part of the task. To destroy classes it is necessary to destroy the difference between the worker and the peasant." The Second Five-Year Plan envisages the complete eradication of all capitalist elements in industry, agriculture and distribution. The immediate consequence of this is the equally complete elimination of all remnants of the exploiting classes from the Soviet social order, leaving only producers of one type or another. The first great step, therefore, in the abolition of classes comes inevitably with the completion of the socialist reconstruction of the Soviet economy. Much more difficult is the elimination of the difference between worker and peasant but here too the Second Five-Year Plan shows the way. For, by raising the technical level of agriculture, it aims to convert it into a branch of modern industry and, by completing the process of collectivization, the social distinction between worker and peasant is destroyed. For the collective farmer is no longer a peasant, while the worker on a state farm is essentially indistinguishable from the worker in a socialist factory in the city. When the abolition of classes is raised as the chief slogan of the Second Five-Year Plan it is no vague bombastic phrase but rather a realistic expression of the effects of calculable economic factors. For the first time in many thousands of years of human history, a classless society, free from exploitation and oppression, arises not only as a practical possibility but even as an immediate prospect.

Thus, in the seventeenth year of its career, the Russian Revolution is at last within sight of socialism, within sight of that lofty goal to which generations of great thinkers have aspired and for which countless millions of men have fought and suffered!

Strengthen The Base For  
The Weekly Age

# Gitlow Deserts Communism

The Communist Party (Opposition) scoops again! For months those dejected political prospectors sniffed the political trends in the labor movement, and finally, driven to political despair by their "twist heaven and earth" position, discovered that the bright yellow of Social Democracy was revolutionary gold. For months we have declared that the political embarrassment of Gitlow, Zam, and several etc's, was soon to end by a headlong plunge into the swamp of Social Democracy. Just as over one year ago it was discernible to us that Trotsky was leading his anti-Soviet friends into Social Democracy, so it was clear months ago that, Gitlow too was tip-toeing—in clear daylight—toward the brink, as he mustered enough "courage" to take that final plunge.

The statement to the press, explaining their degeneration, is as putrid politically as those political principles they are now embracing, the principles of Social Democracy. At the very moment when the Communist International is again returning to the tactical principles of Lenin, abandoning its disastrous ultra-left policies, do these little-shots indict the Comintern as bankrupt! Already they have adopted the conceptions of the SP's lawyer-trust. May we enquire: Are the principles of Communism less important to alleged revolutionists than a mythical freedom of expression in the Second International? Has Social Democracy learned more than the Third International from the German and Austrian events? Yes, says Gitlow, as thousands of Social Democrats, who have learned their lesson, flock into the Austrian Communist Party and cooperate with the German Communist Party. Those Socialists who have

learned are breaking with the principles of Social Democracy, as the big Gitlow rushes in to bolster the principles of Kautsky, Hilquit Vandervelde! Social Democracy says these deserters, will overthrow capitalism!

The political atmosphere is clearing-up as the melting-pot—Social Democracy—absorbs every anti-Soviet, anti-Communist group. Birds of a feather flock together.

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# Five Years of the Communist Opposition

## Has It Been Worthwhile?

by Jay Lovestone

It is now more than five years since we have launched our struggle to restore the world party of Communism to a Leninist course of strategy, and to unify its ranks. Has this fight been worthwhile? Was it necessary? What have we done? What have been the consequences of our deeds? And what is the outlook for the realization of our goal?

### Has It Been Worthwhile?

At the outset let me underline most emphatically my conviction that the five years of struggle waged by the CPO for sound Leninist tactics and Communist unity have been not only worthwhile, but urgent and unavoidable. It has been a battle against overwhelming odds for the laying of a sound foundation for a mass Communist Party in the United States. In this sense our efforts are reminiscent of and akin to the struggle waged by the Spartacus Group of Germany for more than four years, and the Bolsheviks in Russia for about nine years. Here we are not playing with historical analogies, nor are we creating fanciful mechanical parallels; we merely examine a struggle for essentially identical objectives waged under different circumstances.

Let us scrape off and discard all the slime and slander which have been hurled at the panorama of events, which we have influenced and which has been unfolded in this half decade. Not to discount these extraneous elements, or to react subjectively to them, is, at best, a costly way of blurring one's vision and distorting one's conclusions. Stripping this bitter struggle of all the impermissible that has crept into it, and without in the slightest degree minimizing its destructive, even ruinous phases, one must stress that much good has come out of it, much which will be in the nature of a lasting beneficial contribution to the development and the upbuilding of a sound Communist Movement rooted in the soil of this country, as an organic section of the World Communist Movement.

It has been and remains the firm conviction of the CPO in the United States and everywhere else that all of these issues, all of these serious controversies over important tactical problems could and should have been discussed and solved on the basis of democratic centralism, then tested and fortified by application in life—all within the party and the Comintern. But the Executive of the Comintern, dominated by the C. P. S. U. leadership chose a different course, embarked upon a path of blighting (enlightenment) campaigns, mass excommunications, and wholesale splits. These were not of our making or choice. We faced

them unwillingly, but as Communists, realistically. We could do nothing else than accept these most unwelcome events as objective, though objectionable facts.

### "Destroy Leftism"

During the world crisis in 1921, at an international moment, reassembling in many ways the present, Lenin militantly put forward the demand for an uncompromising struggle against Leftism. He then inscribed on the banner of the C. I. the slogan: "Destroy Leftism." If it was then necessary for the American and other sections of the C. I. to destroy that whole system of false conceptions of tactics known as "Leftism," it is infinitely more necessary to do so today in view of the menace of Fascist reaction and imperialist war. Dogmatism, no matter how embellished, and cultivated regardless of its variety or tint, or by whom symbolized, have no place in the science of revolutionary principles or strategy. Firmness in principle? Yes—to the point of utmost rigidity. But in tactics we must strive for maximum flexibility, for studied adaptability, not marred by illusions, not detoured by hopes or wishes, and certainly not hog-tied by mechanical aping or persistent parroting. The soundness of tactics is determined by conditions, by reality, by experience, by life itself, and not by labels or high-sounding, revolutionary phrases, ordered via caele or imposed by tactical strategy, native or transplanted.

The ICO, and its American organization the CPO, say without the slightest equivocation to the membership and sympathizers of the entire CI, to all workers, that we continue unwavering in our determination to destroy root and branch the senile as well as infantile Leftism which has been paralyzing the international Communist Movement: at the very moment of its greatest opportunity, in the very hour of the world proletariat's greatest need of effective Communist leadership. Here it is fitting to repeat Marx's motto as a warning and alarm-call: "It (Leftism-J. L.) is an off-spring of that false and superficial radicalism that accepts premises and tries to avoid conclusions."

### Our Contributions To Marxist Thought

In five years of our existence, we have made significant contributions to Communist theory and practice, that is to living Marxism-Leninism; not only in an analysis of objective conditions and trends, but also in the strategic course to be pursued in meeting and molding

these trends. Merely to recapitulate:

1. A sound realistic, and not a wishful and ordered, evaluation of the economic crisis, of its social and political consequences. We have not only faced facts as they were, but we have also viewed them dynamically, estimated them dialectically, and pointed out general trends months before their appearance and maturing.

2. As to Fascism: Years before Hitler took power, the Communist Party of Germany Opposition and we, warned about the inevitability of the Nazis taking Germany unless the C. P. of Germany changed its tactics on the trade union field and unless the Communist and Social Democratic Parties resorted to joint action, to a genuine united front against Fascism. While Socialists, Communists, and Liberals bandied about the word "Fascism" with a maniacal skill, we portrayed its class content and specific newness of form of this capitalist dictatorship in the period of capitalist decay.

3. While the other revolutionary and radical forces, particularly the CP, were writing off the American Federation of Labor as a dying organization, with its future ever further in its past, as an organization that wouldn't and couldn't organize new masses, we forecast years in advance the present great waves of strikes and organization by the A. F. of L. What is more, we mapped out a strategic course to enable the Communists to be well prepared to meet this eventuality.

4. When the New Deal, with its NRA came, we refused to join the chorus of official Communist and Civil Libertarians in branding it as Fascism, wrapped up in the Stars and Stripes. We analyzed it critically, we singled out the new and the different in its form, and underscored the terrible menace to labor in its substance.

5. The solution of the Negro question has been buried by the CP in the mechanically transplanted bog of "Self-Determination for the Black Belt." We have avoided this morass, and instead have examined objectively the roots of race prejudice and persecution in the United States, and resorted to a program of practical activity for overcoming this most dangerous obstacle to working-class victory.

6. With the growth of capitalist reaction the CP dug itself into a corner where it could and did proclaim to its own satisfaction: "We are the vanguard of the proletariat; we are the only organiza-

tion struggling and even willing and able to struggle against capitalism; the Socialist Party and other reformist organization are whom we approve and trust; and all others are enemies of the working class." Against such suicidal nonsense we have waged a merciless fight. Against the idiosyncrasy of "social fascism" and the "united front from below" claptrap, we have sincerely and consistently posed the need for genuine united front actions of all working-class organizations, regardless of principle differences.

7. Granting all the shortcomings of American trade unionism even at its worse, we did not lose heart or head to fly to the simple, swift, but suicidal solution of dual unionism, of fabricating pure but sterile revolutionary unions. In the most difficult and darkest days of the American trade union movement we fought an uphill fight to build constructive, progressive forces in their midst, with a view of strengthening the weaker organizations, of making still stronger the strong ones, and of transforming the entire A. F. of L. from a craft organization dominated, all too often, by corrupt reactionaries into a powerful militant industrial trade union movement. More than that, here we have aided not only in the working out of correct strategy for building a constructive opposition in the unions, but have also indicated the main roads in the development of the technique of dynamic militant leadership of mass unions. Our concrete work in the shoe, textile, coal, auto, and needle trades, tho far from being free from errors and shortcomings, bears striking testimony to the generally healthy tactical line pursued by us.

8. Thru these practical activities, accompanied by intense Marxist-Leninist educational work in the New Workers Schools, the Workers Age, and a number of timely publications, we have been able to achieve a four-fold task: (a) We have, in a substantial measure, been able to counteract, if not yet completely undo, the serious damage objectively done to Communism by the false tactics of the Official Communist Party. (b) We of ICO have been able to wield an increasing influence on the CI membership to hasten a break with the ultra-Leftist tactical course. (c) We have been able to solidify and train our own ranks into a unified, experienced body of revolutionists winning increasing confidence among the mass of workers. (d) We have advanced along the path of rooting ourselves in the soil of the country, of utiliz-

ing the exceptional and peculiar features of American conditions and developments for the purpose of enhancing the growth of the Communist Movement in the U. S. as an integral part of the World Communist Movement bound by common international principles. At this point we can not over-emphasize the importance of our efforts, to Americanize in a truly Marxian sense the Russian question, to bring home to the average American worker and farmer the inspiration and lesson of the experience and successes of the victorious Russian working class.

9. Tho far from having won to date our fight for a new relationship, for a genuine collective leadership in the CI, and the restoration of democratic centralism in its various sections, yet, particularly in recent months, we have seen that our fight on this front has not been in vain, and is finally meeting with a serious response from the rank and file of the party membership. We are confident that we will win our struggle to substitute self-reliance of the masses in the party for the prevailing procedure of revolving around some synthetic saint or cult. The CP membership is beginning to see that among revolutionists "Yes men" are no men.

10. Finally, we of the ICO view with increasing satisfaction the recent turn made by the CI in Germany, Austria, Italy, and France. Here is a change of tactics by the CI, not only entirely in the direction of the tactics for the advocacy of which we were once expelled and branded as outcasts, among outlaws, but also specifically, in response to the pressure and influence of the ICO. Even in the U. S. where there are special factors hindering a return by the CP to a sound Leninist tactical line, we can see, in a slow, vague, hesitating, and distorted form, the faint beginnings of a break with ultra-Leftism.

### For A United, Healthy Communist Party

In the life of some individuals five years or so are a long time. In the life of social and political movements of great vitality such a period is not at all long. What the CPO has been fighting for is most worth while—a united, healthy, Communist Party. Has our fight been worth while? Most assuredly. Are we satisfied with the results to date? Not quite. We would and should do much more and better towards our goal, towards the victory of the world Communist Movement and its forces in the U. S.—towards a vigorous unified Communist Party, firm in its correct principles and sound in its tactics.

## Jobless Are Still The "Forgotten Men"

by Saul Held

"No American shall starve" vowed Franklin D. Roosevelt as he esconced himself and the famed Brain Trust in the White House. One year and many months have groaned their way into history as millions of American workers and their families wallowed in the misery of economic catastrophe.

### The Industrial Cemetery

When official statisticians of the Government inform us, in a moment of refreshing candor, that the number of unemployed are mounting and that the permanent army of jobless is increasing proportionately, that is news. Isador Lubin, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, has made public two facts which reveal the horrible plight now plaguing the American workers. 17,000,000 are on relief rolls today with the certainty that the number will rise to 20,000,000 by the first snow-fall. Mr. Lubin has finally acknowledged a fact which the "deceivable" Marxians have made public long ago, namely, that, the

army of permanent unemployed is now in the neighborhood of 3,000,000.

### Breadlines Lengthen

Thus do the breadlines lengthen as the Blue Eagle ages. Under the N. R. A., the introduction of labor-saving machinery and the intensification of labor (stretch-out, for example), has displaced so many workers from industry that the customary optimism of the statistical soothsayers is abandoned for a frank recognition of fact. "The sharpest profit rise was in the machinery industry where a loss of 6 per cent was converted in one year to a profit of 6 per cent. Use of profit in some other industries to modernize plant and improved buying of farm equipment accounted for this accomplishment."

No cause for jubilation here. As the profit curve soars in the machinery industry, so soars the number of unemployed.

### Thanksgiving Cheer

As winter rushes at the hopeless millions on the brink of starvation for years, there emanates another program of relief from the banks of the Potomac. And its old bunk without any new trimmings! (Is F. D. R. slipping politically?)

The program has four features: 1. Housing, slum clearance, subsistence homestead projects. 2. Unemployment insurance. 3. Increased funds for Tennessee Valley project. 4. A general relief program providing work for the unemployed with reduced cash benefits.

We admit it certainly looks like a dog; but very much worthwhile examining. Points one and three of the program mean absolutely nothing to the unemployed as over one year of the New Deal has proven. Point two, unemployment insurance, sounds like something startlingly "humanitarian" and a point of departure from old relief policies. Let no one be "taken in" by the term. This unemployment insurance is to be paid for by those workers still employed and not by the Government. It will not mean any improvement in the standard of relief. It is another step in un-

loading as much of the financial burden of relief upon those workers who already groan under the weight of sky-rocketing prices and tobogganing wages.

Let the interpretation be considered unconvincing, lest the illusion persists that the Administration cannot behave in such brutal fashion, let the doubters dwell intently on these facts: first, every official statement from the White House on relief for the immediate future has stressed that while work shall be provided for the unemployed by the F. E. R. A. (as was done thru the C. W. A. a year ago), the cash benefits shall be reduced; secondly, the New Dealers in their panicky fawing before Wall Street, in their attempt to retain political favor, are hastening to demonstrate their worthiness by unbureaucratic as much of the financial cost for relief and "recovery measures" upon the working-class.

The sham of Democracy dwindles as the hunger measures of Capitalism find wider play in the United States today. Thru items from the current news of the day bring this fact into bold relief. Exhibit A: Says Arthur Brisbane,

"In 12 different States action has been taken to keep from voting all American citizens listed on 'relief rolls' on the ground that 'as paupers' they should not vote." We are informed that such action is not only contemplated but a reality in several states. Exhibit B: Kentucky organizes the core of a state police force. The armed forces of state have witnessed considerable growth in this period of lengthening breadlines and picketlines. Exhibit C: Far from being down to its last yacht, Wall Street can afford more yachts than at any other time of the crisis. Since the New Deal has in essence been a "profit insurance" scheme of most successful caliber, we find that the first six months of 1934 have yielded a return of 5.7 per cent on industrial investment. According to the National City Bank of New York this is almost "normal" though still a little below the golden peaks of 1927. So, not only are Wall Street's yachts still bounding over the main, but the new flow of profit makes it possible for the playboys of wealth to adorn their yachts with trifling gadgets at slight cost: "On the afterdeck of his yacht Alva, William Kissam Vanderbilt, cousin of Mrs. Reginald Claypoole Vanderbilt's late husband, had a cradle built to carry his new \$70,000 amphibian plane."

Dr. Hugh H. Darby

"SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SCIENCE"

Sunday, Nov. 11, 8 p. m.—51 West 14th St.



# Five Fruitful Years Of Workers Age

by A. M.

On November 1, 1929, at the peak of the frantic expulsion and "enlightenment" campaign in the American Communist Party the first number of the Revolutionary Age appeared.

Through a long five years since then the CPO, in the face of tremendous technical, organizational and financial difficulties, has kept alive its organ, first the Revolutionary Age, later the Workers Age, fighting for Leninism, for correct tactics, for democratic centralism, for Communist unity.

The name chosen, the Revolutionary Age, was already weighted with a glorious tradition. The original Revolutionary Age had been the paper of the left wing in the Socialist Party during the World War, carrying on the struggle against imperialism, for proletarian power and against the treachery of Social-Democracy. It was to this group gathered around the original Revolutionary Age that Lenin, in 1919, sent the call to become the American section of the new proletarian international, the Communist International.

With its 1929 appearance the Revolutionary Age was largely taken up with the factional struggle splitting the Party and with the clarification of the issues involved. In those days most of the comrades expelled for resistance to the Tenth Plenum decisions were in the TUUL unions, representing something more than the fraudulent organizations of today. Their fight to keep the TUUL from being narrowed into a mere shadow of the Communist Party is reflected in the pages of the early Revolutionary Age. Following those pages through the years we trace the growing clarification, the recognition of the TUUL, under ultra-left leadership, as an isolating factor and the return to the reformist unions. The slow building of the solid groundwork, underlying the progressive groups within the A.F. of L. unions, is seen through the Age in articles by Zimmerman and others, ultimately achieving victory based not on mechanical control but on the solid faith of thousands of workers.

The Revolutionary Age was having its own special difficulties during these years. In addition to the chronic lack of finance it faced the ban of the government in the refusal of second-class mailing rights, the refusal to mail some issues under any classification and long delays in the post-office while the paper was sent to Washington for censorship. A long fight opened, aided by the Civil Liberties Union and other labor organizations, for the freedom of the workers press. Early in 1932 the Revolutionary Age was succeeded by the Workers Age which, however, was also refused second-class privileges.

Significant, in reading through these old numbers of the Age, is the Marxian clarity with which the paper foresaw international and American events. In 1932 a year before Hitler came to power, while the official Communist Parties all over the world were hailing the coming proletarian revolution in Germany, the Age pointed to the growing menace of Nazism and called for a united front of all German workers to beat back Fascism. When in March of 1933 the Brown terror overrode Germany, when the Communist Party reacted only by a stunned silence, the Age clearly showed what Nazi victory meant and demanded united action in this country to bring home to American workers what Fascism was and is and to mobilize relief for its German victims.

Showing the same clarity on the home front, when Roosevelt's New Deal became national first page news, the Workers Age alone, without Daily Worker hysterics, but without reservation, pointed out the implications of the new policy for the American Workers. While the Communist Party was crying "Fascism" and the Social-

ists were hailing Roosevelt as a comrade, the Age in a series of articles on "The New Deal and the Worker" made a brilliant forecast of all the trends that have become apparent in the Administration's policies in the eighteen months since.

But the Revolutionary Age and the Workers Age were more than theoretical organs. In every struggle of the workers, in every case involving workers rights, in every strike the Age was on the front line. The fight for the freedom of Tom Mooney occupies much space in the Age columns. Consistently it tried to broaden the Mooney battle, to prevent sectarianism and partisan politics from sabotaging and narrowing this case. The same is true of the Roy case in which the Age was the only American labor paper to mobilize forces and finances to aid Roy in his fight against the class injustice of British imperialism.

The course of the Paterson strikes of 1931 and of 1933, in which members of the CPO occupied leading positions, is reflected from week to week in the new columns of the Age. As the progressive movement grew in the needle

trades, it occupied increasing space in the Age in articles which represented a positive contribution to a correct policy in the industry. The 1932 strike sabotaged by both the right wing bureaucracy and the left-wing dual union was discussed and criticized—an important factor in building for the magnificent successes of the general strike in 1933.

This has been the path of the Age through five years—a steep difficult path but one which has been followed unwaveringly toward the goal of Communist unity. Now we face a perspective of victory. But this victory calls for intensified effort, for broader appeal, for greater influence. In answer to this call we are launching the weekly Age.

In closing this story we might repeat the words which opened Number one, volume one of the Revolutionary Age—"For a capable and courageous Communist Party carrying out a revolutionary line is the basic necessity of the whole working class in its struggle for emancipation. . . Through the united efforts of the best sections of the Communists and the revolutionary workers will health and virility again be restored to our movement."

"Support and build the Age!"

"For a united Communist International on the line of Leninism!"

## Coming - America's Finest Labor Weekly

Just as the first cave man editor had laboriously finished chipping the first newspaper onto a granite slab, the first cave man reader came along. After carefully looking over the slab—incidentally without paying for it—he exclaimed, "It's stale! It's dead! It's too heavy! Why don't you get something alive and snappy and up-to-date?"

All through the centuries editors have been hearing and harkening to the same cry from impatient readers. They have presented everything from transatlantic flights to crosswords puzzles to still the plaint. They have printed the news on pink paper, they have offered premiums to the subscriber who could fill in the missing letters in the name Abr...ham Lin...oln, they have paid huge salaries to writers for inditing the personal confessions of still more highly paid chorines and murderers. And still the cry goes on.

Even the Workers Age has its carping critics. But the Age likes them—it likes to have people interested enough in the labor world to demand more and better articles on its many phases. It is not only for our friends but for our enemies that we are launching the Week-

ly Workers Age on January 1, 1934.

In announcing the features that will brighten the weekly Age we want no one to think that we are abandoning the careful, analytical articles that have won our paper the reputation as the most intelligent exponent of American labor. But with a weekly we can expand into new fields, covering up-to-date events, international occurrences and the happenings on the cultural front.

Here are some of the things we're going to do.

Jay Lovestone will conduct a weekly column, ranging far and wide for subject matter, from revolution in Europe to strikes in America, from the flouring of the CP and SP. Through this column we believe the Age will be able to present in capsule form an opinion on many happenings too small or too sudden to receive the dignified comment of a full length article.

Our book review column will be expanded under the dictatorship of Bert Wolfe. Noted as one of the select company of left-wingers who can write intelligently and intelligently, Comrade Wolfe will cover the field of current reading for radicals in a column which will be invaluable to anyone attempting to keep up with the flood of literature.

Let our dramatic critic, Robert Arthur, speak for himself. He says: "Trends in the dying theatre called Broadway and in the growing one of the workers'; certain attitudes on the part of the bourgeois critic and the radical critic indicating a tightening of lines as the class struggle moves to the fore; the appeal of certain plays to the snobocracy and how they succeed on that basis when more worthy (or at least more interesting) plays don't; the success formula used by some of our better known playwrights and how it almost moves even when less skilled attempt to use the same one; criticism of the approach of the radical theatre which forgets the function of a play; analysis of the insidious propaganda of our contemporary bourgeois theatre, and why the critics don't call it by that 'dirty name'—these would constitute the major materials of the column."

Robert Arthur has been an actor, director and producer for nine years, producing plays which the critics damned as propagandas but praised as plays.

The Economic Trend, Trade Union Notes and other features of the present Age will continue in the Weekly—with the additional inducement, of course, that appearing weekly they will be more alive, up-to-date and valuable. International Notes will be written by members of the International Communist Opposition direct from the scenes of conflict in Europe.

It's going to be a good paper. Not so good, we hope, that it silence our critics. We'd like to have ten thousand critics, subscribing to the Age and sending in a kick every week—a kick accompanied by an additional sub.

## New Forces for the Communist Opposition

by Edward Sagarin

The world Communist movement is today facing great problems, and before the seventh World Congress it is especially necessary for every Communist to examine the tactics of our Party in the most self-critical manner.

Our Party is built upon the principle of democratic centralism. "Inner democracy," according to the resolution of the C. P. of Austria, "involves self-criticism, that is a never-ceasing, living testing of the correctness of the party line." We in America can examine our Party and our International in the light of such a statement, and we will see that the democratic centralism which is written in the Party program has no existence in Party life.

Before our Eighth Convention, there was a pre-convention discussion, and a number of important resolutions were presented to the membership. There was no healthy discussion, pro and con, on these resolutions, either in the press or in the units. Instead, everyone was expected to accept the resolutions from above. There was not a single question which the membership passed on in a democratic manner. A disciplined party? Here is what Stalin has to say: "Iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism and conflicts of opinion within the Party." (Foundations of Leninism, p. 116). Was there even a single issue confronting the American working-class on which there was a thorough discussion, with criticism and conflicts of opinion?

A party whose entire line is formulated from above, whose conventions are mere rubber stamp gatherings, whose higher functionaries are sycophants and whose discipline is that "blind" discipline which Stalin warns against, such a Party must inevitably make serious and fatal errors. It is through discussion and criticism with the membership and through them with the working-class that a correct line can be hammered out and mistakes corrected.

What are some of these errors? Our Party has for five years been carrying out a dual unionist policy. It has succeeded in splitting unions in almost every industry in the country, thus weakening the struggles of the workers, withdrawing the class-conscious workers from the backward ones, and alienating the sympathy of millions of A. F. of L. workers.

The T. U. U. L. not having succeeded in building a dual federation of labor except on paper, the Party decided at its Eighth Convention to attempt to launch an Independent Federation of Labor

This is today being shelved in silence.

In Germany, Poland, Austria, France and Scotland, the Party is giving up its dual unions and is beginning to turn towards a Leninist policy of trade union unity. In America, this turn has hardly been felt.

On other important issues, the Party has made great errors. For years it followed a policy of united front from below, which is nothing more than an invitation to non-Communists (especially to Socialists) to follow the Communist Party. Today everyone realizes the bankruptcy of such a policy, and the Party is beginning to make a turn towards a real united front, without acknowledging its former errors, and today making new ones (non-aggression pact in France, Columbus Day in N. Y.).

It was after a critical examination of the tactics of our Party, as well as an examination of the program of the Opposition, that I became convinced of the necessity to fight against the bureaucracy in the Communist movement and for a return to the tactics of Leninism. This struggle is taking place, from within the Party and from without, under the leadership and guidance of the Communist Party (Opposition). It is the task of every Party member to take up the struggle within the Party for real democratic centralism, for trade union unity, and for a genuine united front of the working-class.

It is out of loyalty to our Party and to the ideas to which it is dedicated, it is through a realization that the Communist Party is the only hope of the American working-class, and that if our Party fails, our class fails, and that there will be war, hunger, terror and fascism on an unprecedented scale unless our Party succeeds in mobilizing the American toilers under its leadership—it is because of this that I have decided to join the Communist Party (Opposition) and urge all other Communists to do the same.

### Miner Leaves W.P., Joins Communist Opposition

We print below a letter by an active mine worker, who celebrated the merger between the American Workers Party and Trotskyites by resigning from the A.W.P. and joining the Communist Party Opposition.

We refrain from giving his name because of his activity in the United Mine Workers Union.

The letter speaks for itself. October 26, 1934 To the National Committee and

the New York Branch of the American Workers Party.

Dear Comrades:

I hereby tender my resignation from the American Workers Party. This step I have taken because it appears to me that you are traveling in the wrong direction. The situation in the revolutionary movement appears to be beginning to clear up because of the changes in policies of the Communist Parties, thereby creating the possibility for real unity of revolutionary forces. At this time you have decided to merge with the Communist League of America (Trotskyites) who in France and Czechoslovakia have gone over to the Socialists and here are discussing the same step.

I also cannot agree to a merger with the Trotskyites because of their anti-Soviet position and their belief that the Communist Parties have betrayed us.

My objections to the Communist Party were based on their tactics in the trade unions and other working class organizations but not against their principles with which I agree, and which they have not given up. According to my view the Communist Parties have not failed the workers. Their tactics have failed and these they are changing.

It appears to me also that you are trying to Americanize the Party in the wrong way. You are afraid to use words in the program such as Soviet and Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which workers understand because of what happened in Russia. Instead you talk about Workers Democracy, which the Socialists also talk about, and which confuses the workers.

Also the trade union line of the party is not clear. You talk against dual unionism but in practice it is not being carried out. Party members in the Anthracite talk about establishing a new union, dual to the U.M.W.A. I cannot agree to such policies.

Especially at this time when the unification of all revolutionary forces is so necessary it is wrong to go in for new parties and Fourth Internationals, which confuse and divide the labor movement.

For these reasons I find that the position of the A.W.P. is no longer my position.

My resignation from the A.W.P. does not mean my withdrawal from the revolutionary movement, for I find the program and policies of the Communist Party Opposition, more suitable to the needs of the revolutionary movement, and have, therefore, aligned myself with it.

Comradely yours, J. C.

### THANKSGIVING DANCE AND ENTERTAINMENT

Thanksgiving Eve  
November 28

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place & 16th Street

Admission 35c

Auspices: Down Town Unit  
Communist Opposition



# The Organizational Prerequisites for Unity

## The Comintern Answers the CPO - Article II

by Bertram D. Wolfe

The editorial in No. 18 of the Communist International dealing with the possibilities for cooperation and unity between the Communist International and the International Communist Opposition, has been analyzed at length in the October 15 issue of the Workers Age. We return to it here in order to examine the organizational implications of that editorial, the question of discipline and of democratic centralism.

### The Question of Discipline

In the letter of the International Communist Opposition to the Communist International we wrote:

"The C. P. O. has always demanded only the opportunity to put forward its views within the framework of Communist discipline, inside the C. P. and the C. I., and it advances no other demands at the present time."

Surely this is clear. It is not we who have split the party and the International. We did not choose expulsion. We did not desire it. We have never recognized it. And despite expulsion, despite slander and abuse, we have always continued to fight for the restoration of Communist unity.

We of the Communist Opposition recognize the necessity of Communist discipline. We maintain discipline in our own ranks. We do not wish to turn our Party into a perpetual debating society. We believe in the subordination of the minority to the majority. We believe that decisions, once they are democratically arrived at, must be loyally carried out by all, till the next opportunity to examine how they have worked. But we cannot accept the conception of Communist discipline that has prevailed during the past five years. And we must emphatically reject the conception of discipline so "unfortunately" (to put it mildly) expressed by the author of the editorial referred to, when he writes:

"It is an international of people who think and act alike!" Surely the writer does not intend everything that that statement implies! We all have the same aim. That is true. We must all carry out decisions once they are adopted. That also is true. But heaven help the Party in which everybody thinks alike on every question! Only out of carefully weighing, sifting, choosing, analyzing, of many views as to each practical step, only out of a constant examination of tactics, and constant alertness to adapt our tactics to ever-changing situations, can wise decisions issue. If we all thought alike, how could the Party ever change its tactics to meet new situations? Some comrades are bound to perceive the new situations first, and even as a minority, may often as a minority, or as single individuals, bring in observations on experiences and proposals for change.

Only in churches with fixed creeds are all expected to think alike. Only in the case of fixed creeds is it possible for all to think alike. But our party needs maximum scientific clarity and flexibility, alertness to every delicate change in situations and relations of class forces, ability to make sudden and sharp turns, to readjust itself to the most diverse and rapidly changing conditions of struggle. We should prize thoughtfulness, initiative, sensitiveness to newness and changing reality, just as we should prize energy and ability in the execution of correct decisions. Any other condition stifles party life and threatens the conversion of our party into a church or a quiet graveyard. Loyal carrying out of decisions by minorities is praiseworthy, but decisions arrived at without discussion, even sharp controversy, without the free play of the opinion and the experience of every party member, are of dubious value.

Too often of late our conventions have boasted of unanimity of opinion! It is not a sign of health but a sign of disease. In the decade and a half and more of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's able leadership, such a state of affairs never existed. In a healthy inner life in which every member is doing his best to think through

the complicated problems of social reality, it cannot be so.

Should not the writer of the editorial rather endorse the formulation of Comrade Koplenik, one of the leaders of the Austrian Party when he said:

"We hate corpse-like obedience. We expect every comrade to express his opinion openly. But within the framework of the Party program the strictest discipline is necessary." (Rundschau, No. 53, Oct. 4, 1934, p. 2304).

That is correct. Strict discipline and democratic discussion. The former is impossible, nay uncommunist, without the latter. As against the policy of expulsion for desiring to discuss and examine tactical errors, as against the limiting of discussion merely to the question of how to execute decisions already arrived at without democratic discussion, as against the exaction of blind obedience, as against the alarming condition of unfeeling unanimity, as against the conception of a party in which discipline rests upon every one's "thinking alike," we propose the still timely words of Lenin:

"First of all, the question arises: how is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its firmness, self-sacrifice, and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and, to a certain degree, if you will, merge itself with the broadest masses of the toilers. . . . Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses become convinced of this correctness by their own experiences."

Without these conditions discipline in a revolutionary party cannot be achieved. Without these conditions all attempts to establish discipline are inevitably transformed into trifling phrase-mongering and empty gestures." ("Left Wing" Communism, V. I. Lenin, International Publishers, p. 10).

### Party Democracy

"Democratic centralism" is a fork with two prongs. Democracy without centralism incapacitates the party for action. Centralism without democracy incapacitates the party for thought.

Confidence in the leadership re-

quires free election of the leadership (at least in legal parties) by the rank and file. Responsibility of the rank and file to the leaders requires responsibility of the leaders to the rank and file. Party "self-criticism" means examination by the membership of mistakes made "on top," as well as examination of mistakes of the membership by units or committees. No party committee is too exalted, no party leader is too great, to be as subject to examination, suggestion and correction as the humblest rank and file.

One hates to return to such ABC's. But how can a real Communist attitude towards mistakes prevail, how can the level of party understanding be raised, if errors are corrected by subterfuge with a simultaneous denial that anything has ever been wrong or that the line is being changed.

We look forward to the day when these ABC's will not have to be repeated and express the hope that the article in the "Communist International," which after all is only the first to be addressed to us in five years, will be succeeded by others more nearly in the spirit of the decisions of the Austrian Party Congress held a few weeks after the article was written. These decisions declare:

"The Communist Party is built on the principle of democratic centralism, on the principle of inner democracy and strict, centralized leadership and voluntary iron discipline. Inner democracy means that every party member who actively carries out the functions assigned to him on the basis of division of labor, communicates his experiences and feelings and takes part in determining the party line and party tactics. Inner democracy involves self-criticism, that is a never-ceasing, living testing of the correctness of the party line, a merciless uncovering of the weaknesses and inadequacies of all party organs, a systematic control of the carrying out of decisions adopted. Inner democracy implies the development of the greatest initiative of every party member, every cell, every party committee in the application of the general party directives, in the immediate reaction to everything taking place in their field. Finally, inner democracy implies the most active participation of the entire leadership in the formation and election of the leading party cadres as well as the removal

of those who have showed themselves not energetic enough, and their replacement by better fitted persons." (Rundschau, No. 53, October 4, 1934, p. 2811, emphasis as in original).

In the writings of the above resolution comrades of the Austrian Communist Opposition participated, and we fully endorse it. But if that is to be the viewpoint of all parties, and it must be if party life is to be healthy and unity is to be achieved, then such disgraceful performances as Stachel's article of October 12, 1934, which contradicts both the spirit and the letter of the above, have no place in the columns of the "Daily Worker." Obviously, the leadership of our Party must first make a clean break with the past. Then one of the main obstacles to unity will have been removed.

### The Leadership of the International

What is true of the various parties is no less true of the Communist International as a whole. The Executive Committee cannot be the reflection of the will of a single delegation, not the best of them. We readily recognize the importance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Communist International. Both by virtue of its numbers and experience and by virtue of the importance of its tasks, it is the leading party of the International. But its leadership should be that of the first among equals, not that of monopoly of leadership. And its aim, as the aim of all the parties of the International, must be to develop a genuine collective leadership, superior in collective wisdom and collective authority to even the best of the single sections. This question, the otherwise admirable resolutions of the Austrian Party did not even touch.

The contrary system has shown its dangers and disastrous character. With the ever-widening gap between conditions in the land where the workers rule and conditions in the capitalist world, it is ever more impossible that decisions appropriate to the Soviet Union should be mechanically transplanted to other countries. That was the real source of the ultra-left sectarian errors of the last five years. "United front from below around the Communist Party" was perfectly correct for the Soviet Union where there is no other party but the Communist Party and can be no other form of united front. But it is no longer necessary to prove that it was ill adapted to the capitalist lands and has proved disastrous in practice.

"Revolutionary unions" accepting proletarian dictatorship, etc.

are also the only possible unions in the Soviet Union, where the workers have ruled for seventeen years. But when the conception of "revolutionary unions" was mechanically transferred to the capitalist lands it brought ghastly results.

So too the conception of "social-fascism" was a mechanical transference of the fact that in the Soviet Union any "section" of the Second International is counter-revolutionary from top to bottom and there can be no united front with such a party in a struggle for any elementary working-class interest. Once more a correct estimate mechanically imitated.

Obviously, what is needed is the maximum realism in the analysis and tactics of each party. Each party must be rooted in the soil of its country and the will and necessities of its own working class and the inexorable hatred to its own ruling class. Only thus can it truly contribute to the needs of the International proletariat. Each party must develop a maximum of initiative and self-leadership, reinforced by the collective wisdom and collective leadership of a democratically centralized international. It was in that way that we built the international. It was in that sense that Lenin conceived it when he wrote:

"The main thing now is that the Communists of every country should quite consciously take into account the fundamental tasks of the struggle against opportunism and 'Left' doctrinairism as well as the concrete peculiar features which this struggle assumes and inevitably must assume in each separate country in accordance with the peculiar features of its economics, politics, culture, national composition, colonies, religious divisions, etc. . . . We must clearly realize that such a leading center (as the Comintern—B.D.W.) cannot under any circumstances be built up on stereotyped, mechanically equalized, identical tactical rules of the struggle. As long as national and state differences exist among peoples and countries—and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale—the unity of international tactics of the communist working class movement of all countries demands not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences (this is a foolish dream at the present moment), but such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, will properly adapt, apply them to national and national-state differences. To investigate, study, seek out, divine, grasp that which is specifically national in the concrete manner in which each country approaches the fulfillment of the single international task, the victory over opportunism and 'Left' doctrinairism in the working class movement, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of a Soviet republic and a proletarian dictatorship—this is the main task of the historical period through which all the advanced (and not only the advanced) countries are now passing" (Lenin: "Left-Wing" Communism, International Publishers' Edition, pp. 71-72. All emphasis as in Lenin's original).

It is for such a conception of the International that we are working and we will do our best to see that the Seventh World Congress makes that conception the guiding line of its deliberations and decisions. Then unity and a correct tactical line, which every loyal Communist must desire, will be guaranteed.

## On the Danger of Trade Union Splits

Extract from Theses of Second Congress of the Communist International on Trade Union Work.

"Bearing in mind the rush of the enormous working masses into the trade unions, and also the objective revolutionary character of the economic struggle which those masses are carrying on in spite of the trade union bureaucracy, the Communists must join such unions in all countries, in order to make of them efficient organs of the struggle for the suppression of capitalism and for Communism. They must initiate the forming of trade unions where these do not exist. All voluntary withdrawal from the industrial movement, every artificial attempt to organize special unions without being compelled thereto by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the trade union bureaucracy, such as expulsion of separate revolutionary local branches of the unions by opportunist officials, or by their narrow-minded aristocratic policy, which prohibits the unskilled workers from entering into the organization represents a great danger to the Communist movement. It threatens to hand over the most advanced, the most conscious work-

ers to the opportunist leaders, playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie . . .

"Placing the object and the essence of labor organizations before them, the Communists ought not to hesitate before a split in such organizations, if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the trade unions and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle, the attempt to organize the most exploited part of the proletariat. But even if such a split should be necessary, it must be carried into effect only at a time when the Communists have succeeded by incessant warfare against the opportunist leaders and their tactics, by their most active participation in the economic struggle, in persuading the wider masses of workmen that the split has occurred not because of the remote and as yet incomprehensible aims of the revolution, but on account of the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of its economic struggle. The Communists in case a necessity for a split arises, must continuously and attentively discuss the question as to

whether such a split might not lead to their isolation from the working masses."

From Theses of the Second Congress, July 17 to August 7, 1920, Edition of Workers Party of America, pp. 55, 56.

### Dual Unionism Has Failed

The Third Congress of the Communist International, the last held under the leadership of Lenin, met in June and July, 1921, and reviewed the year's experience in applying the decisions of the Second Congress. Its conclusions on the trade union question it summed up even more sharply than the Second Congress in these words:

"The theory of the strengthening of Communism solely by propaganda and agitation and by the organization of separate Communist trade unions, has met with complete failure. Nowhere has a Communist Party of any influence arisen in this way."

Theses of Third World Congress, Contemporary Publishing Assn., N. Y., 1921, p. 40. Italics in original.

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# Labor Takes Stock in San Francisco

## Significance of A. F. of L. Convention Decisions

by George F. Miles

The 54th Convention of the American Federation of Labor met in San Francisco at a crucial time in the history of our trade union movement. The convention climaxed a period of trade union growth unequalled in the annals of the A. F. of L. At the same time it followed also a period in which labor had suffered severe defeats at the hands of the masters of industry, ably assisted by the armed forces of the government. In the very city of San Francisco, in which the convention was being held, a general strike had been brutally crushed, not without the aid of Green, who now presided over the destinies of organized labor.

At the convention Gorman was the recipient of numerous congratulations from leaders of labor on the "great victory" secured in the general textile strike. But in the textile areas there is wholesale discrimination against union workers; rifle shots still echo in the ears of the textile strikers, the barbed wire concentration camps are still standing and the many new graves are mute witnesses to heroic battles which ended in treachery and defeat.

It has been said, and correctly so, that A. F. of L. conventions, consisting, as they do, in the main, of the very topmost layers of trade union bureaucrats, distort the desires and defeat the needs of the working masses. So great, however, is the pressure from the millions of newly organized workers, so insistent the demand for a departure from the old and outworn methods, so crying the need for action, that this convention of the A. F. of L. was forced to move forward haltingly, cautiously, but forward nevertheless. The decision to organize the basic industries along industrial lines marks a new milestone in trade union history.

### Organize the Unorganized

"We are going to organize the unorganized. We are going to carry the banner of the trade unions until it floats over every industry where men work for wages." So said Green. The same Green who, not so long ago, looked with great suspicion upon every

trade unionist raising this cry, as a possible "subversive" element, is now forced to become the banner bearer of the very slogan which in truth was the fighting slogan of the communists and progressives a decade ago. Why this change? The answer is to be found in the widespread movement for organization among the masses in the basic industries and the simultaneous tremendous extension of company unionism. The company union now controls 85% of the steel industry, 50% of the railroad shops and has a significant hold in the auto and rubber industries. The A. F. of L. facing the alternative of either beginning a drive to organize these industries or to be consumed by the plague of company unionism which already has within its ranks as many workers, if not more, than the A. F. of L.

### The Struggle Against Company Unionism

The A. F. of L. is recognizing with increasing uneasiness the menace of company unionism. Much has been written and more has been said about it but very little has actually been done about it in the industries. The attention of the leadership of the A. F. of L. is still directed toward Washington where all hope is centered on a modification of the interpretation of Section 7a, to make the closed shop possible. The replacement of the swashbuckling Johnson by the soft spoken, but equally effective agent of the employers, Donald Richberg, did not in the least modify the anti-labor interpretation of Section 7a. Richberg promptly announced that, as he understands Section 7a, a majority vote for a union in any mill does not prohibit the employer from dealing with the minority group or even with individuals.

This interpretation caused considerable dismay at the convention. Charles P. Howard, of the International Typographical Union, declared:

"I say that unless the American Federation of Labor resists that interpretation, union shops cannot continue."

and the more cautious President Green announced that if the press reports are true

"... the A. F. of L. will mobilize its entire force in opposition to such a declaration and such a policy."

Yet, Green has little to complain of, for it was he who set that precedent when he negotiated and signed the auto agreement some months ago.

Resistance there will most likely be, but where will it be directed? Company unionism can not be effectively fought unless the trade unions can win the closed shop, and the closed shop, in the final analysis, can not be won in the offices of the NRA until it is won thru strike struggles in the various industries. Judging by the sentiment of the workers in these industries it is safe to say that they understand this very well. In the very near future the weak threats of Green may well become the strong strike deeds of the masses in these industries. In this manner will the closed shop be won and the company unions destroyed.

### The Fight For Industrial Unionism

By far the most important decision of the A. F. of L. convention was the authorization to organize the basic industries along industrial lines. This is the first significant break in the armor of American conservative trade unionism. That it is being recognized as such in the official trade union movement is witnessed by "Federation News," official publication of the Chicago Federation of Labor, when it considers this "the most far-reaching change in its (A. F. of L.) structural policy."

At last even the leaders of official trade unionism have come to realize that in the mass production industries the lines of demarcation between the crafts have been obliterated that one can no more organize these industries thru the craft unions than one can overtake on roller skates the new stream lined train. The structural-

ly archaic A. F. of L. has at last caught up with the hard realities of modern industrialism.

### Leaders Fear

#### The Newly Organized

The force of objective conditions, aided by the articulate federal unionists and the progressives, has forced the bureaucracy to retreat from its historical position on union structure. But the bureaucracy betrays an unholy fear of the new forces who are to become the bearers of this new type of unionism. (One of the fat boys had the temerity to refer to them as "rub-bish") The same resolution which authorizes the organization of the mass production industries into industrial unions therefore provides also that

"The federation shall, for a provisional period, direct the policies, administer the policies, and designate the administrative and financial officers of such newly organized unions."

In other words, the bureaucracy will place a receivership over these unions, in the hope that under the tutelage of the able lieutenants of Green, the militancy and aggressive fighting spirit may be drawn out and these unions inculcated with the poison of class collaboration.

### Pacifying The Craft Unionists

This decision for industrial unionism has caused considerable uneasiness in the ranks of the craft unionists. The leaders of the A. F. of L. went out of their way to give guarantees of immunity against further incursions into their ranks.

But these are empty promises. It matters little that the A. F. of L. leaders may earnestly pray for a continuation, even a strengthening of the craft unions, as the main base of their support. The whole course of trade union development will operate against the craft unions. Large, potential reservoirs of membership have already been closed to them by this very convention. To the extent that vertical or industrial unionism will develop a momentum of growth to the same extent will the field of operation of craft unionism be restricted and narrowed. The leaders of craft unionism were quite justified in recognizing as a threat the organization and chartering of the first federal local union. Craft unionism in the U. S. may remain for some time to come, nevertheless the decision of this convention marks the beginning of the end of craft unionism. In this lies the great significance of the A. F. of L. convention.

### Radical Words and Conservative Deeds on N. R. A.

No such step forward, however, is discernable in the decisions on NRA. The lessons of the long list of bitterly fought battles, which have ended in defeat and in which NRA and its numerous offsprings were openly functioning as strike breaking agencies, has not yet recorded itself in terms of decisions upon the record books of the A. F. of L. But it is encouraging that an increasing number of trade unionists have learned the bitter

lesson. Among those who approximated a progressive stand on NRA was delegate Watt of Mass., who declared:

"The only hope of the workers lies in the organization of the workers in the mass production industries. When we set our hands to that plow we need not give a hang whether Richberg or General Johnson interpret Section 7a or not."

And to show that strong words do not necessarily mean a progressive position we have but to quote Matthew Wall:

"The Recovery Act," says this tower of reaction in the A. F. of L., "gives employers unlimited opportunities to organize, but labor has not had a chance. If that chance continues to be withheld, NRA becomes a doctrine of slavery."

Having disported these strong

sentiments he proceeds with an great, if not greater vigor, to champion the program for the reorganization of NRA, whose purpose it is to perpetuate this "doctrine of slavery."

There is little in this eight point program adopted by the convention that is new or worthy of comment. In the first of these proposals, based we presume, on the theory that we can't have too much of a good thing, the A. F. of L. proposes the prolongation of the life of NRA after June 16, 1935, its expiration date. In point six, the A. F. of L. insists that labor must be made an active partner "in the supposed partnership of government, industry and labor."

Let our unsophisticated readers be confused by the words "supposed partnership" we hasten to state that this was by no means written in a spirit of derision. Far from it. The writers of the program are firm believers in such a partnership. Their objections are on the score that they are not a sufficiently trusted partner in this firm of "government, industry and labor."

### Progressive Measures Ruled Out

The convention steam-roller functioned smoothly and with precision, to the great amusement of many delegates. It was at its best in dispensing, with great dispatch, resolutions dealing with such matters as the Labor Party, withdrawal from NRA bodies, report on the status of labor in the Soviet Union, etc.

The steam-roller did stall once during the early sessions. The resolutions committee had reported adversely on a resolution providing for the expulsion of any national or international union which draws the color line. So confident were the floor leaders that they did not find it necessary to answer delegate Randolph's plea for the resolution. The result was an oral vote for the resolution. This, however, was quickly remedied by the simple expediency of continuing the discussion and then taking another vote when it was certain that things would go the "proper" way. The resolution is recorded as defeated.

In passing it is of some interest to note that the much advertised anti-red drive failed to materialize at the convention. The only speech along these lines was a rambling, incoherent diatribe by delegate Weaver of Iowa, who held the interest of the delegates more by his flowery oratory than by his patriotic fulminations against the "reds."

### The Opposition At The Convention

Needless to say we do not mean John L. Lewis and those around him, who sensing the sentiment for industrial unionism and for democratization of the leading A. F. of L. bodies, used these issues as bargaining points for a place on the Executive Council. The almost indecent display of servility which Lewis showed in his nomination speech of Green for the presidency, should dispel any illusion of Lewis' progressivism.

We refer to genuine progressive forces. Of these there were many, most of them coming from the federal local unions. But they were in the main unorganized and lacking a well defined program of their own. This accounted for the fact that at no time during the convention was there any real, concerted effort in the direction of a fight on any of the progressive measures so easily eliminated by the convention. There was indeed one small group of "rank and file" delegates, six in number, loudly praised by the Daily Worker. It made up for the smallness of its size by the numerousness of the resolutions which it introduced. Most of these were not reported on by the committee and so weak was this group that not even a peep of protest emanated from them. They held themselves strictly aloof from the progressives fearing, we suppose, to be contaminated by these social fascists.

Yet, the situation in the A. F. of L. is such that there is an abundance of material for a progressive

# The Wall Street Crash

by Arnold

The New York Times of October 25, commemorates that eventful day (October 24) in 1929 when the stock market, collapsing suddenly, brought consternation and panic to the wizards of finance and captains of industry who had been assuring whoever would listen that such things could never be in the United States. It was this Wall Street crash that initiated the deepest of crises ever to strike our economic life. A crisis that has swept the country, with unspent fury for five years, and the end is not yet.

This organ of finance capital, the New York Times, reviews the circumstances surrounding the stock crash and is quite puzzled at the lack of appreciation of the full implications of this disaster. "The larger meaning of the Stock Exchange collapse," it remarks, "was certainly not then understood."

And in an attempt to explain this lack of wisdom of those who should have known better, the Times goes on to say:

"The fact which was immediately recognized, that the scope of panic reaction was closely proportioned to the extravagance of the preceding advance, occasioned general belief that the whole occurrence was merely a stock market affair. It was understood at once that the heavy penalty had been invited by the madness of nationwide speculation, the recklessness of 'company promotion', the rise of brokers' loans from \$4,400,000 in 1928 to \$5,500,000,000 in October 1929. But it entered the heads of very few men, even of those with a background of experience, that the Stock Exchange crisis was to be the forerunner of an almost equally unprecedented reaction in commodity prices, busi-

ness profits and national prosperity."

But is it true that no one understood, at that time, "the larger meaning of the Stock Market collapse"? There were those, and peculiarly enough they were the communists, who did understand both the causes for the collapse as well as its full implication for the future of American economic life.

In a pamphlet published in the early part of November 1929 by the Communist Party (Majority Group), now the Communist Party Opposition, Jay Lovestone summarizes the effects of the collapse in the following words:

"Already one can estimate the following economic effects of the collapse of the stock market.

"It will mean a reduction of the general purchasing power of those involved in the huge losses. The disparity between production and the market in certain industries will be enlarged, for example automobile and most luxury industries. This means an intensification of symptoms of the general recession which are already evident. While the stock crash was not due to the recession, a severe depression may be precipitated by the stock collapse. There will be an increase of unemployment of which there is already far more than the Hoover administration admits. It will temporarily slow down the trend of certain types of mergers realized thru the issuance of stocks. An undermining of the installment purchasing system which has been one of the main props of American 'prosperity'. A further concentra-

tion of finance capital thru the role played by the investment trusts, the bankers' pool, the wiping out of the small and medium-sized share holders. An intensification and sharpening of the international antagonism of world capitalism. A severe blow has been dealt to the general 'business sentiment', to the American imperialist confidence and prestige which was literally drunk with optimism."

Not only after the crash were the communists able to interpret and forecast the trend of events but as early as March 7, 1929 (eight months before the crash) Jay Lovestone, stated in a Thesis which he submitted to the Communist Party Convention, that "the present 'prosperity' itself creates the very factors which are bound to precipitate a deep-going economic crisis. . . ."

Analyzing the booming stock market, Lovestone proceeds to say:

"And all this speculation on the stock market, and all these brokers' loans—they are not a sign of prosperity. They grow out of the surplus capital in the country."

Quite the contrary. This terrific speculation is the very proof of deepening serious contradictions developing in the productive processes of this country which draw capital in such great volumes towards the stock market. It shows the impossibility of industry 'profitably' to absorb the available capital. . . . Superficially this (stock market speculation) may appear to be a windfall of prosperity. Actually it is the signal of a storm that will bring devastation in its wake once it begins to sweep the country."



# "Now That the Referendum Is Over"

## The Next Tasks for Revolutionary Socialists

by Jay Lovestone

At last the voting on the Detroit Declaration of Principles has finished. By a vote of 5,993 against 4,872 the program proposed by the "Militants" at the June convention was adopted.

We have always stressed that the significance of the whole controversy around the Declaration of Principles did not lie so much in the substance of the Declaration as in the forces accounting for the very appearance of even so inadequate and false a document from the point of view of Marxian theory, from the angle of revolutionary practice.

### Objective Basis of Leftward Moods

Consequently, unlike the CP, we do not have to wash away or live down an asinine past, branding this Declaration as "social fascist." We, unlike the Daily Worker, in its mood of fervent repentance and Billy Sunday revivalism, do not have to slobber all over the "class comrades" in the SP, who voted for the Declaration of Principles. To us of the CPO the members of the SP, the workers in the ranks of the Party led by Thomas, Hoan, and Waldman were class comrades even before they voted affirmatively or negatively on this question. We can only repeat that the American Socialist Party ranks are reflecting the developments so marked in the ranks of the European Social Democratic movement. The membership of the SP is responding increasingly, too often still confusedly, to the disasters which befell the German and Austrian proletariat, and to the victories, which have been and are being scored by the Russian proletariat. Nor has the deepening general crisis of capitalism failed to shake Social Democratic Parties to their foundation.

It is in these objective factors, it is in this subjective awakening, that the real roots of the developing leftward moods and moves in the SP are to be found. We underscore heavily the fact that no essential left turn, to be more accurate, revolutionary Marxist doctrine, theory or practice is contained or even contemplated in the Declaration of Principles. If Marx were alive to-day, his comment on it would run something like this: "... And the different proposals may be adorned with a more or less revolutionary trimming, but the substance is always the same."

### Declaration Carried But Reformism Continues

Precisely on the questions over which the German, Austrian, and

other Social Democracies have broken their necks or paralyzed their ability to struggle and to lead the struggle to victory, does the Declaration of Principles fail to make any real advance towards revolutionary theory and practice. The basic failure of reformism, the dangerously false misconception of the role of the State, whether it be monarchical, democratic, or Fascist, remains untouched. It must be granted that the champions of the Declaration of Principles are not bogus democrats, but honest democrats. This means that they continue to believe that there is still a very good chance "that the walls of Jericho would fall at the sound of their martial music. Democrats always expect this miracle when they stand before the ramparts of despotism."

In short, the Declaration of Principles becoming the basic doctrine of the SP of the U. S., does not mean in the least that the SP has broken with the reformist attitude towards the capitalist state, with the petty bourgeois worship of democracy in the abstract, with the Social Democratic opposition to proletarian dictatorship based on Soviet power, finally, with the abhorrence of armed insurrection by the working class against capitalist domination.

We would like to see it otherwise. We would like to see the move to the left in the SP reaching a much higher level at this time. However, the best of wishes are no substitute for even the hardest of reality. If one examines the appeal just issued by the SP to "unattached radicals" to join its ranks, he will find that we have not been too harsh in our evaluation. In this appeal the most forceful emphasis is placed on the following: "Goal—a peaceful revolution," and the most energetic plea is made in behalf of the revolution triumphing "in an orderly and peaceful manner." Pious wishes or pious plus wishes again, are no substitute for clear thinking, for frank facing of the facts, regardless how brutal and unpleasant these facts may be. Page Hitler! Page Dollfus! Page Mussolini! Page our hundred per cent democratic policemen and the New Deal National Guardsmen, and the Roosevelt supported chemical gas manufacturers in the job as strike-breakers.

### Fight For Revolutionary Policy Must Continue

\* "Eighteenth Brumaire" by Karl Marx

So long as such illusions remain the fundamental position of the SP, so long will the SP be unable to serve as an organization working effectively "as loyal comrades in the great cause of achieving Socialism in our time." Furthermore, so long as the Declaration of Principles, or a document of its political content, is the fundamental program of the SP, that Party will not be a revolutionary party, but will continue to be essentially a reformist party—that is a party which no revolutionary can or should join. Not until the SP makes the completest conceivable break with the principles of Social Democracy and adopts in an equally complete fashion the principles of Marxism-Leninism, will the SP be worthy of the name of a genuine revolutionary party. Until such time, the Communists must do everything in their power, thru discussion and action, in truly comradely fashion and not a la Madison Square Garden to win the SP members for the only revolutionary proletarian principles—the principles of world Communism, the principles of the Communist International.

In fact, if we examine the voting on the Declaration of Principles, we will find additional evidence substantiating our evaluation. The same can be expected from an evaluation of the Declaration of Principles by its outstanding proponents and opponents. Let's look into these two factors a bit more. Wisconsin polled 1,032 votes for the Declaration and only 169 against. Obviously Wisconsin was a dominant factor in putting over this Declaration. But who in his normal, let alone best senses, in the SP, would tell us that Wisconsin, led by Hoan, is any further to the left than New York led by James O'Neal or for that matter, even by the crudest and crassest of reformers in the SP, Louis Waldman. From the published information (New Leader October 27) as to divisions in the NEC of the SP, we learn that Hoan gave lusty support to O'Neal's proposal that "negotiations with Communist organizations should not be undertaken by the NEC." And still worse, even Norman Thomas, the outstanding leader and champion of the Declaration of Principles, was prepared to postpone the publication of the referendum results until after the elections. "This is going a little too far, and not to the left. Don't the supporters of the Declaration of Principles really believe that it would be a great help to them so effective a weapon for winning over the workers to the cause of Socialism during so important a time as an election campaign? What are they ashamed of? What do they have to hide? Surely they must be at least as much for the Declaration of Principles outside the SP as they are inside, otherwise, the Declaration will remain a still-born thing about and unburied. Not exactly an inviting situation for a party that invites 'unattached radicals' to join its growing ranks! What surprised us most, and not very pleasantly at that, is that on this question Comrades Daniel and Hapgood abstained.

On this basis, it becomes clear why Louis T. Goldberg, Socialist candidate in Brooklyn for the Supreme Court and law partner of Charles Solomon, notorious right winger and candidate for governor in New York, could see "no reason why we shouldn't interpret it (Declaration of Principles) as the people who supported it did, and their interpretation was not dangerous." On this basis, it becomes equally clear how Comrade Thomas could say: "There is no divergence of view on certain points, if only we will work for Socialism." One is tempted to ask Comrade Thomas: "perhaps isn't it possible that adhering to certain points of view it becomes impossible to work for Socialism?" Would Thomas say that it is possible to work for Socialism having the views on certain points that Waldman has? However, perhaps it is unnecessary to ask this question, for Thomas goes on to tell us: "But neither the adoption or the rejection of the Declaration will of itself win America for Socialism, and that is our job." With this

we are in hearty and comradely accord.

The move towards the left in the SP has only begun. The beginning, as was to be expected, is weak, hesitant, confused. Had it not been for the Revolutionary Policy Committee being able to muster enough votes in States like Michigan, New Jersey, and Missouri, the Declaration probably wouldn't even have carried. We are convinced that very doubtful thanks are due to the RPK for this. At any rate, now that the referendum are over with, it is high time to push the struggle to the left in the Socialist Party more vigorously than ever. This can be done only thru a clear-cut fight over questions of principle, which can not be blurred or postponed for organizational reasons, petty or big. We are convinced that in this sense the fundamental task in the SP today is not the fight over posts or positions, but rather the job of educating the party membership in revolutionary Marxism.

### United Front Action—Possible and Necessary

We of the Communist Party Opposition can pledge to the members of the SP our readiness to help in this work. When we say "help" we do not say it in any condescending fashion; we mean it in the best working-class and comradely sense of the word. What is more, it is not new for us to stress that we consider unity of action between the SP and Communist organizations, along with other working-class organizations like trade unions, in the immediate struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression a most effective educator in living Marxism, which is the only revolutionary Marxism. We of the CPO, without giving up the right to criticize in a fraternal fashion without resorting to non-aggression pacts as the CP does today in its panicky flight from the infected swamps of "social fascism," without in the least giving up our independence and distinctness of organization, are prepared for such practical united action with the SP, especially in the struggle for better conditions, for better and more militant unions, and in the fight against imperialist war and fascism.

## Steel Barons - True to Form

by William J. White

"We want it understood we are not submitting to any jurisdiction by this board." Thus spoke the United States Steel Corporation in its controversy with its employees who demanded a vote on whether the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers shall represent them in all negotiations with the company.

This is the belligerent attitude of the steel corporation in 1934. Below we depict the attitude of the same trust in its youthful days, in 1892 when it defied the workers and their organizations.

That the American working class has traditions of well fought battles, despite its false and bureaucratic misleadership, is proven by some of the glorious battles fought in the steel centers by the rank and file in the industry. As one of such we consider the Homestead strike of 1892, or rather the lock-out, for it was really that, by the Carnegie-Frick management.

### The Background Of The Struggle

Let us look at the strength of the employers at the time of this great labor battle. The iron and steel industry was still in the embryonic stage. There was the Carnegie Brothers, largely controlling the iron and steel country; the Frick Coal and Coke Company, holding in its grasp much of the finest coke plants and coal mines in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and Kentucky; the Oliver, holding the iron ore mines in Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin and the middle north-western

state. These had just been merged and the basis laid for the first giant trust. Frick who had deservedly earned a reputation as a labor hater, was placed at the head of this combination, as chairman.

It was this combination which the 26,000 members of the Amalgamated Association, one of the largest organizations of labor then in the country, faced on the morning of July 1, 1892.

### Enter The Pinkertons

The Carnegie-Frick Company had entered into contract with the Pinkerton Detective Agency to furnish it with thugs and strike-breakers, had built stockades around the mills for housing the scabs and guards and was prepared for battle.

But also the union had not been idle. Hardly had the scabs been loaded upon barges to be towed up the Allegheny River by the now famous "Little Bill" steamboat, than this move was relayed to the alert workers camped on the bank of the river where a landing was to be made.

### The Battle at Homestead

Thus when a landing was attempted, the scabs were met by several thousand men and women who had set up defense works and had barricaded themselves behind the piles of steel and pig metal which covered the bank of the river.

The Pinkerton thugs, armed with rifles and revolvers, opened fire upon the locked-out steel workers, killing and wounding a great many. Despite the effort at disarming the workers, previously attempted by the sheriff of Pittsburgh, the workers offered staunch, armed resistance. Under an intensive barrage of short pieces of pipe filled with dynamite, the barge surrendered, disgorging its motley crew of thugs and strike breakers. These were disarmed by the workers and were released after being locked up for a time.

### State Assists Carnegie Martial Law Is Declared

Smarting under this defeat the Carnegie interests appealed to the government which responded with great alacrity. Martial law was declared and the strike area became the armed camp of the militia. The workers replied by extending the battle front. The strike spread and became one of the most bitterly fought labor battles. But the steel trust was determined to wipe out unionism from its plants. Over 150 strike leaders were indicted by the Allegheny Grand Jury on the charge of murder and the union was forced to turn its attention to the legal battle rather than the economic struggle.

Its leadership in jail, its resources eaten up thru long legal battles, the strike crumbled and the union was almost wiped out. This is a tactic resorted to by the employers in many labor battles since.

## Outstanding Speakers at School Forum

Jay Lovestone on "Turning Tides of American Labor," an analysis of the 54th convention of the American Federation of Labor, is the next in an unusually interesting series of Sunday night lectures at the New Workers School Forum.

On the following Sunday, November 11, Dr. Hugh H. Darby, research worker in Biochemistry at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, will lecture on "Social Aspects of Science." This diminutive, black-bearded scientist has had a stormy career as a research worker. His investigations into methods of destroying the Mediterranean fruit fly brought him into conflict with the government (for which he was working) and

movement. What is still lacking is the driving force, the force which is to rally and to coordinate such a movement. The A. F. of L. numbers over five million today, at least half of these being new, militant and fighting forces. These can become the basis for a powerful movement to make the trade unions genuine instruments in the interests of the masses. But in the absence of experienced leadership these same forces may become a new source of strength for the bureaucracy. Which is it to be? The answer lies in the hands of the militant, experienced, progressive forces in the A. F. of L.

the American fruit growers who wanted his researches suppressed so that the embargo on Mediterranean fruit might be continued. Dr. Darby's experiences in this and other fields opened his eyes to the social implications of Scientific work, and explains his choice of topic and forum.

On November 18, Professor Goodwin Watson of Teachers College, one of the editors of "Social Frontiers," will talk on "A Psychologist's View of the New Order." The next two lecturers, J. B. Matthews of the Revolutionary Policy Committee and Haim Kantorovitch of the Militant Socialists, will present the viewpoints of those two tendencies in the Socialist Party.

On December 9, Ludwig Lore, foreign editor of the "Evening Post" will speak on "Hitler on Top of the World" and on December 16, James Waterman Wise will discuss "Jews under the Soviet."

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# THE LAST STAND OF ULTRA-LEFTISM

## Stachel Clings to Crumbling Fort

by Jim Cork

Comrade Jack Stachel, chief acting trade union "spez" of the party has courageously thrown himself into the breach to attempt to stem the tide in the change that is slowly but surely seeping thru the rigid wall of the ultra-left, sectarian tactical line of the Party. Stachel holds forth in an article in the Daily Worker of October 12 on the supposed bankruptcy of the Lovestone-Brandler groups as shown by the editorial in the Communist International (No. 18, English edition). It is not my purpose here to handle that part of Stachel's article which merely quotes with an "Amen," the C.I. editorial itself (and what a lusty "Amen-er" Stachel is), which merely repeats the old worn out falsehoods and slanders about "exceptionalism" and the rest of the well known ritual, which claims that the C.I. line was always right, that it has not changed, that on the contrary it is the line of the Communist Opposition that has changed in fundamental respects. These facts which have already been amply handled in Comrade Wolfe's article on the C.I. editorial, merely indicate that in spite of the real change which has already begun, old attitudes are still there. The substitution of "face-saving" for open admission of error only shows that the change will be done piecemeal, painfully and in an underhanded fashion. It will retard the process, but it cannot prevent it. The pressure of events is too irresistible for that.

### As To Changes In Line

I propose to deal therefore only with Stachel's application of "face-saving" to the American scene, with his remarks especially on the trade union field. But before doing this just one general remark. Stachel says:

"... these proposals of the Brandlerites at this time are due to the fact that the whole policy of this group has been proved by the development of events to be bankrupt. . . . Realizing that their whole program is bankrupt and that they have lost most of their followers the Brandlerites were compelled, as the E.C.C.I. points out, to revise some of their former estimates of the situation."

A simple question to the great logician, Comrade Jack Stachel. The C.P.O. has not raised the burning question of unity for the first time, now. It has consistently raised it, from the very beginning of the necessary struggle to correct the ultra-left C.I. line to a sane Leninist tactical line. How does it come about, Comrade Logician, that in the past when you say we were stronger (because we hadn't lost most of our followers as we supposedly are doing now), (the C.I. didn't listen to us, did not accept joint action with us, did not change its line, while now when we are supposed to be bankrupt and losing our followers, lo and behold the C.I. accepts joint action with us in Germany, unity with us in Austria, changes its united front and trade union line in France, etc. No, Comrade Mystic, it wasn't because we were weaker and our line bankrupt that joint action was accepted, but the direct opposite. It wasn't because the C.I. line was always right in its united front and trade union line, but the direct opposite. It is our line which has proven the vitality and your line which has proven wrong. It is our line which has remained the same, strengthened by living proof of its vitality, and your line which has brought defeat after defeat, and isolation from the masses, and finally under the irresistible pressure of events, changing (all too slowly because shame-facedly) in our direction. Tell us, Comrade Stachel, if your trade union line was always right and has not changed, how was it that the dual unions in the mining, textile, and now needle trades have been practically liquidated. Does liquidation of unions prove the correctness of a line? God save the movement from such correctness. If the C.I. line, your line, on social

not changed, can you explain to us the disappearance of the notorious "united front from below" in most places (unfortunately not yet in all places), the cementing of a real united front, not from below, in France and elsewhere. Further as regards theoretical formulation of the problem can you reconcile these two statements:

"Social Democracy continues to be the main social prop of capitalism even in countries of open fascist dictatorship." (13th Plenum of the C.I.)

"The chief enemy is not Social Democracy, the chief enemy is capitalism, is fascism." (recent convention of the Austrian Communist Party.)

I am afraid that's a hard one even for your great abilities. No, the words in black and white are there for everybody to read, the developments are there for everybody to see. And no smoke screens, even by one, of your great ability in that direction, can cover these things up, can change their basic meaning one iota.

### Our "Sins" in the Trade Unions

And now for your ponderous arguments on our concrete sins in the trade unions, which, with their hammer blows, are to destroy the influence of the Lovestoneites forevermore. We examine them closely, and in spite of much straining we see only the same old hoary, moss grown skeletons, already creaking dismally at the joints from overuse.

"... he (Charles Zimmerman) has not a word of criticism of the Green-Dubinsky position in the I.L.G.W.U."

Perhaps you could attempt to prove the above by citing the fact that at the recent national convention of the I.L.G.W.U., Comrade Zimmerman led the progressive force at that convention in a

militant fight all along the line; that he made a minority report against Dubinsky on all the important questions facing the American working class, exposing the role of the N.R.A.; forced the entire convention to protect the rights of the Negro delegates (while the Party at this convention representing 200,000 workers was woefully inconspicuous); that he has penned the outstanding indictment of the betraying role of Green in the San Francisco strike (for which he was openly branded as a Communist by Green) which has found a sympathetic response in wide sections of the labor movement; that he was forcibly ejected from the Central Trades and Labour Council for raising the same attack against Green (and where was the Party?); that, most important of all, he has fought tirelessly for the maintenance of the workers standards against the greatest obstacles, the attacks of the bosses, the passivity of the right wing, and the disruptive anti-union activities of the so-called "left group."

### In the Textile Fields

And must we also lay low that other old ghost that the Lovestoneites Keller and Herman followed the policies of Gorman. Let us irritate your memory (which you have under such good control) by repeating part of the telegram which Comrade Keller sent to the National Textile Strike Committee on the occasion of the Winant report.

"Paterson strikers in mass meeting reject the proposals of Winant Board. We request that National Executive Board do not concede to arbitration until some basic demands are granted."

When instructions to end the

strike arrived from Gorman, Keller scored Gorman & Co. for their ending of the struggle. He said:

"I am against calling off the strike. I am for a fight to the finish."

The instructions to end the strike were carried over Keller's vigorous opposition. You know these things.

Besides, Comrade Stachel, you should tread a little more warily these days when discussing the textile situation. There are some strange straws in the wind. Let me quote something for your edification:

"And what is even a more burning question: why, in the face of such an upheaval of the textile workers cannot we say that we are a determining force in a single local of the U.T.W. and in a single local strike area? To give a general answer one may say that it is due to the sectarian character of the work of the National Textile Workers Union. . . . Two hundred thousand workers in a period of one year joined the A.F.L. textile union. This indeed was a mass movement of great dimensions. But where were we? Unfortunately this mass movement passed us by. . . . To be sure we issued united front appeals to the textile workers, we adopted resolutions and issued slogans in favor of one united trade union movement in the textile industry. But those united front appeals had to be given flesh and blood. Concretely what did unity and a united trade union movement mean under the specific conditions in the textile industry, when 200,000 workers joined the A.F.L. union and the N.T.W.U. (with a membership of 2,500) became much weaker? It means that we should have gone along with the 200,000

workers into the U.T.W." Sounds like a Lovestoneite, dia-tribe, eh, Comrade Stachel? Well, you are wrong again. It is from the Communist International No. 19 (English edition). Things do move. Do you agree with the latest line of the C.I., Comrade Stachel?

### What Are Our Differences?

And finally to return to your own effusions once again, you say:

"The differences on the trade union question between the Party and the Lovestoneite renegades are not merely on the question of building independent unions (which we advocate only where there is a basis) and the work in the A.F.L. (which the Party has always stood for) but rather these differences are in the character of the trade union work whether these unions be affiliated with the A.F.L. or not."

So you advocated building dual unions only where there was a basis. Does the liquidation of one dual union after another indicate that you had your bases right or what else is the matter? Secondly, doesn't the following statement from your trade union leader, Comrade Foster, look a little funny next to the statement that you always believed in working in the A.F.L.:

"The A.F.L. is definitely in decline as an organization. It cannot and will not organize the unorganized."

Wasn't this attitude (now proved by life itself to have been so disastrously wrong) unfortunately shared by the Party as a whole, the basis for the withdrawal of forces from the A.F.L. for the building up of dual unions.

In one thing I agree with you 100%, that the differences between us lie basically in the character of the work in the trade unions. And may I say quite clearly and simply that unity between us will be impossible until the disruptive anti-union tactics of "left" groups (which can work just as much harm from the inside as from the outside) is thoroughly liquidated in favor of realistic, militant, union-building policy, taking into consideration the needs of the moment and able to move the whole mass forward along the line of progressive action. Changes in this direction are already clearly apparent, even in America where the changes are taking place most slowly and shamefacedly. Those who are speculating desperately on a return to the "old way of things" better consider carefully their resistance. They may land on the scrap heap.

## United Front From Below Is Pure Talmudism

"The revolutionary party ought to learn to draw in the majority of the working class, making use to this end of every new action of the masses. . . . From this point of view, to say that we are disposed to make a united front with the masses, but not with their leaders is pure scholasticism. In the same way it might be argued that we are willing to negotiate to and strikes against the capitalists, but we are not willing to negotiate by entering into conferences with them! It is impossible to carry a strike to its end without at a certain moment entering into conferences with the capitalists or their representatives. In the same way, it is impossible to call the organized masses to a common struggle without entering into conferences with those to whom a part of these masses give their confidence. To work in any other way, means that, under the cloak of revolutionary inflexibility, we would be exhibiting a political passivity which does not comprehend some of the most important aims for which the Communist Party has been created."

Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Second Congress of the Communist Party of France, 1922.

## THE ECONOMIC TREND

by Economist

The past two weeks have seen an upturn in the business index (see New York Times, October 21, 1934). The major factor influencing this rise was the gain in the cotton cloth series "following the resumption of operations after the strike" (i. e. the Textile strike). This trend in business is an expected one and illustrates very clearly the point that we made in a past issue of Workers Age concerning the unstable nature of the business curve under the Roosevelt regime. After six weeks of a constant decline, business has started a very small and slow reversal based almost entirely on the aforementioned fact and the added factor of replacement of depleted

stocks following upon the slack summer season. If one turns to any business magazine—Annalist, Business Week, Dunn's, etc.—no hope is held out for any decided improvement in the business trend. The very kind of turnings and twistings of the business curve indicate the unhealthy nature of business enterprise which can find no substantial stimulus in the way of opening up markets—either abroad or domestic—for productive expansion. Hence witness the alternate changes in business that have seen such variations as fol-

low: demand for new buildings, reflected in a doubling of the valuation of contract awards for residential buildings and an even greater increase in that for commercial buildings, found its counterpart in mortgage expansion far exceeding the aggregate increased valuation of the physical assets supporting such mortgages" (our emphasis).

As to the significance of such a state of affairs for capitalism, one merely has to turn to the Sept. 19th issue of "Commerce and Finance" where the following greets the eye: "The body of invested capital tends to assume in increasing proportion the form of debt. Mortgages are simply one kind of debt. Everyone knows that for some time now urban mortgages as a field of investment have been practically out of the picture. It is almost literally true that there is 'no mortgage money'. When capital as a whole no longer regards urban mortgages as a field attractive for investment, is this a major or a minor symptom of fundamental disorder in the capitalist system?" There can be no question that this symptom reveals a major kink in the economic system in so far as the tremendous speculative heights to which capitalist economy can go are based on the fundamental antagonism between the growth in productive forces and the strangling of consumption power. The discrepancies that arise between valuation and the actual physical assets—that arose in the case of buildings—are, thus the great overtones (speculative expectancy) of the deeper problem of productive possibility and possibilities (the source of overcapitalization) versus check or deflator of expansion) under capitalism. Furthermore, the constant increase of debts out of proportion to production, acts as an intensification upon depression and crises.

Date	Business Index (N. Y. Times)
March 1933 (3rd week)	60
July 1933 (2nd week)	98 (approximately)
November 1933 (1st week)	73 ( " )
April 1934 (3rd week)	85 ( " )
September 1934 (2nd week)	72 ( " )

Within these broad variations, there have occurred still more fluctuations that contrast very sharply with the curve in recent years and in the whole history of U. S. A. business development.

The deep, fundamental nature of this business crisis in relation to the whole trend of the capitalist system has been constantly emphasized by Marxian economic theory. The relative and absolute slowing up in productive expansion, the limiting and restrictive nature of demand and the markets, the falling rate of profit (one has merely to turn to Lewis Corey's "Decline of American Capitalism" for confirmation of these assertions) have indicated the inherent contradictions of capitalism. One of the most effective indictments of this economy is the mounting debt load in proportion to the amount of invested capital. The "Index," published by the N. Y.

Trust Co., has issued a statement on "Urban Mortgage Debt" which contains figures that are simply overwhelming in furnishing the proof for the Marxian critique of capitalist production. These debt figures show a total of \$36,000,000 (21 of which represents home mortgages; and 15 represents office buildings, apartments, hotels, etc.). "This is a total greater than the debt of the Federal government, greater than the aggregate total of all local government debts, greater than that of any class of private or corporate indebtedness, and more than four times that of the farm mortgage debt" (our emphasis). The estimate is that between 1921 and 1931 the increase was 200%. And whereas in 1921 it formed 12.4% of all private and public long-term indebtedness, in 1931 the percentage was 21.7. How this came about is seen in a revealing paragraph from this re-



## The International Front

The trend towards a correction of the line of the C. I., the trend towards a return to the Leninist tactical path, is proceeding in certain sections of the C. I. with seven-league boots.

### Austrian Communists Break with Sectarianism

Only a few weeks ago the Communist Party of Austria, for the first time a decisive factor in the Austrian class struggle, closed its 12th convention and adopted decisions of monumental significance for the entire international labor movement. These decisions marked a fairly complete break with the poisonous doctrine of social fascism, with the ultra-leftist nonsense of the united front from below, with the suicidal policy of dual unionism. We quote herewith excerpts from the resolution adopted at this convention as well as from the political report made by the leader of the party, Comrade Koplenig. We are indebted to the Rundschau, the German Inprecor, for the presentation of these documents. Said Comrade Koplenig:

#### On the United Front

"To us the united front is not a maneuver, but a necessary condition of the proletarian class struggle."

"... The CP, however, must continue its efforts for the establishment of unity of action with the Revolutionary Socialists and with all Social Democratic groups. We shall repeat our proposals and put them into more concrete forms. Our success will depend on our own work among the masses and on the extent to which we succeed in convincing the Social Democratic and Socialist workers of the absolute necessity for a united front, in developing their initiative in this direction and in carrying out joint struggles against fascism."

"Without the initiative of the masses pressing for unity and the direct establishment of the united front, without the close contact and the friendly cooperation of the Communists, Socialists and unaffiliated workers in each district, every pact, every agreement remains a paper pact, a paper agreement. We must further be careful not to confuse unity of action and organizational unity; that we are now as before striving for the organizational unity of the working class in a party adhering to Communism, we must not be impatient with those class-conscious fighters who belong to another party or today reject the union in one party. We will indefatigably fight to convince the workers of the correctness of Communist principles, we will fight to win them for Communism but we will work together with every party, with every group, with every organization which is willing to carry out joint actions against fascism. . . . The Party convention, therefore, pledges all Party members not to leave a stone unturned in their fields of activity in the realization of unity of action with the Revolutionary Socialists, not to harm the friendly relations with all workers ready to struggle, but to strengthen them. The forcible words which the representatives of the Comintern directed to the delegates must guide us:

"The chief enemy is not the Social Democracy, the chief enemy is capitalism, is fascism!"

#### On The Trade Union Question

"Some Communists have made the error of not distinguishing sharply enough between the Party and the trade unions. The party convention has criticized this and emphatically states that the free trade unions are not organs of the Party, but are the organs of the entire working class; it is necessary to unite workers of all tendencies in these free trade unions. "We, Communists, must work for the slogans of the Party in the trade unions but must not think that the leadership belongs to us from the very beginning. Those who gain the confidence of their fellow-workers will be the leaders in the trade unions. We must also not err in approaching

trade union work in a mechanical fashion, laying down the line mechanically."

#### On Party Democracy

From the Resolution of the XII Party Congress of the CP of Austria:

"The Communist Party is built on the principle of democratic centralism, on the principle of inner democracy and strict, centralized leadership and voluntary iron discipline. Inner democracy means that every party member carries out most actively the functions assigned to him on the basis of his experience and feelings, and takes part in determining the party line and party tactics. Inner democracy involves self-criticism, that is a never-ceasing, testing in life the correctness of the party line, a merciless uncovering of the weaknesses and inadequacies of all party organs, a systematic control of the carrying out of decisions adopted. Inner democracy implies the development of the greatest initiative of every party member, every cell, every party committee in the application of the general party directives, in the immediate reaction to everything taking place in their field. Finally, inner-party democracy implies the most active participation of the entire membership in the formation and election of the leading party cadres as well as the removal of those who have shown themselves not energetic enough, and their replacement by better fitted persons."

### Polish Communists Alter Trade Union Position

A similar turn has been made by the Communist Party of Poland. In an article entitled, "For the Class Unity of the Trade Union Movement in Poland" appearing in International Press Correspondence No. 48, Comrade Henrykowski apologizes for the CP ever having set up parallel unions—dual unions—and blames it all on the reactionary bureaucracy, which undoubtedly did plenty to disrupt the workers ranks. Of course, we do not excuse in the least the Polish section of the Comintern resorting to union-splitting merely because of Social Democratic provocations. That is why, we welcome the apology, claiming that: "The setting up of parallel 'left' trade unions was therefore a result of systematic disruptive policy of the reformist leaders," we do not endorse the now-discarded dualism.

#### Propose To Win Reformist Unions

It is for this reason that we greet the latest decision of the Communist Party of Poland to

give up all its unions and to send its members into the trade unions of the Central Commission (reformist controlled organizations) for the purpose of "converting the trade unions of the Central Commission into militant class organizations." Despite lack of clarity and some ambiguity, in the following declaration of policy by the Polish CP we recognize it as a break with ultra-leftism; therefore, as a step forward.

"The Red Trade Union Opposition is doing everything in order that its members shall take part in the daily work of the reformist trade unions. The Red Trade Union Opposition is not a transition organization to independent 'left' trade unions, but its whole work is directed towards achieving the realization of class unity of the trade union movement."

"The action proposed by the C. C. of the C. P. P. for the defense of the trade unions which are threatened with incorporation leads to their unity and internationalism. In the fight against the fascist state trade unions the proletariat will force the class unity of the trade union movement."

### Trotskyites Split Again

The Trotsky "movement" continues to grow by leaps and bounds, with the bounds rapidly developing into pieces and the leaps leading head-long into Social Democracy. The remnants of the German Trotsky Group, now collected in France, have just had another big split, despite the smallness of their numbers. Those opposed to the entrance of the Trotskyites into the French Social Democracy have just issued an open letter stating their position and separation from the "International Bureau of the Bolshevik Communist Opposition"—that is, from Trotsky. The tendency in this open letter continues for a Fourth International and a new party, but offers the perspective of affiliating to the remnants of the Socialist Workers Party of Germany as the last of the Mohicans remaining loyal to the fetish of a new international.

The Trotskyites apologizing for their entry into the French Social Democracy have declared that this organization is going left and is not a government party. But, in Czechoslovakia the Trotskyites have likewise gone over to the Social Democracy, and the Czech Social Democracy can by no means be called the extreme left of the Czechoslovakian government of which it is an organic part. The Czechoslovakian government is dominated by the heavy industrialists and big financiers and is outwardly led by Masaryk and Benes. All we can say is another farewell to the left of the left—self-styled, of course.

## The Stevens Case in Canada

by John F. Russell

Like a bolt from the blue, the Stevens pamphlet, representing one of the most penetrating and provocative indictments of Canadian capitalism ever made by a member of the Bennett Administration or any other Canadian administration, zig-zagged across the political horizon recently and struck the placidity of Canadian politics with an impact from which it has not yet recovered. Paralleling the sensational Darrow report excoriating the New Deal, the famous Stevens booklet, issued privately by H. H. Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce, and chairman of the Price Spreads Committee, has created a resounding furor in Canadian political and economic circles.

The noted pamphlet which has caused so much widespread discussion bears the heading: "Price Spreads and Mass Buying. An Explanation of Work Done and Results Achieved by the Special Select Committee of the House of Commons." Strangely enough, the stirring pamphlet was issued not on the authority of the Prime Minister nor of the Price Spreads Committee but under the authority and personal direction of the Ministerial author himself.

#### Canada Suppresses Stevens Pamphlet

It has been estimated that about 4000 copies of the booklet were printed and distributed. Its circulation was largely restricted to select individuals and certain newspapers. The attention of the Canadian public was brought to a sharp focus on the pamphlet when the personification of Canadian capitalism, Prime Minister Bennett, waxed so incensed from a perusal of a copy that he immediately and arbitrarily ordered its summary withdrawal. One can imagine the effect that this pamphlet had on him coming as it did from his minister of trade and commerce. However, the incident was a humiliating rebuff to Mr. Stevens who clearly showed the weak stuff of which he is made when he took the suppression of his pamphlet silently and slavishly.

#### Press Refuses To Print Findings

It is noteworthy that, the leading bourgeois papers of the Dominion were circled with copies of the pamphlet, only two, the Vancouver Sun and the Winnipeg Free Press, had the courage to publish the text in full. A Toronto daily set it up in type but unfortunately it did not see the light of day. The Social-Democratic press seized on it avidly and published it in full. In fact so overwhelming was the demand for the

banned document that the Social-Democratic press boasted its circulation tremendously. The C. P. press made political capital out of the incident while the Social-Democratic press editorially speculated on the possibility of Mr. Stevens joining its ranks.

#### Birth of The Stevens Commission

The Stevens Committee, upon whose findings the document is based, was set up under the pressure of repercussions that followed a speech which Mr. Stevens delivered to the Convention of the Boot and Shoe Industry held in Toronto last January. In this address he gave evidence of the appalling exploitation that obtained in the industry and called for remedial action. He cited instance upon instance of the stupendous profits made by employers while employees were receiving wages of \$4.00 to \$9.00 per week.

The speech was like a bombshell and it was not long before the Stevens Committee had been set up to investigate the conditions against which he had railed in his speech.

#### Hearings Expose Intense Exploitation

During the course of the investigation numerous workers delegations appeared before it charging abuses here and abuses there. Giant companies, such as the Canada Packers, Imperial Tobacco, Robert Simpson, and a host of other mammoth firms and trusts were summoned by the commission to testify and have their business investigated. The evidence amassed showing business malpractices and terrifying exploitation of the workers was truly appalling. The companies investigated did not hesitate to express their resentment at this procedure.

In the investigation of the Imperial Tobacco the findings were very startling. It was found that during the past year the company, controlling about 80% of the production of tobacco, made an average annual net profit of \$6,000,000. Further, that this was made possible by the intensest exploitation of the tobacco farmers of Southern Ontario. Mr. Stevens relates in his pamphlet that in 1930 this company paid the tobacco growers 33c per pound for tobacco. In 1931 the company imported an ace tobacco buyer from the Southern States and gave him a job as buyer. In the fall, he continues, this same buyer was paying the farmers 19c for their tobacco. For his immense profitability to the company the buyer was rewarded with fabulous bonuses besides his salary. As a matter of fact, one super-buyer received \$65,000 in bonuses in 1930 above his salary of \$25,000. But, the minister continues, while this company was reaping such huge profits the wages of its employees suffered drastic wage cuts.

#### Mr. Stevens' Bid For Power

Dame rumor has it Mr. Stevens is jockeying for leadership of the Conservative Party and that his pamphlet represents just a strategic move on his part. If we recall the meekness with which he took the censorship of his pamphlet it will be seen that there is some truth in this allegation. For, had he been sincere in his condemnation of the industrial mal-condition that he found, he would have raised a protest against the ban on his booklet. As it was he made a hurried retreat to his kennel from which has since issued a few weak barks. At any rate the Commission will have the same fate as the commissions of the past—will pass into oblivion and its findings forgotten. Forgotten by the government and the parasitic class that it represents but not by the workers and poor farmers who will see that the system under which they live is overthrown and a socialist order put in its place.

give me any advice, I do whatever I find necessary." The question remains, how long can such things be permitted in our union? Why this adjusters racket? The major-

(Continued on Page 12)

## What Is a Progressive Trade Union?

by I. Zeldin

Is there a progressive administration in Local No. 1 of the Cloak Operators Union? Does the bribing of so-called opposition leaders, their securing snug berths on the payroll of Levy & Co., indicate a "unification of all progressive elements in the union?" Does the decision which calls for regular membership meetings every four or five weeks, does that, proclaim the progressivism of the Administration? Nothing of the kind. These measures in themselves are not necessarily of the essence of progressive trade unionism. That this is the case is amply revealed by recent occurrences in our union.

#### Officials Betray Membership

Our membership meetings instructed our delegates to the last convention to fight for two propositions. First, the inauguration of the week work system; second, for the amalgamation of Locals No. 1 and No. 17. The first was lost when the delegates voted for a "compromise" solution which left the whole matter to the tender mercies of each Joint Board for decision. The second, which Levy had declared could be settled only by a Convention, was turned over

to himself and Heller for consideration, with both Heller and Levy voting for turning the whole matter over to them!

#### Levy Plays Politics

The politics of the Local 1 Administration in relation to the Local 17 question must receive our attention. Months before the Convention Levy campaigned for Heller as the General Secretary-Treasurer of the International, despite the fact that during the past few years he has hurled unmentionable epithets at the same Heller. Why the great change of heart? Why was Heller groomed for such a high post in the Union? Levy had planned to enter the convention as the conquering hero who had abolished all oppositions in the Local. He had succeeded in bribing the leaders of the oppositions by placing them on the payroll, but he never succeeded in uniting the members of the various groups who could not stomach his administration. The reason for this action was obvious: to eliminate all opposition to those policies of Levy which were being fought by the membership. Had there been a decision for amalgamation, Levy's reelection would not have been a certainty. Hence the bribing and

the agreement to a "voluntary" amalgamation in order to leave more time for bargaining. Our Local spent five thousand dollars on the 11 delegates sent to the convention.

#### Organizational Problems

What attitude does the administration have toward the union's organizational problems? It is to be welcomed that our union participates in the determining of prices. It is hardly essential, however, to employ adjusters when the business agents together with the shop committees are empowered to settle prices. If the business agents are too busy at the beginning of the season, then settlements can as readily be made in the evenings. Were the administration interested in economy, executive board members might help to settle prices during free time at no extra cost to the union. Every pretext has been used to augment the staff of adjusters without any decision of the executive board to such effect being made. While this is being written, the manager has reported that prices have already been stilled in the industry, nevertheless the adjusters are still on the payroll. When interrogated as to this situation, he replied, "Don't









## BOOKS

**"WHERE THE GHETTO ENDS: JEWS IN SOVIET RUSSIA,"** by Leon Dennen, New York, Alfred H. King, 254 pp., \$2.50. Leon Dennen has written an interesting, "light," smooth-flowing book, dealing with the Soviet solution of the Jewish problem. The chapters are intimate, personal, gossipy. Anecdotes rather than statistics are depended upon to build up bit by bit a picture of the new life that is curbing and wiping out anti-semitism, preserving Jewish culture while Jewish religion withers, making workers and farmers of a tribe of erstwhile shopkeepers, schnapsbrenners, luftmenschen and melandim, and destroying every trace of the age-old ghetto walls.

The work has the defects of its virtues. Its pleasant style and personal anecdote leave little space for fundamental analysis. This is not a work to go to for a Marxist examination of the Jewish question, but it makes an excellent gift to Jew-conscious friends who are hostile to the Soviet Union.

B. D. W.

**PIETISM AS FACTOR IN THE RISE OF GERMAN NATIONALISM:** By Koppel S. Pinson, Ph.D. Columbia University Press, 1934. 227 pp.

Pietism was in eighteenth century Germany what Methodism and Quakerism were in England and Quietism in France—essentially an evangelical movement with its emphasis upon bringing religion out of the cathedrals to the broader masses of the people.

Dr. Pinson's thesis, spun out like most doctoral dissertations, to fourteen times the space it deserves, is that the Pietistic movement was a contributory factor to the rise of German nationalism. One looks in vain, however, throughout the book for any definition of nationalism. Dr. Pinson says only, "The intellectual climate conducive to the growth of a spirit of nationalism has always drawn upon irrationalism, anti-intellectualism and emotional mysticism. In Germany this preparation was largely supplied by the Pietist movement."

This may be quite true but it hardly seems important. The rise of nationalism in Germany came from two factors—the external need of competing as a nation in an expanding world market and the internal struggles of the timidly rising bourgeoisie with the Junkers. The eighteenth century evangelical movements of Germany and other European countries arose from another and preceding need—the necessity of the rulers for misdirecting the discontented ferment of the masses made landless by enclosure and similar forms of expropriation. This latter point is seen but hardly understood by Dr. Pinson in quoting Spener, "God had, in his wisdom, separated the classes in certain orders—some to be rulers, others subjects, some lords, others servants, and so forth."

It seems that Dr. Pinson has gotten hold of a historical accident. German Pietism arose in the eighteenth century and German nationalism in the nineteenth. On the basis of this chronology he has built his theory and gotten his Ph.D. Congratulations, Dr. Pinson. D. S.

**THE NEW BASTILLE** by Mordecai Ithoe Fruchs. The Christophers Publishing House. \$2.50.

The New Bastille is another of the numerous anti-fascist books published since the advent of Hitler to power. Mr. Fruchs purposes "to awaken the intellectual nature in man to a consciousness of the horrors" of fascism and economic planning of any kind under a profit system.

The author proceeds to an analysis of the N. I. A. which he quite correctly sees as the basis and germs of fascism. However, his solution, for this trend to fascism, is a return to the petit-bourgeois economy of pre-monopoly capitalism. Mr. Fruchs sees in the laissez-faire period of early capitalism a glorious stage in which the principle is, no restraint

This book by Langston Hughes is made up of fourteen short stories each of which gives a vivid picture of some phase of American race prejudice. These stories, also dealing with such a degrading social disease, are so brilliantly and attractively written that they will appeal to more readers than could be induced to read more solid stuff fortified by facts and figures. White folks whose conduct has been as iniquitous and absurd as that of the characters in these stories, ought to feel ashamed after reading the book, and the many Negroes for whom the term white folks is a synonym for enemy should be provoked to laughter with no malice beneath it. The work, beside being a part of the strong counter-tendency that has set in to throw discredit on the extravagances of the race theorists of western civilization, is also quite suggestive in that it shows the author to be a sincere

by Noel Chambers

worker in the interest of a society where there will be no barriers between man and man. The social outlook of the author deserves special notice, since there is among Negro writers and intellectuals a timid lethargy in the matter of taking up a new position in a changing world.

It is depressing to review the silly methods most white people use to sow the seeds of ill will in the heart of a Negro. To be suave, polished and obtrusively superior; to issue rude and pompous orders; in fact to ill-treat the Negro at all times is to them a labor of love. And they practice their vicious tricks in such high spirits! They raise snobishness to a fine art and pretend to be surprised when the Negro resents their barbaric hostility. They have such a firm belief in the inherent superiority

of their race that they speak of the Negro always patronizingly, somewhat pityingly, sometimes contemptuously.

To mention a few more of the things noticed in Hughes' book, there is the case of those white men who will cohabit freely with coal-black women to whom they feel naturally attracted, but will see red and commit murder whenever they suspect that a Negro might be gaining the favor of a woman of their race. Furthermore these self-appointed lords of the earth refuse to be the fathers of the children borne them by black women and even wish these women and their children to worship and fall down before them at all times. And the conduct of most white women give us a picture of the true slave. These women will go to most amusing lengths in repression rather than associate with black men, not because they are repelled by any instinctive

racial or sexual aversion but because they are thoroughly amenable to the rule of social conventions imposed upon them by their jealous masters. Their hostility to black women is due to the prejudice of the matrimonial chances of eligible women of their own race.

Then there is the practice of envying and trying to disparage all intellectual and artistic eminence in the Negro and confining any talk about humanity to the white portion of it. Their theories of race commit suicide all the time for they are too often unable to determine what is a Negro—so many so-called Negroes have been able to pass as white—a most amusing thing when one thinks it over carefully.

This whole question of race is a permanent blot on western civilization—the only civilization that has built up and propagated an elaborate philosophy in justification of race prejudice. When we review the mighty civilizations of the past built up by the majestic efforts of men's minds without regard to color, we see what meagre and irrelevant grounds the people of European descent have for misliking peoples of other colors.

Race prejudice is an acquired social characteristic and as such is liable to change. Of course, there are many who hope it could be permanent. See how perplexed white rulers of today are because they see signs that the antipathy on which they relied is weakening and will eventually dissipate with increasing contact of the two races. Most working class white men are unwilling to admit a common kinship which is within all men but hidden under a thick crust of race and class prejudices—weakening, now that economic pressure has reduced white and Negro to the same level of life.

The cancer has taken such deep root that nothing short of the most relentless surgery will excise it. Of course, in looking at race prejudice in such European colonies as the U.S.A. one must bear in mind that since, as Chesterton declares, it was the practice of England to make her ramparts out of rubbish, the first contacts of the races were not of the finest, on the European side. Also in recent times the poor Europeans who fly the oppression of tyrants in their native lands find America a very fertile field for experimenting with all that is bad and cruel in European society. They seem to delight in aping the tricks of their former oppressors.

The whole business of the ill treatment of blacks by whites must be stigmatized as intolerable and unjust, and if the white masters were not in possession of the most deadly weapons which give them the power to dispute the ultimate ratio of all that lies in brute force, they could expect a mighty retaliation.

Our faith for the future of humanity should be in a new classless society in which we have all reasons to believe that even white folks would have to behave like human beings.

JESSE LANE

on competition by governments and the freedom of the individual to "develop his business or industry to the greatest scope within the limits of his capacity and ingenuity."

He fails completely to see that it is this very competition, which is so necessary to capitalism, that inevitably must lead to monopoly, with competition assuming new and more vicious form. So completely fascinated is the author by the conception of free competition that he hastens to prove that it is the "guardian angel" of the interests of the great masses of people because it forces prices "to remain within reasonable bounds." That capitalist competition is the source of unemployment, that competition is responsible for intensification of exploitation and wage cuts, Mr. Fruchs has yet to discover. This glorification of competition is carried to such an extent that Fruchs finds in trade unionism the monopoly of labor in which the "BENEFIT" of competition of worker against worker has been eliminated.

Bourgeois democracy, says Mr. Fruchs, is the political doctrine aimed at liberating industry from

the interference by government. A cursory examination of the historical role of the American government will prove the fallacy of this contention. The government has been part and parcel of the capitalist class, serving industry as its armed force, fighting every inch to obtain markets, influence and to protect the money interests of the ruling class. This false conception has at its source the equally false theory of the state being above classes, a thing unto itself, unchanging and unchangeable. Thus Fruchs objects to the New Deal because "it meant a contempt, a disregard, and a defacing of the sign: *Ne Varietur*," on the holy of the holies, the Constitution of the United States. Class legislation and class domination only came into being with the New Deal, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, says this ardent defender of rugged individualism, is not "repugnant to the democratic spirit" and has nothing in it of the "steely compelling sharpness of government power." I fail to see that the bayonets that Hoover's soldiers used on the bonus marchers in 1932 have any less steely compulsion than the bayonets used

by Roosevelt's rowdies on the strikers in 1934.

Flying in the face of all historical truth the author states that the tendency of social evolution has been towards a leveling of all classes, and that only with the introduction of "schemes of economic planning and class wars the class divisions and class wars have been revived. In his individualistic blindness and rage against organization and from the point of view of his petit-bourgeois class ideology, Fruchs divides the world into new social classes. Mr. Fruchs develops a unique theory of the relationship of organized labor to capitalism and to unorganized labor, and to unorganized labor to organized labor. Trade unions obtain an absolute control over all chances of employment, thereby eliminating all chances of employment to those who are unorganized, consequently, says Fruchs, they in reality become two classes with different economic interests. We might ask, if Mr. Ford is not a member of the auto employers' association, does that eliminate him from the capitalist class and are his economic interests different from those of the association members?

Mr. Fruchs goes further in the game of reconciling irreconcilable interests and finding contradictions in interests that are alike. Organized labor "moves a step upward in the social scale" and in some mysterious manner not yet discovered "merges with capital for a mutual joint tenure of the world's means of production and distribution," and both capital and labor are responsible for unemployment, in the perpetuation of the unorganized unemployed. If we are ready to accept this theory we must be ready to accept: a) that labor when it is organized suddenly is no longer exploited, and has interests identical with that of capital, or b) that capital will passively accept organized labor to whom it is compelled to pay higher wages for less hours than unorganized labor whom it can exploit at its will. We feel certain that Mr. Fruchs will agree on the basis of the strike struggles of 1934, that there is no identity of interests between labor and capital and that big business is not quite ready to merge with labor "for a mutual joint tenure of the world's means of production."

JESSE LANE

## The Joint Board of the Dress & Waistmakers Union

Greets the

## Workers Age

in our common fight against fascist reaction, and war and for the immediate improvement of the conditions of the workers.

•  
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CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, Acting General Manager  
NATHAN MARGOLIS, Chairman  
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# Workers Age

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## Vote Communist!

FOR more than five years the workers and farmers of the United States, have writhed in the toils of King Hunger. Both parties of Capitalism, Republican and Democratic, have demonstrated beyond the slightest shadow of a doubt that, as long as political supremacy is vested in the talons of Wall Street, the American workers will, in the very nature of the capitalist economic and social system, bear the brunt of economic catastrophe. The economic horizon, as the capitalist world plunges into the sixth year of economic crisis, shows no rifts in the stygian blackness.

The Republican Administration of Herbert Hoover, in which reign, the crisis came, adopted a policy of "do-nothing," an alleged reliance upon the mythical "natural forces" making for recovery, as the breadline queues coiled like ominous serpents ever longer and the farm belts seethed with revolt against the menace of foreclosures.

As mounting mass resentment against the reign of hunger and "do-nothing" policy flared to "dangerous" heights, Wall Street read the handwriting on the wall—Danger Ahead!—and rushed that old life-saver, the Democratic Party, adorned in the most glittering political finery that ever garbed an American political party, onto the scene. The most attractive cosmetics camouflaged the capitalist countenance of the Democratic jackass: as vague and idyllic a promise of a "planned economy" as ever offered by Norman Thomas; a deluge of pro-labor sentiment strangely reminiscent of the tripe once extended as bait to the British workers by Ramsey MacDonald; the utilization of liberals and the proverbial "friends of labor," Richberg, Wolman, Hillman, as pro-labor window-dressing.

While every instrument of mass persuasion glorified the New Deal, Franklin D. Roosevelt rode into office on the crest of this narcotic wave so expertly engineered. Then a great change did come: The employer trade associations gripped economic control of the nation in unparalleled fashion, as the greatest offensive against unionism and wage standards was unleashed. Gone are the pro-labor promises, as corporations gobble soaring profits, and embattled labor finds its illusions in Roosevelt ripped and shattered by bayonets and hot lead on picket lines. And as profits soar, so do the number of the army of disinherited, the unemployed. The second year of Roosevelt II finds faith in the capitalist parties slowly dissipating.

Thus far every intelligent workman and farmer sees eye to eye with us. Increasingly they are turning to the parties of the working class for a program that guarantees an unrelenting struggle against Capitalism and the establishment of a workers and farmers government. The two great parties of the army of labor, the Social Democratic and Communist, their principles, their record and achievements, are being scrutinized,—which one offers the strategy of victory?

The day for purely theoretical dispute on this matter has gone limbo long ago. One look at the map of Europe and the answer is given in the most convincing fashion. There towers the imposing, thriving structure of the Soviet Union, in the midst of a chaos stricken, decaying capitalist world, actuated under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party. The Communist program has conquered one-sixth of the earth for the workers and farmers. What of Social Democracy, the Socialist Parties? Look closer at that capitalist chaos in Europe. Socialist Parties in bourgeois coalition governments, helping the decadent ruling class of black Europe maintain power and burden the workingclass with all the horrors of crisis, on the flagrant fake of belief in "peaceful evolution" into Socialism. Did not this selfsame policy disarm, weaken and betray the workingclass of Germany and Austria?

Does the American Socialist Party offer any hope? It too espouses those principles which the whole history of modern Europe has proven disastrous to the workers. The policies of Communism has given us the living, thriving reality of a Socialist State; the policies of Socialism, a Fascist Germany and Austria. History has delivered the verdict! Can you blind yourself to the significance of this verdict?

The errors of official Communism while costly and regrettable must not obscure the validity of Communist principles. But the ailments afflicting Communism are being overcome under the terrific impact of recent events. Again world Communism begins to return in its tactics, too, to the victorious principles of Lenin.

Every vote for the Communist candidates is a battle cry! A declaration of our readiness to defend our interests! To protect our living standards and rights; to crush Fascism and prevent another imperialist war!

Vote straight Communist! For Governor, I. Amter; For Lieut. Governor, W. Burroughs.

## Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

GREETINGS, fellow workers, greetings! The Workers Party of the U. S. has been born, and considering its sickly antecedents (the Cannon and Muste groups) the child is doing about as poorly as could be expected. The merger was ultimately accomplished thru a process of reciprocal deletion. The "left of the left" cheerfully agreeing to delete the form and the substance of the term Communist and the American Workers Party, under pressure from the "Left-Internationalists" agreeing to delete the term American, but not the substance of its crude Americanism. But in the ranks of both there is a strange

absence of jubilation and even audible rumblings of disappointment. Ask Spector, he'll tell you. However, since this whole matter is outside our province, we energetically pass the doubtful pleasure of analyzing the physiognomy of this political monstrosity, to a more hardy stan colleague, and return to our own field.

SAYS this tried and tested champion of labor: "We are opposed to any general policy of dual unionism, recognizing that a divided trade union movement facilitates the progress of reaction and fascism." Excellent, as far as it goes—but it does not go far enough. Why opposition only to a "general policy of dual unionism," which opens the door and places a stamp of approval of dual unionism in certain specific instances. Should we not remember that also the Communist Party began precisely with specific instances and that out of these grew the general policy. If it is a crime to "facilitate the progress of reaction and fascism" as a general policy why is it permissible in certain instances.

What is characteristic of this approach is its total lack of an attitude toward the main body of American labor, toward the American Federation of Labor, and the all pervading presence of a vulgar, empirical attitude to developments.

THE W. P. whose mission it is to "penetrate the unions" with its own program "will support them in their efforts" if it develops that the "masses form independent unions." But, what will be your advice to these workers? Will you encourage them to break the unity of labor's ranks? The light on this question is carefully concealed under a bushel.

Despite all its verbiage about working "for a united, industrially constructed and militant trade union movement," the essentially dual unionist character of its position becomes clear when we read that

"The Workers Party does not believe, however, that the American Federation of Labor has any right to claim a monopoly in the field of organiza-

tion."

The logic of this position is the logic of dual unionism and of the Independent Federation of Labor which even the Communist Party is beginning to foreshadow. To attempt to paint off such a program today, in the light of the present situation in the trade union movement, is to expose themselves as totally lacking of an understanding of the problem and to doom their W. P. to an impotent and barren existence.

THE W. P. is "opposed to the Communist party policy of building paper unions..." Yet, the present policy of the Communist Party is somewhat to the "right" of the W. P. Where the W. P. announces its intention to build new unions, the C. P. is beginning to see the handwriting on the wall and liquidates union after union, altho it continues a rear guard face-saving fire against us, insisting that it had organized unions only in such fields as there was a base, and claiming that it never stood for dual unionism as a "general policy."

The incontestable fact remains that both the Trotskyites and Musteites were tarred with the same feather of dual unionism. The Trotskyites, charging us with A. P. of L. fetters, stubbornly defended the Party's industrial unions and only a few weeks ago stepped into the breach to defend the dual union in the fur industry.

Also the Musteites have inscribed upon their records the dual union effort in West Virginia and the adventurist fiasco of Southern Illinois. Nor can we forget a certain "Call to Action" for a conference in Cleveland on August 26 and 27th, 1933. Among the signatories to this call we find, in loving embrace, the names of I. Amter, Earl Browder, Wm. Z. Foster, Clarence Hathaway, Jack Stachel and L. F. Budenz and A. J. Muste. What was the aim of this conference? We quote from the call: "STRENGTHEN THE EXISTING CLASS UNIONS AND TO BUILD FIGHTING INDUSTRIAL UNIONS..."

So we say, the banner of dual unionism may falter, today, in the hands of the Communist Party but the W. P. is ready to raise that banner once again. Fortunately the dangers for the working class are slight indeed, because the W. P., infinitesimally weak as it is, can carry that banner neither very high nor very far.

## What Is A Progressive Union?

(Continued from Page 9)

ity of members on the Executive Board are on the payroll of the local as price adjusters at \$60 per week. This is \$5 more than that paid to mere adjusters. A sweet racket!

### Stifling Militancy

When William Green issued his strike-breaking statement on the San Francisco general strike, I requested before the Executive Board that our Local protest against such statement from the head of the A. F. of L.

Action on my motion of condemnation was referred to a subcommittee for consideration. After four weeks of postponements they finally made a decision which mildly voices some measure of disagreement with President Green's statement.

## New Workers School FORUM FALL SEASON 1934

Nov. 4, Jay Lovestone

*American Labor Moves Forward—An Examination of Recent Historic Labor Decisions, The A. F. of L. Convention, etc.*

Nov. 11, Dr. Hugh H. Darby

*Social Aspects of Science*

Nov. 18, Prof. Goodwin Watson

*A Psychologist's View of the New Order*

Nov. 25, J. B. Matthews

*Topic to be announced*

Dec. 2, Dr. Haim Kantorovitch

*A Socialist Estimate of Bolshevism*

Dec. 9, Ludwig Lore

*Hitler on Top of the World*

Dec. 16, James Waterman Wise

*Jews Under the Soviet*

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Three thousand dollars is the sum set as a sustaining fund for the Weekly Workers Age.

Three thousand dollars will guarantee that the weekly can be published and printed regularly—that it will not be, as has happened, in the past, held up by the printer for payment or held in the office for lack of postage.

Three thousand dollars can be raised for the Weekly Age. It must be raised if the CPO is to expand its work and spread its influence.

Only cash counts in the three thousand dollar sustaining fund drive. We have lots of pledges. But we print only the names of cash donors.

Here are the donations so far. Let's have ten times this sum by the next issue of the Age.

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