

# WORKERS' AGE



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## Civil War In Austria

### GRAFT SCANDAL STIRS FRANCE

by Jeanne Michel

A few yards from the hospital of Chamonix, Stavisky was allowed to bleed to death without such medical attention as would have aided him in speaking. Whether he had committed suicide or had been murdered was not so important. But, in the truth wrung from him by approaching death, he might have involved too many of the officials who had helped him erect an enormous edifice of lies, swindles, embezzlements and thefts.

In 1906, a penniless Russian Jew, Stavisky served his first jail sentence. He could not have kept out of it afterwards, amassing the millions that he did, without his clear understanding of bourgeois democracy. Judges, deputies, high officials, secret police executives, ministers, handed him three different passports, lent the dignity of their presence to his dinners, attended his parties, granted state protection to his shady deals, then boob-bah'd their eminence by accepting millions in hush money.

Today, his many friends deny him to a man. His French wife, whom he had always loved despite the mistresses he flaunted because of his position, is left alone to weep over him. She speaks with dumb amazement of the fact that the very man who now clamors loudest for her incarceration was one often seen at the dinner table in French prisons the terror system is highly developed.

However, the nation-wide resentment about the Stavisky affair is not directed against the dead man. The Socialist deputy of the North Department said that the crook had merely comprehended that under the present system and "pattern of life", the only sin was poverty and had therefore chosen the path of virtue.

The mass indignation, especially of the swindled middle classes, cannot be underestimated, but it is directed against the many accomplices of Stavisky, the hater scoundrels who crafted in full security behind the screen provided by the ill-fated man directed against those who prostituted the country's administration and their high office to their greed.

Dalimier, an ex-Minister of Public Works, who had given his department's full approval to the last swindle connected with the Bavarian pawn-shops, shamefully denied and cursed the dead man. Foreign Minister Paul Boncour, and the Minister of Education, were also implicated. The last Paris appearance of Stavisky was in the opera-box of the very Chippie who is secularly enough, the present martyr of Paris, the Iron handed Paris Prefect of Police, a man who that he reigns supreme and undisturbed by any administration, solely by sheer blackmail.

These names all connected with high posts, give an idea of the magnitude of the scandal. The

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### The Meaning of the Austrian Events

1. For five days the Socialist working men and trade unionists of Vienna, arms in hand, waged a heroic battle against the bloody Dollfuss government and its Heimwehr Fascist bands. Their devoted struggle has aroused the admiration and evoked the sympathy of the workers of all countries. It constituted the first mass resistance that Fascism has met in its onward sweep in recent years. It was the first large-scale revolutionary proletarian outbreak since the post-war wave of revolution. It has already had a deep effect upon the development of the labor movement and upon the relations among the various tendencies within it (Socialism, centrism, Communism). The Austrian events are certain to loom large indeed in the whole course of future politics not only in central Europe but on the continent as a whole, with repercussions throughout the world.

#### The Roots Of The Austrian Events

2. The entire chain of developments in Austria in recent years has unfolded on the background of the world economic crisis as it hit the Austrian people. The impoverishment of the peasants and the lower middle classes and their consequent discontent provided a fertile soil for the growth of Fascist tendencies. The incredible extent of unemployment (one-third of the Austrian wage workers have been jobless for nearly two years) as well as the offensive of the capitalists, have had their effect upon the splendidly organized Austrian workers, not to demoralize them as has been the case in many other parts of the world, but rather to radicalize them and to increase their militancy. The whole tendency of events in Austria has been to undermine the traditional social base of bourgeois rule and to prepare the objective ground for a revolutionary situation.

#### The Political Setup In Austria

3. Reflecting the trend outlined above, the Christian Social Party, the Catholic government party of Dollfuss, with support among the bourgeois elements, among the lower middle classes and among the peasants, has been steadily losing ground, pri-

marily to Fascism. The first Fascist group, the Heimwehr, basing itself primarily upon the peasants of the provinces, claims to be a "native" movement but is actually the servile tool of Mussolini and Italian imperialism. The second, the German Nazis, with big and growing support among the urban middle classes, among the peasants and among backward and declassed workers, is closely linked up with the Hitler regime and obedient to its interests.

4. As against these forces of reaction, stood primarily the Austrian Social-democracy and trade union movement, embracing practically all wage workers of Vienna and the bulk of those outside, with some following also among the lower middle class elements as well. The Communist Party of Austria was practically non-existent, without any influence at all.

#### Austria—Focal Point Of Europe

5. Since the war, but especially in recent years, Austria has been the focal point of European politics. The clash of social forces within the country has been organically tied up with the clash of imperialist forces outside, with the triangular antagonism (France vs. Germany vs. Italy) dominant. With German Fascism driving for some form of Anschluss, with Mussolini aiming at "independent" Austria under Italian patronage, with France manipulating to "save" Austria from Hitler and Mussolini in order to bring it under the control of the Paris banks, the interests and intrigues of these powers have had and will continue to have a profound influence on the fate of Austria.

#### Enter Dollfuss

6. The first link in the chain of recent events in Austria took place more than a year ago when Dollfuss dissolved parliament and initiated his "regime by decree." For months the Chancellor, reflecting the interests of bourgeois strata to which he looked, carried thru a policy of balancing the Nazis and the Heimwehr against each other and jockeying between them. In this course he had the support of the French Foreign Office in whose in-

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### U. M. W. A. MEET RULED BY LEWIS

by Tony Sewell

Indianapolis, Ind.

The thirty-third annual convention was held here in the midst of a highly patriotic setting. This was capped off the final day by the suspension of a huge portrait of President Roosevelt over John L. Lewis's chair. The most outstanding events of the convention was the systematic and organized efforts at bally-hooing the N.R.A. and the officers of the unions. Dozens of resolutions praising the officials of the union and the N.R.A. literally swamped the convention. It is significant that the big majority of these resolutions came from West Virginia, Kentucky and Alabama.

In line with this mass collaborationist love-feast, we also listened to the representative of the bituminous coal operators, C. B. Huntress. This representative of the well known group of philanthropists told us: "The operators are on your side. . . . So let's go. Follow together, for in union there is strength and there is victory." Finally he threatened us with the consequence of any other course of action. He said: "You don't want things to drift into chaotic lawlessness which leads to civil war, which means communism."

#### No Opposition Block

It might be asked where were the progressives to put up a fight against such crass perversions of militant trade unionism upon which our union was founded and which is so badly needed in the present situation? The answer is that there just wasn't any. Whatever progressive voices there were present were not organized. The progressives from the Illinois region were conspicuous by their absence. The C.P. had less than a handful. There were other isolated progressives who spoke up from time to time but there was no coordinated effort. It must be stated that many progressive locals failed to send delegates because of their financial position. There were a number of issues however on which progressives spoke up quite clearly.

#### Abolition Of Machinery

A number of delegates from Indiana and Ohio raised the question of curing the ills of unemployment in a peculiar way. They proposed the elimination of machinery. Although this can not be classed as a progressive proposal it did succeed in getting some support from rank and file delegates. It took the big John L. himself to beat it down by claiming that machinery was progressive and a God-send to humanity. True enough, but what is he doing to help the miners who are being displaced by this God-send?

#### The Labor Party

An especially effective fight, to instruct the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to favor the launching of a Labor Party, was made by delegates Gladski and

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## 500,000 Strike Against Austrian Fascism

### 50,000 Demonstrate at Garden - C. P. Disrupts Meeting - 30,000 to Strike in Philadelphia

New York City  
In response to a call issued by a large number of trade unions here 500,000 quit work at 3 P. M. on Friday February 16. This political act of solidarity with the Austrian workers battling most heroically against Fascism, was one of the largest turn-outs in the history of the labor movement in New York.

Tens of thousands of workers streamed from the shops and marched to Madison Square Garden where a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Trade Unions and the Socialist Party. The Garden was soon jammed and thousands of workers could not be admitted kept milling around the hall for hours.

The same afternoon a special edition of the Daily Worker was sold on the streets in which the

Communist Party members and supporters were called upon to go to the Madison Square Garden in order to protest against the Fascists Mathew Woll and Mayor La Guardia. This was the first indication that this splendid demonstration with the Austrian workers who were then fighting and dying on the barricades was to be marred by the criminally stupid tactics of the official Communist Party.

The constantly yelling for a united front with the socialists in the struggle against Fascism, every act of the party members and supporters in the Garden disgusted and enraged the socialist and non-partisan workers. The organized campaign of obstruction and interference with speakers was finally climaxed by the deliberate attempt on the part of Clarence Hathaway

to grab the platform. This precipitated an already acutely tense situation. Fighting broke out all over the hall and continued for some time making it necessary to finally adjourn the meeting without finishing the program. So, what started out as one of the finest examples of proletarian solidarity, as far as the masses of workers were concerned, ended in a manner which goes far to discredit the Communist Party and make difficult indeed any common action between Socialists and Communists in the struggle against Fascism.

A statement issued by the Communist Party (Opposition) says in part:

"The Communist Opposition sharply denounces the criminal conduct of the official Communist

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## JAY LOVESTONE

### "Austria In Revolt"

Feb. 23, 8 p. m.—Irving Plaza

# U. M. W. A. MEET RULED BY LEWIS

(Continued from Page 1)

Sitko. The resolutions committee did not commit itself but proposed that the matter be left to the delegates which of course meant to kill the proposal. The fight against the resolution was led by Secretary Kennedy. A large number of mayes were heard when the resolutions committee proposal was voted.

## The Right To Strike

In view of the commitments of the administration to the N.R.A. and its strike breaking provisions, the word strike was a dangerous one to use. The question did come before the convention, however, and in a sharp form at that. The resolution of Local 6291, New Salem, Pa. said in part:

"That the international organization of the U.M.W.A. support any and all justified strikes under the jurisdiction of the organization in said states and fight to the bitter end for the repeal of said law (Industrial Court Law) and for the restoration to the workers of such states of their inherited right, the right to strike."

This was neither the clearest nor the best resolution on the question but the resolutions committee chose that one as their best battle ground. As against the above they proposed the following:

"That we oppose any state industrial court law seeking to deprive the workers of fundamental and inherent rights. We are committed in the principles and by wage agreements to the present National Industrial Recovery Act and the wage agreements made thereunder. Therefore we hereby approve the present plan of law and agreements as the most enlightened and beneficial for the members of our union."

The "present plan of law" proposed was the strike crushing Board set up under the N.R.A. The miners of Western Pennsylvania have experienced the "beneficial" actions of this Board in their struggles against the Frick Coal Co.

Delegates Bohus and Sitko made so effective a fight for the New Salem resolution that Lewis found it necessary to cross examine some of the speakers in an attempt to weaken the effect of their talks. When Lewis claimed that the right to strike is not abridged delegate Sitko asked: "If under the N.R.A. a case is not lived up to by the coal companies what action do we take?" To which Lewis replied: "You take it up under the machinery provided in the contract, for the grievance. There is no right to strike in violation of a contract." Yet the Frick miners know that Lewis and Murray as well as the

# Graft Scandal Stirs France

(Continued from Page 1)

French, hit directly in the pocket-book of the affair, and now recalling that such revelations occur with regularity, have thrown off the traces and are impatiently resentful. Behind Stavisky stands a great tradition; the Panama scandal, the Suez Canal Scandal, the affairs of Oustric, and Andre Tardieu, the would-be dictator, His remarkably voracious-looking jaw and inhuman teeth won him the nickname of "Pike". Tardieu swindled right and left in the Congo, in Asia Minor, and more lately in the Andorra Republic.

Such memories linked to the mud, stirred up daily by the inquest, to the growing resentment against the equally growing taxes, the dark outlook for the country's tangled affairs, caused the people to become more and more restless.

The Royalists sensed it of course. But in spite of their wild rioting, they will not fish their King's crown out of these troubled waters. When the official Pretender came out last year with a "proclamation" to his prospective people offering Royalty as a solution to one of the chronic Cabinet crises, the French chuckled very much indeed, enjoying the pleasant mediaeval flavor of it, if they were not sufficiently learned, and remaining open-mouthed, if they were not.

Board helped to break their strike and there was even no excuse of a contract.

There were other discussions at the convention. For instance the efforts to curb the appointive powers of the officials and especially to defeat the practice of appointing machine men to the same or other districts after they had been defeated in referendum votes; The fight against the new proposals on financing convention delegates, which strengthens the machine; The place of the next convention; and on which delegate Gladski exposed the officials who accepted, in the Anthracite, the 8 hour day, while at the convention they talk about a 6 hour 5 day week.

All the proposals of the progressives were of course defeated overwhelmingly. The progressives were working under a particular difficulty at this convention in that a large number of the delegates are from recently organized districts and locals and are strangers to the policies and acts of the officials.

However there is no cause for discouragement. What is needed is patient work in the union to win the mass of the miners for a progressive policy and a progressive leadership.

**ATTENTION!**  
For technical reasons we were forced to omit the Rivera Mural from this issue.

The Duke of Guise suffers the agonies of being 300 years behind the times.

But other forces are also on the war path. Everybody knows this and trembles accordingly. When angry demands for an official investigation into the Stavisky affairs were made of Premier Chautemps he had only to reply that "trouble was afoot", and that "men" were ready to seize power, in order to completely cow the Chamber. The French bourgeoisie are almost as genuinely afraid of Fascism as they are of Communism. They nurse the status quo in a manner hardly in keeping with the violent tempo of the contemporary world.

Who could the "men" have been? Tardieu seems too tarred with the stick of Stavisky; the Deat-Marquet combination of a Bordeaux dentist with a professor of philosophy, pledged to remodel France on the basis of "neo-socialism", has been seized with modesty of late. The "New Order", which to avoid Fascism and Communism, advocates regional corporative federalism, is decidedly too far from the centralized tradition of France. Furthermore, these schemes are all superficially political; the economics of the country are not taken into account.

In the meantime, Deladier created a government of nonentities, and thus hoped to blaze his trail in the political forest. This failing, Doumergue has set about to create a cabinet of stars, a "strong cabinet." The man of the hour, or the men of the hour, are still sought in the old forms. But the masses of Paris will divide with greater acceleration, class lines will be drawn more sharply and the chies of "Vive Chiappe" will lose themselves in the past.

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# RIVERA MURAL DESTROYED

New York City

At last the Rockefellers mustered sufficient courage, in the controversy with Diego Rivera, who was painting in Radio City, to scrape off the walls, the incompleting mural which had been covered up for some time. This act of vandalism created a storm of indignation not only among working class organizations but also among wide sections of artists and art critics. A large number of well known artists immediately announced that they withdraw from the municipally sponsored art exhibition which was to have been held at Radio City. A delegation was also sent to Mayor La Guardia protesting against the exhibition being held in Radio City.

A mass meeting to protest against the destruction of the mural was sponsored by a committee of artists and art critics consisting of A. S. Baylinton, George Biddle, Van Wyck Brooks, Stuart Chase, George S. Counts, Freda Kirchwey, Susanne La Follette, Lewis Mumford, Walter Pach, Ralph M. Pearson, Helene Sardou, Ben Shahn and John Sloane.

On February 18, this mass meeting was held at the Irving Plaza with over 700 people present. The meeting was addressed by Susanne La Follette as Chairman, John Sloane, President of the Society of Independent Artists, Walter Pach, artist and critic, Ralph M. Pearson of the New School of Social Research, Lucienne Bloch, an assistant to Diego Rivera at Radio City and Bertram D. Wolfe, Director of the New Workers School.

A statement from Diego Rivera, now in Mexico City, was read by Bertram D. Wolfe. In this statement Rivera sharply condemns the act of the Rockefellers and characterizes this act as an expression of the decay of capitalist society in the sphere of art and culture. An interesting sidelight of the meeting was the unveiling of a large reproduction of the destroyed mural.

**FOR THE BENEFIT OF WORKERS AND ART APPRECIATORS OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK WE WILL REPRODUCE THE DESTROYED MURAL IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF WORKERS AGE.**

**JAY LOVESTONE**

on

**Austria In Revolt**

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# ECONOMICS OF THE "NEW DEAL"

This is the first article, by Jay Lovestone, in the series "The Economics of the Roosevelt Program." In the next issue we will print the second article on the "Economic Consequences and Fallacies of the N.R.A."—Editor.

## The Roosevelt Program—1

by Jay Lovestone

No legislative program or set of economic proposals has ever aroused more confusion than the one now parading as the New Deal, with the Blue Eagle at its head.

The source of this confusion is to be found in the nature of the Roosevelt program as well as in the general chaos now gripping the minds of large sections of the American people. In a debate, with the writer, on the New Deal, Mr. Charles W. Taussig, President of the American Molasses Company and one of the closest advisers of Roosevelt, evaluated the New Deal in these words: "The New Deal, so it seems to me, is a mobile and fluid transitory mechanism by means of which we hope to develop an essentially American social and economic system that will enable all our people simply to share in the spiritual and material bounties that our country so abundantly affords." This definition is broad enough to include the best intentions and the most sweeping pretensions. It has enough holes in it to allow teams of horses to trot through in comfort. It is fluid and sweet enough even for a President of a Molasses Company. But developing his ideas, Mr. Taussig did not hesitate to concretize a bit by frankly saying that: "there is sufficient economic similarity between the idea of the Fascist corporate state with their trade corporations, confederations and guilds and our National Recovery Administration with its Trade Associations and codes. . . ." Furthermore, Mr. Taussig stressed that "There is no disposition among the leaders of the New Deal to abandon capitalism, for the government to take over business in general nor to scuttle the profit system. The American people are still wedded to the profit system and it is doubtful whether the communist idea would be tolerated in the United States."

However, not all the European critics have been able to see eye to eye with the American "Brain-Trusters." So solid a big bourgeois paper as "Le Temps" condemns the Roosevelt program root and branch by declaring: "it is not too much to say that the financial and economic policy now being pursued in the United States has done more to undermine and ruin the capitalist order, which is our civilization, than all the open revolutionary attacks made by the avowed enemies of our order of society."

### COCKTAIL ECONOMICS

Let Professor M. J. Bonn, who has recently been yanked out of the German academic world by Hitler, give us another and far more accurate interpretation. To Prof. Bonn the New Deal appears in this light:

"Its distinctive American features are not the measures themselves, most of which are well-known to rather conservative countries, but the methods by which they are applied: the complete disregard of established tradition, the sudden change of fronts, the utter unconcern over more remote consequences, the mixing of contradictory economics which might almost be described as the encroachment of the cocktail habit on social legislation. It is the most gigantic 'sunshine campaign' in the U. S. A. have ever entered upon."

Now we can understand how it came about that George M. Cohan, the successful side-walk song writer, composed the following poem on the occasion of Roosevelt's 52nd birthday.

"What a man! What a m-a-n! What a man!  
He is the man of men.  
What a lucky day  
Was his first birthday!  
What a man! How he leads the way!  
What a lucky day for the U. S. A!  
What a heart! What a mind! What a plan!  
What a birthday celebration!  
What a day of inspiration!  
What a blessing to the nation! What a man!"

## TRADE UNION NOTES

by G. F. M.

The New York taxi strike is over. Broken just as thoroughly as that of the Philadelphia drivers by Tobin of the Brotherhood of Teamsters when he ordered back to work six teamsters locals which struck in sympathy with the taxi men.

Here the strike was sold out by LaGuardia and his mediators as well as by the racketeers who have infested this particular industry for some time. Originally called to relieve the 5c which the fleet owners had been holding out for many months, the strike, in its later stages, also called for recognition of the union, the determination of definite wage scales and the abolition of numerous grievances. Outside of a 50-50 split on the nickel the strikers received nothing. Recognition of the union is not even to be considered. Other grievances are to be taken up before the local Labor Board.

The Manhattan taxi men put up splendid resistance against this betrayal, but after pressure of Mayor LaGuardia had forced the drivers in Brooklyn, Queens and Bronx to capitulate, they also fell

into line one day later and the strike was over.

\*\*\*  
The hotel workers strike led by the Hotel and Restaurant Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, is still on. It must however be said right now that so chaotic and disorganized is the leadership of this strike that it is difficult to tell in exactly what condition the strike is.

As to the policy of the union in the strike, it is certainly amazing how a leadership of a union consisting of such "mighty" leaders as Ben Gitlow, James P. Cannon and J. B. Fields (the latter two, of the Trotsky group) can pursue such a bellycrawling attitude towards the N.R.A. and the employers. Just a few facts will suffice.

The unofficial organ of the leadership, the Militant, (The liberal bourgeois Evening Post appears to be the official organ of the strike)—according to a large sign in the hall) carried during the first days of the strike a full list of strike

Turning from whoopee economics, two questions impress themselves upon us for clarification. First, what is the aim of the New Deal? The New Deal takes 1926 as a good year economically speaking. It aims to restore prices and therefore the conditions of production and exchange to the levels of 1926. Secondly, before analyzing the curative values of the Roosevelt relief measures it is necessary to answer the question: What is a crisis? In the most fundamental sense an economic crisis is a serious rupture in the equilibrium between production and consumption.

Now to the basic problem in a critical examination of the New Deal which is pregnant with major social and political consequences of American and international significance. One: what are the general characteristics of the New Deal program? Two: what are the economic fallacies and consequences of the New Deal? Three: what are the perspectives of the New Deal economic program? Let us proceed to tackle these questions and formulate replies in the barest outline of skeleton form.

The primary features of the New Deal economics can be understood only if one drops certain over-advertised claims for it. It is not true that the New Deal is a major, or for that matter any other, kind of venture into planned economy. Rather it is the most gigantic coordinated attempt yet made at introducing some planfulness of policy in competitive relations of production and exchange. It is an attempt to introduce policy into competitive business relations in order to extend, preserve and perpetuate the private, competitive capitalist system. Obviously, it is, therefore, anything but planning in a social sense.

Furthermore, the New Deal is not revolutionary even in its pretensions, let alone in its intentions. Of course, we are now speaking of the consequences of the objective logic of the N.R.A. developments. We are only considering the economic foundations of the N.R.A. The N.R.A. does not propose to transfer economic and political power from the present ruling class, the capitalists, to the main ruled class, the workers. In its essence the whole scheme of the N.R.A. is to be found in the "plan" proposed by Henry L. Harriman, Chairman of the Committee on Continuity of Business and Employment of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Mr. Harriman proposed his plan in behalf of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce on October 26th, 1931, before a sub-committee of the United States Committee of Manufactures, then holding hearings on the "Establishment of a National Economic Council."

### FEATURES OF THE PROGRAM

Stripped of all this gossip and pretense, the New Deal economic program appears in bold relief as characterized by the following main features:

1). Price-raising, at least in its initial stages thru artificial methods and manipulations, is the cornerstone of its policy.

2). It drives towards a revival and enlargement of the domestic market thru sundry ways. It recognizes that there is no industry in sight to help achieve this end. Through the repeal of the Volstead Act, through the end of Prohibition, it seeks to realize the enlargement of the domestic market by restoring an old industry. The restriction of imports, the aggressive discouraging of foreign purchasing is part and parcel of the technique here. But the New Deal doesn't stop with these measures. It deliberately and systematically brings a new customer into the market. This customer is the State, the Government, as a heavy purchaser, as a business man engaged in many fields of activities in order to stimulate all other avenues of business and thus hasten the revival and enlargement of the domestic market.

3). An organic phase of the N.R.A. is its vigorous effort to secure for the American capitalists a bigger and

better share of the world market. This implies an aggressive foreign trade policy thru quota arrangements and flexible, as well as reciprocal, tariff scales and treaties. It includes mass dumping of commodities. It inevitably leads to the dumping of credit, what is commonly called currency devaluation in the international exchange markets.

4). Inherent in New Deal economics is the provision for the restriction of production. This is the basis of the government's campaign for plowing under wheat, for plowing in cotton, for destroying pigs, for spilling milk, for the whole allotment plan of agricultural relief. This is a primary purpose of the licensing feature of the N.R.A. Here is the why and wherefore of the decision of the New Dealers to check and limit the introduction of new machinery in industry, for example in the textile industry.

5). The restriction of competition is part and parcel of the New Deal economics. The N.R.A. has suspended the anti-trust laws. The N.R.A. is founded on the encouragement and incorporation of trade organizations for the control of prices and business practices. It fosters monopoly. It has encouraged trustification to such an extent that such spokesmen of the small producers and business men as Senators Borah and Nye have raised walls to the heavens as well as to the White House in behalf of the small business people. The latter can veritably be called the Doomed Men of American business. And the N.R.A. is hastening their Doomsday!

6). The merging of the apparatus of Big Business with the machinery of government goes on apace under the Blue Eagle economics.

7). In an effort to counteract the decline of the productive process and the decay of production the New Deal economics push forward the State as producer, the State as investor. This is the meaning of the much-vaunted Tennessee Valley Administration. This is the economic substance of the vast public works program. It is State Capitalism on a gigantic scale, on an American mass basis.

8). A headlong drive towards Autarchy or national self-sufficiency is the Alpha and Omega of the Roosevelt Recovery Program. The New Dealers seek to achieve this thru better agricultural and industrial balance.

9). Inflation of currency and credit expansion are to serve as the lubricants for stimulating, easing and reviving the process of production and exchange.

10). Fabulous sums, threatening to border on astronomical figures, are constantly and systematically being handed out as subsidies, as gifts to banks, railroads and the biggest industrial corporations. The Germans have a word for this sort of economics. For the bourgeoisie this word is sweet, though long. It is Liebesgabenwirtschaft. In dollars it means, to broken-down bankers and dividend-hungry industrialists, even more than its syllables or letters would indicate.

11). The purging of impurities is an essential plank of the New Deal economic program. The N.R.A. strives to remove certain impurities of American capitalism and thus to invigorate it. Hence, the Securities Act. Therefore, the entire Blue Eagle psychology. Without question, certain surface, superficial, crudities of capitalist practice can be regulated and, in part, even eliminated. All of which means merely that the skin of the economic organism may appear better on its surface for a short time. It does not in the least indicate a revitalizing in an organic sense.

12). Creating jobs is the euphonious name for work-sharing which is an integral feature of the N.R.A. program to meet the unemployment crisis.

13). Finally, the quintessence and consummation of the entire New Deal economics "system" come to the following point: The coordination of the country's productive capacities, resources, and machinery so that it can be at a moment's notice, transformed into a perfectly clicking war machine. In every sense of the word, the New Deal economics are the economics of capitalism for war and at war.

demands. This, it turned out, was a pure fabrication. It was not until the strike was almost a week old and a number of small hotels had been signed up (without informing the workers of the terms of the settlement) that it was discovered that all the agreement called for was recognition of the union. The agreement called for status quo on hours and wages. Is it possible that neither Cannon nor Gitlow knew about it? They were both silent. It remained to the "opportunist" Lovestoneites—Christman and Hill—to make a strong fight against this in the shop delegates meeting and to win this fight over the opposition of Gitlow himself.

The same leadership in actual practice does everything possible to curb the militancy of the strikers because it might hurt in the hearings before the Labor Board. For this reason we find the Trotskyite Fields making a statement to the press, that the union will do nothing to embarrass the President, when Roosevelt was to come to the Waldorf-Astoria. The same type of a statement appeared when Mrs. Roosevelt was scheduled to

attend some function at the Waldorf a few days later. These statements were made despite decisions of the strike organs of the union to arrange for picket demonstrations precisely on those occasions.

So far has this reactionary strike policy gone that differences have developed among the Trotskyites themselves with the result that within the leadership you have three warring factions (Two Trotskyite groups and Gitlow who is supporting these reactionary strike policies). The result of this petty clique fighting over vital strike issues has been to materially effect the proper function of the most important committees of the strike.

This the Trotskyites appear to recognize for in the Militant of Feb. 10, we find an editorial in which the following is directed at their insurgent comrades and to Gitlow: "Especially a labor strike is the last place in which a faction monopoly or clique tendencies can be permitted." It must be stated that on some matters Cannon has publicly taken a stand against the position of J. B. Fields while on many essential questions

such as the agreement, the strike course etc. Cannon remains silent.

The same editorial in the Militant also disclaims all responsibility for the publicity statements being issued by Secretary J. B. Fields. This brings to our memory that once before, the Trotskyites refused to take responsibility for J. B. Fields. That was when he had been escorted from Europe where he had been escorting Trotsky. The Trotsky group here refused to admit him, but so great is the "prestige" of Leon Trotsky that it took one cable from him and Fields was admitted pronto.

Yes, we agree that a strike is no place for such clique struggles but also we would add that even a Trotsky group should be no place for such as J. B. Fields.

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The local movement for amalgamation of the shoe unions still remains in a chaotic condition. This is due to two reasons. First the roughshod manner in which the Industrial Union is attempting to deal with the smaller unions in the field (The United, Protective, Metropolitan and the Brotherhood) and second the opposition even among sections of the Industrial Union membership to such an amalgamation which would leave the united union in the hands of

**SIDNEY HOOK** "Communism Without Dogma"  
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# A Party Without Idea Or Principle?

"Whenever a radically new economic and political situation develops, there is also need of a new political instrumentality. A tool made to do one job cannot be altered to do a fundamentally different one. Whether we consider general economic and political developments in the U. S. or developments within the labor movement in the U. S. and elsewhere in particular, we are forced to the same conclusion, viz that revolutionary changes have taken place in recent months, that we face a new situation, and that we must make a fresh approach to the question how that situation is to be met." (Muste in the January issue of Modern Monthly).

## Why A New Party

With this statement A. J. Muste, Chairman of the C.P.L.A., presents the political justification for the launching of the American Workers Party, a new American "Revolutionary" party—the consummation of which is to take place in July 1934. This is the reason given for the new party is "a radically new economic and political situation" and "that revolutionary changes have taken place in recent months" the fact remains that the move was planned by A. J. Muste and the C.P.L.A. at the National Convention in the summer of 1931.

## The Background Of The A. W. P.

The new party proposed, tho it speak in revolutionary phrases, is not a revolutionary party but a centrist party, a "left" reformist party. In 1931 when the foundation was laid for the present move, the National Council of the C.P.L.A. failed to mention once, in its very long document, that it was for a revolutionary party, for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the use of forcible and illegal methods by the working class for the conquest of political power. It stated then that it was for the working class gaining control of the government by whatever means would be found necessary. It was of the opinion that the problem could be solved when the critical moment arrived.

This "objectivity", "lack of dogmatism" and essentially empiric and reformist approach is shown again today in the speech of J. B. S. Hardman, vice-chairman of the Provisional Organization Committee of the new party, at the C.P.L.A. convention in Pittsburgh. He said: "Now, we will not come out of here with a set of principles and formulated policies for which we claim perfection and infallibility. We mean to evolve our procedure as we go along." (Labor Action, Dec. 20, 1933).

## Information Wanted

The first prerequisites of a revolutionary party must be clarity in aims and principles. Otherwise it can not hope to lead the working class toward the revolutionary goal. The liberal attitude, that of evolving procedure "as we go along" cannot be the means of the revolutionary education of the working class. Why do not Muste and the rest of the C.P.L.A. leaders explain to the workers why they refused to come out, in 1931, for a revolutionary struggle, why they had a theory that in some countries and at certain times such methods might not be necessary.

## The Comintern—A Mistake

True to its role of a centrist party the C.P.L.A. or A.W.P. attacks with equal vigor both the C. P. and the S. P. It is not merely the present tactics and methods of work of the Comintern that are attacked but the Communist International as such. In his article Muste writes: "The essentially temporary and artificial character of the Third International has been fully demonstrated by the event."

In other words, the establishment of the C.I. was a mistake, was not politically justified. There was something "essentially temporary", "artificial", and "inadequate" about its set-up. This is the evaluation of the International of Lenin by the "flaming revolutionary" Muste. This is the evalua-

# What Is The American Workers Party?

by D. Benjamin

tion of the international movement that held aloft the banner of Marxism during the World War. This is the estimate of the movement that led the Russian Revolution and is successfully constructing Socialism.

## Muste Steals From Trotsky

The A.W.P., with Muste at its head, has taken over bag and baggage, the vicious anti-Soviet slanders of Trotsky. Again the ideology of Trotskyism can be seen incorporated in the new centrism. Says Muste in the article referred to above:

"The International became an appendage of the foreign office of the U.S.S.R., waxing and waning, following this line and that according to the desires of that office rather than the needs and developments of the revolutionary movements in countries where capitalism still prevailed. . .

"It is certain that the C.P.-U.S.S.R. will not directly or indirectly promote revolutionary activity in the U.S."

Here we have the theory of the Thermidor applied to the Soviet Union and the Communist International. The one political conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis, made alike by the Trotskyites and the A.W.P., is that the C.I. and the C.P.S.U. have betrayed and must be destroyed. The Soviet Union is not a revolutionary factor strengthening the international working class move-

ment but is, according to Muste, an obstructive factor which subordinates international proletarian interests to the needs of its own foreign office.

Such an evaluation, completely unwarranted in fact, does not and will not win workers for the defense of the Soviet Union. It will tend to arouse antagonism against the Soviet Union.

## A New "Instrumentality", Please

Muste realizes that he must give a political justification for the launching of a new so called revolutionary party. So there is developed the brand new theory that every changed economic and political situation requires "a new instrumentality". We were always of the opinion that the Marxian position, that a party is based upon a class and represents definite class interests was correct. Muste would have us believe that parties are formed not on the basis of class interests but rather on the basis of types of jobs to be done, on the basis of a particular economic and political situation. According to this theory the Bolshevik Party may have been all right in the days of reaction after the revolution of 1905 but not during the 1917 revolutionary days for was there not a new economic and political situation. On such a basis not only the C. P. U. S. A. but also the Comintern itself can no long-

er serve. Applying this same theory to the A.W.P. will Muste propose the liquidation of this new party and the setting up of new "instrumentality" if the political and economic situation were to change six months from now? This theory exposes Muste and his lieutenants not only as being shallow and opportunist but even more than that, it shows that these people are politically illiterate.

## Monroe Doctrine—A La Mus e

Muste criticizes the C. I. for the dominant role played in it by the C.P.S.U. but at the same time he accepts and defends the whole false system of leadership prevailing in he C.I. today. He says: "Leadership in the international movement, in the ordinary course of events, will come from the revolutionary party of the country which is relatively advanced and powerful." (Emphasis mine—D.B.) What Muste objects to then, is not the lack of a collective leadership, but the fact that it is the C.P.S.U. that is the most advanced and powerful. He would have the leadership of such an international movement in the hands of an American party, the A.W.P., we presume. However, Muste, always the gentleman, does not care to appear in too grasping a role. He is therefore quite agreeable to certain "spheres of influence" being determined. The Bolshevik Party of the U.S.S.R. can exercise hegemony over the "movement in oriental countries" and we enlightened

revolutionaries of America will stand by our Monroe Doctrine and can even demand hegemony of the movement in the civilized or western part of Europe. Muste concludes this enlightening section by saying: "When an effective revolutionary movement exists in the U. S., it will unquestionably be the leading factor at least in the American-European labor world."

## Nationalizing Internationalism

The C.P.L.A. leaders make a fetish of Americanism and have developed a fundamentally wrong attitude toward the question of internationalism. In order to justify the formation of an American party without international affiliation, various theories and explanations of historical events have been made. "Limitations" must be placed "upon the idea or the functioning of a general staff of the International." "The chief weakness of the Second International was not that it was a loose federation, but simply that it and its affiliated bodies were not at all revolutionary." As tho the reformism of Social Democracy was not organically connected with its lack of internationalism. As tho the subserviency of the sections to the interests of the capitalist Fatherland had no relationship to the question of "loose federation". What is objectionable is not that the C.I. considers itself as the general staff but rather that in the absence of a collective leadership and in the presence of wrong tactics and methods of work it can not be that effectively.

## Some Home Problems

The C.P.L.A. or A.W.P. claims to be a revolutionary party that fights the trade union bureaucracy and rejects sectarian tactics. How then can it explain the fact that one of its outstanding leaders, J. B. S. Hardman is an apologist and paid official of the reactionary, class collaborationist and corrupt Hillman machine of the A.C.W. of A. How does it explain its participation in such union splitting and dual union movements as that of the Progressive Miners of America and its support of the National Textile Workers Union in the recent strike of the silk workers in Paterson. How does it account for its unprincipled alliance with the S.P. in 1931 which kept the C.P. and its organizations out of the United Front Free Mooney Movement, while in 1933 it became the tail-end of the C.P. in the National Free Mooney Conference in Chicago and shares responsibility for the destruction of that movement. If the A.W.P. is against dual unionism why was the C.P. L.A. an active partner in the Party's Cleveland (T.U.U.L.) Conference called under joint auspices of T.U.U.L. and C.P.L.A. If the A.W.P. is so strong against sectarianism why did it have represented at its Pittsburgh Conference its unemployed organizations, which ostensibly are non partisan organization. If its wrong and destructive when the C.P. does such things (never so openly by the way) what makes it the acme of wisdom when A. J. and J. B. S. decree that it be so?

## For Clarity and Communist Unity

Not thru introducing political confusion and more organizational division will the revolutionary working class movement be advanced. Nor will the revolutionary movements be strengthened by destroying the Communist Party for its serious shortcomings. Nor will the establishment of a centrist, reformist party upon an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist basis solve the problem.

What is needed now as before is the reform of the Communist International, its reunification, its restoration to vitality, health and growth thru the return to sound, realistic, Leninist tactics. What we need is a Communist Party able to approach and win the masses for the principles of proletarian revolt and a Communist International able to tackle the same problem on an international scale. The accomplishment of this is the way out for the working class and the revolutionary movement.

## Headlong Towards Another World Slaughter

# PREPARING FOR WAR ON THE SEA

by Frank Robb

The following article is reprinted from the January issue of Fight, organ of the American League Against War and Fascism.—Editor.

As a seaman who went through the last war who has been in the marine industry for over sixteen years, I have been able to see something of the war preparations now going on in my field. I have, therefore, been far from impressed by President Roosevelt's statements about this government's desire for peace.

## Building The Naval Auxiliary

Under the Jones-White Act of 1928, new passenger ships, if they are to get any of the fat government subsidies and mail contracts, must be built under the supervision of the Naval Board. They must pass certain naval specifications. How many people know what these specifications are like?

The new Export Line ships, for instance, have reinforced decks fore and aft for gun mounts, reinforcements between davits on boat decks for gun mounts, and special magazine hoists in ventilators ready at all times for rigging. The ventilators are square, so as to make hoists easier. The sides of these ships are so built that light armor may easily be attached to them. There are also special compartments in the holds which have no other use than as munitions magazines. Finally, the engine rooms are of such construction that one engineer (an ex-Navy man) on first seeing them remarked that they were the engine rooms of a "battle-wagon."

## The Subsidies Racket

Other lines which I personally know to have been building passenger ships according to these specifications are the Grace Line and the Ward Line. But there are many others, for the government subsidies are irresistible to the profit-makers. Some time ago it came out in an official investigation that one ship carrying 80 cents worth of mail received a mail subsidy of \$14,000 for the voyage from the government. This is supposed to be charged to the expense of the postal service, but put it down as

part of the cost of preparations for war.

Then, too, the money for building all these new passenger ships on war-time models is also a government handout. Under the Jones-White Act, the government lends this money to the shipping lines at as low as one-quarter of one per cent interest and gives them twenty years to pay it back, besides guaranteeing huge profits with its mail subsidies. So anxious is the U. S. Government to prepare for war!

It is also extremely curious that the Leviathan, the George Washington and the America, which were supposed to have been broken up for scrap, are now lying practically intact at Solomon's Island. Can they be waiting to fill their former roles as troop carriers?

## Freighters Of Death

Freight ships are even more actively engaged in war preparations. The Isthmian Line of New York (controlled by U. S. Steel) not only has a large fleet of its own but has chartered ships of other lines to carry war materials to the Far East; scrap iron, steel rails, cotton (for gun cotton), bombing planes, nitrates and other cargoes the nature of which is kept secret. Also

running to China and Japan are a number of tankers carrying highest gas, naphtha and fuel oil in quantities big enough to mean only that they are being stored for a coming war.

As a member of the crew of one of these tankers, which discharged close to the naval base in Kobe, Japan, I saw some old ships (some of them bought in the U. S.) being dismantled and new war equipment being installed. I notice, too, that Japan has bought up the old rolling stock built for the Czar's railroads and left till now in Canada. This is important, for the Russian Soviet rails are four and half inches wider than standard gauge, and Japan can only be intending to use them on conquered Soviet roads.

Japanese ships leave American ports every day loaded with war materials. Munson Line ships ply regularly between the Hopewell, Va., nitrates plant and the Dupont powder plant on the West Coast, from which munitions go to the Far East.

## Compulsory Enlistment

The final proof of the government's real attitude to war is the section of the subsidy law which requires that 60% of the officers and engineers in subsidized ships be members of the Naval Reserve. With jobs now so scarce and with preference going to the Naval Reserve, these men have no choice but to join up. And now comes Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union, with the suggestion that all seamen take a short-term enlistment in the Naval Reserve, and that such seamen be given preference to jobs on merchant ships. Which is bound to make Furuseth as popular with the militarists as William Green.

What with all this personal experience of the government's real attitude, and a public works program that allots millions to the navy for new battleships, warplanes, submarines and naval bases, I, as a seaman, have a right to my suspicions of President Roosevelt's love of peace. Evidently, he is in favor of perpetuating world peace until the United States is ready to declare war.

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# Probing The Depths Of C. I. Sectarianism

## The Thirteenth Comintern Plenum

by B. Herman

After examining the thesis of the 13th Plenum, one must confess that it is indeed a matter for dispute whether the 15 months of silence of the Comintern leadership might not have been preferable. The world-shaking events in the interval, the terrible blows suffered by the Communist Parties, and the long deliberation of the C. I. resulted in not the slightest sign of improvement in understanding or policy compared with the theses of the 10th, 11th and 12th Plenums. The 13th Plenum accomplishes the feat of out-diving all other Plenums of the Comintern, and establishing a record for low theoretical level.

The thesis shows that the C. I. leadership is unable to analyze the significance of, or understand the reasons for the German defeat. It is therefore unable to draw any lessons from the German events, and strives to continue the worst aspects of the ultra-left sectarianism of the 10th Plenum "eve of revolution" days.

The theory of social-fascism runs rampant thru the document. The method of solving difficulties by bluffing prevails, without any attempt to face soberly the real plight of the Communist movement. For the 13th Plenum there is no crisis in the Communist International, altho its eyes are sharp enough to see the crisis in Social Democracy as a result of the German catastrophe. After five years of ultra-left sickness and war upon the "Right Danger", the "main danger" is still the "Right Danger". The main slogan for the Communist Parties the world over is: "Soviet Power", and we are told that the "question of (Soviet) power must be raised in the mass work of the Communist Parties." All sections of the Communist International are instructed to prepare "for the impending decisive battles for power." How soon the slogan of Soviet Power will be raised by Comrade Amter in the next Brooklyn car strike remains to be seen.

### Fascism Accelerates Revolution

The intoxication of revolutionary phrases can make one momentarily forget the destruction caused by sectarian policies, just as to the opium smoker, dreams seem more real than the actual world. The chief purpose of the 13th Plenum thesis is to deny the defeat in Germany. It, therefore, with amazing brazenness, attempts to revive the 10th Plenum theory that fascism is a stage toward the proletarian revolution. The Theses states:

"Revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the fascist fury of the bourgeoisie."

The Pravda editorial on the 13th Plenum is equally emphatic:

"Fascism is a dangerous enemy of the revolution, but it is not only this: At the same time it accelerates the revolutionary development."

Concomitant with the theory of the acceleration of the proletarian revolution by Fascism, the 13th Plenum revives the theory that Germany is not Italy, that Fascism today has no possibility of as long a lease of life as it has had in Italy, regardless of the efforts of the sectarian policy pursued by the Communist Parties. The thesis declares:

"As distinguished from the first wave of fascistization of capitalist states which took place at the time of the transition from a revolutionary crisis to partial stabilization, the capitalist world is now passing from the end of capitalist stabilization to a revolutionary crisis, which determines other perspectives of development of fascism and the world revolutionary movement of the toilers."

It is criminal self-deception to claim that the Communist Party which was impotent to strike a blow against Fascism before it took power, can more easily strike Fascism to earth after it has state power in its hands.

The New Right Danger No one overestimate, it

seems, the revolutionary character of the situation. Ultra-left errors have disappeared for the time being, from the very vocabulary of the Comintern. Only the "right opportunist error" presents itself, declares the theses, in failing "to see now the objective tendencies of the accelerated maturing of the revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world."

All sections of the Comintern are instructed "to ruthlessly root out opportunism in all its forms, and above all, right opportunism (Remmele, Neumann, the defeatists in other countries in their estimates of the prospects of the German revolution)" . . . Remmele, the one who boastfully declared in a speech in the Reichstag "We do not fear a Fascist government; it will come to an end even more swiftly than the previous government," is now denounced as a defeatist! Heinz Neumann, the extreme left of the ultra-lefts, the one who advocated the infamous united front with the Nazis in the "Red Referendum" in August 1931, is now condemned as a "right opportunist". That the Comintern leadership stands to the left of the ultra-left adventurer Heinz Neumann is a revelation of the degree of left-madness infecting the C.I. today.

The leaders of the Comintern are so confused that they are unable to distinguish the trough from the crest of a revolutionary wave. After the defeat of the revolution of 1848 Marx fought bitterly against the phrase monger Willich,

whose ultra-left perspective resembled that of the Comintern today. After the victory of reaction in Russia, in 1905, the ultra-left among the Bolsheviks such as Bogdanov, Lunacharsky, and others, refused to see the recession of the revolutionary wave and heaped the abuse of "opportunist" upon Lenin as liberally as it is done by the Comintern leadership today. If the victory of Fascism has taken place without a revolutionary uprising preceding it, so much the worse for the Comintern leadership which said almost five years ago that we were "on the eve of revolution" and that the barricades were already being erected (10th Plenum).

### Sectarianism Endorsed

The entire theoretical structure of revolutionary phrase-mongering and pool-poohing of Fascism by the 13th Plenum is for the purpose of white-washing the false political course of the Comintern leadership. For if, as a result of this sectarian course, the revolution has been "accelerated", who would dare to propose a change in policies which have proven so successful, as in Germany, for example? Therefore, the 13th Plenum thesis "fully approves the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of April 1, 1933 on the situation in Germany and the political line pursued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Thaelmann, before

and at the time of the fascist coup."

### For United Front From Below

Again the Comintern rejects the United Front of the Internationals, the political parties, the unions, and the other organizations of labor against capitalist reaction. Again the Comintern advocates the slogan, "Against Social Democracy and for a united front from below." The Pravda editorial analyzing the 13th Plenum speaks of the unity of the working class against fascism only "under the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party." Five years of failure to establish such a united front "from below with the social democratic workers" has taught the Comintern leadership nothing.

The whole analysis of Social Democracy by the 13th Plenum is such as to prevent even the possibility of a united front of labor from being consummated. After the destructive attack of fascism upon all the social democratic organizations in Germany, Social Democracy is still Social Fascism—a wing of fascism. Altho Social Democracy in Germany presents a spectacle of ruins, the 13th Plenum thesis declares: "Social Democracy continues to play the role of the main social prop of the bourgeoisie also in the countries of open fascist dictatorship." It follows from this that the united front of Communist Parties and Socialist Parties against Fascism is impossible. How can one unite

with the main prop of the bourgeoisie against the lesser prop—fascism?

### For United Front From Above

At the same time, the 13th Plenum endorses the appeal for a united front that had been issued to the leadership of the British Independent Labor Party by the Presidium of the C.I. The logic by which this is achieved cannot be discovered. Neither does the Comintern leadership attempt to explain that the first united front achieved by the Comintern of any significance in the last five years, that between the Communist Party of Great Britain and the I.L.P., is not a united front "from below." Neither does the Comintern leadership make any attempt to explain the March 6 Manifesto of the C.I. which proposed to accept a non-aggression pact with the "social fascist" leaders of the 2nd International and which offered to enter into such a pact with a guarantee to refrain from criticism of the "main prop of the bourgeoisie." The leadership of the Comintern clearly neither understands the Leninist policy of the united front, nor has it the slightest idea how to execute it.

### The Red Unions Rest In Peace.

On the trade union field the thesis of the 13th Plenum presents a new departure in regard to the revolutionary dual unions—the policy of muteness. The revolutionary red unions are to be built with silence, presumably, for not a word about them is to be found in the theses. To realize this is, one must read the theses of the 10th, 11th and 12th Plenums of the E.C. C.I., in which the question of creating and building the Red Trade Unions is the central feature of the instructions to the parties. In fact the 11th Plenum considered the formation of an independent revolutionary trade union movement in Germany as the "principal achievement of the Comintern." Manuilsky said at the 11th Plenum: "The decision of a number of Communist parties in favor of organizing an independent revolutionary trade union movement is a decision of truly historical importance."

Why the chill silence of the 13th Plenum on matter of such great significance to the workers of the entire world? The truth of the matter is, that in the house of the hanged man one does not mention ropes. The dual red unions have suffered an unmentioned collapse in every country in which they have been set up. The 13th Plenum blessed neither with wisdom nor with valor prefers not to discuss the results of the splitting of the mass trade unions.

However, this does not signify the end of the dual union policy of the Communist Parties. Even though the thesis emphasizes the necessity of working within the reformist, the fascist and the Christian mass trade unions, it gives its formal endorsement simultaneously to the trade union directives of the 12th Plenum. The 12th Plenum thesis, it should be noted, emphasized the question of building the red trade unions, and working within the reformist unions for that purpose.

### "Silent Theory"

Other problems "difficult" for the Comintern leadership to analyze are simply ignored. The "Brandersites" and "Lovestonites" who have been so generously deluged with "counter-revolutionary", "social-fascist" and other choice appellations in the previous Plenum theses, are not mentioned. The Communist Party of America, once the apple of the eye of the Comintern, is now treated in the thesis as if it didn't exist. Typical of the methods of the Comintern leadership, the American party is not discussed or even mentioned in the thesis, yet so serious is the situation that the leadership of the Party is changed behind the scenes, with Foster replacing Browder, the Central Committee being declared in receivership, with the C.I. representative as censor-in-chief of all decisions. The membership of the Communist Party of America had absolutely no more to do with the

(Continued on Page 7)

## The Farm Revolt And The Labor Movement

# COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA AND THE FARMER

by E. B.

The past fifteen months have opened the eyes of those dogmatists who stubbornly insisted that the American farmers problem was just the same old peasant problem, and that the whole thing could be easily handled by just taking European precedents and following them to the letter. Nothing has been so embarrassing to these self styled "vanguards of the American working class" as the Farm Revolt.

The current questions now are: Should the communists immediately set about to subordinate the Farm Revolt leadership and try to put themselves above this leadership or should the communists take a much less omniscient stand and devote their efforts to helping develop, from the farm masses, a true Marxian-Leninist farm leadership? Can the communists be so brazen as to ask these long ignored farm masses to subordinate their courageous fighting groups to the leadership of the communists? There is reason to believe that there will be much more harmony, understanding and respect if the communists confine their present activities, amongst the farmers, to a widespread campaign of elementary Marxian-Leninist instruction, propaganda at first, probably more direct contact and organizational methods can be developed later.

Now the question of correct propaganda is not solved by just spreading anything and everything that is published by the communist groups amongst the farmers. The communists must be very careful in their selection, publication and distribution of the right kind of propaganda. There is more value in one little pamphlet of good propaganda than there is in a thousand communist newspapers full of matter about needle workers, silk workers, textile workers, coal miners and long theses on Nazis, struggles in Spain, China and Cuba.

Today there are very few pamphlets published by the communists on the farm question. And fewer of these hardly more than mention the farmers of the great corn, wheat and hog belt. There are even

more pamphlets dealing with agriculture in the U.S.S.R. in circulation in this country but strange as it may seem few of the poor and middle class farmers of the midwest are the least bit interested in state and collective farms in the Soviet Union. Circulating pamphlets about agriculture in the Soviet Union is an upside down method of bringing the midwest farmer to communism. The midwest farmer is militant, very militant, but he is totally lacking in Marxist-Leninist knowledge. The midwest farmer is fighting, but he is fighting to get back the "good old days." Ninety five per cent of the midwest farmers have that idea today. So it should be easy to understand that such pamphlets as "Modern Farming—Soviet Style" "The Ferry," "Kolkhozniki," etc., are almost 100% useless as propaganda in the midwest. A writer in "The Communist" says, "We must popularize Comrade Stalin's speech at the recent Congress of Collective Farm Shock Brigaders." This writer's suggestion exposes his misunderstanding of the poor and middle class farmers of the midwest. Not until the American midwest farmer clearly understands social evolution enough to see that the "good old days" of prosperous individual farming cannot be brought back, by any known force,

will he be the least bit interested in establishing state and collective farms in the Soviet America that is to come. A large majority of the midwest farmers still feel that this crisis is only temporary. Their various programs and demands prove that they all have a viewpoint along that line. So it should be obvious to any intelligent communist that state and collective farms do not, at present, interest the midwest farmers.

Communist papers dealing with news of evictions, sheriffs sales, etc., have certain values but there is too much of that subject matter and not enough real instructive matter in the papers. The farmer well knows what the A.A.A. and the N.R.A. are doing to him. In every neighborhood there are good examples of the injustices of capitalist reform legislation.

What kind of subject matter should make the best kind of propaganda for the midwest farmer to read? We shall answer that in this manner: The midwest farmer is a victim of political misunderstanding. This is due to the fact that his only source of knowledge of society and economics is through the very mediums that the capitalist uses to flood the country with his propaganda. The farmer has been at the mercy of the capitalists' book, magazines, newspapers, radio and movie reels. There are fakers who pretending for strategic reasons, to be "enemies of capitalism", are allowed the use of these mediums. John Simpson and Milo Reno are good examples of that type. Their job is to create confusion amongst the farmers in order to stave off attacks on capitalism.

Therefore the subject matter of all propaganda should be of an elementary nature. Clear and understandable pamphlets on Marxian economics and also pamphlets and articles analyzing the midwest farmers position in relation to the capitalist class should furnish the bulk of the propaganda that should be circulated amongst the poor and middle class farmers of the midwest today.

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# The ILP and the Comintern

To The National Administrative Council Of The Independent Labor Party, A. Fenner Brockway, Secretary, Dear Comrades:—

For some time we have been observing with keen interest and great hope the events in your party, the I.L.P. We have noted with gratification the development of your struggles against reformism, especially since the Derby conference. Our opinion has been and remains that a complete break with social-reformism by the decisive majority of the Independent Labor Party would go a long way toward laying a sound and broad foundation for a vigorous communist movement in Great Britain. A realistic revolutionary movement rooted in the soil of the objective conditions and class relations in Great Britain. This conviction of ours is all the more fortified by the tragic weakness of the C.P.G.B. As you know we attribute this weakness, which is even more tragic politically than numerically, to the ultra-left, sectarian tactical line which the Communist International and its British section have been pursuing for some years, particularly since 1928.

It is in this spirit and approach that we have considered your last communication (January 8) to the Secretariat of the Comintern. We especially greet the fact that in your approach to the Comintern you emphasize the fact that your "decision will not be taken with reference solely to the interests of the Independent Labor Party. Association must be considered from the viewpoint of the world revolutionary movement in general and the revolutionary movement within the sphere of British imperialism in particular." Therefore, we are certain that you will realize that our statement to your National Administrative Council and your forthcoming Easter conference is not a case of our interfering in your affairs, is not an attempt to dictate to you, is not an attempt to advise you from on high. The suggestions and proposals we are making to you are animated solely by our desire to hasten the reconstruction and unification of the world revolutionary movement which we believe cannot be achieved without the Comintern dropping its present sectarian course and returning to the Leninist tactical path.

The encouragement you are giving to a discussion of the fundamental problems confronting the world proletariat is welcome, especially because, for some years, objective discussion has been impossible in the official ranks of the Comintern.

## A Critical Examination

We desire to consider critically a number of questions raised by you in your communication to the Comintern. The position we take and the conclusions we have arrived at in reference to these questions are based not on factional animus but on ten years of experience inside the Communist International, and nearly five years of struggle outside the Communist International, fighting for a healthier International, struggling for a Comintern which will be able to fulfill its historic mission as the world party of the revolutionary proletariat. We agree with you in your conclusion "that the rigid and detailed control of the policy of national sections by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union thru the ECCI is bad." You are aware of the fact that the International Communist Opposition to which we, the Communist Party of the United States, (Opposition) are affiliated has, from the very moment of its inception, advocated what you now demand: "the replacement of the actual monopoly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the leadership of the Comintern by a real collective international leadership based upon party representatives who are in a position to pass their own judgment upon the class relations in their countries."

But in your communication to the ECCI there are a number of conclusions which we consider either misleading in implication or false in substance. For example, you state: "In 1920 the Communist International's economic and political analysis led it to develop its organizational form on the assumption of the imminence of the world proletarian revolution and the actuality of civil war in the chief capitalist countries." This statement gives the impression that you are of the opinion that the organizational structure of the Comintern was set up only to meet an imminent revolutionary struggle. This is not so. No doubt, at the time of the organization of the Comintern, an actual revolutionary situation prevailed in a number of countries; to wit Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc. Furthermore, at that time the trend of the world revolutionary movement was upward. However when the revolutionary wave receded, the Comintern then under the leadership of Lenin, quickly recognized it and adjusted its tactics of struggle accordingly. The theses and resolutions of the Third World Congress bears this out. Yet, the organizational structure and the 21 points of the Comintern were not dropped. The Comintern continued to make headway, precisely on the basis of its organizational structure and the 21 points. The 21 points proved of great service to the Comintern in preventing an influx of centrist, or hidden reformist elements, like MacDonald at that time.

## The Crisis In The Comintern

The crisis in the Comintern is not in any way due to the organizational structure and the 21 points or any of the basic tactical positions taken by the Communist International in its first four World Congresses. In fact, the very opposite is the case. Really, it is the dropping in recent years of democratic centralism, as provided for in Point 12, that is in no small measure responsible for the chaos in the Comintern. The Comintern structure provides that "all parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization," and that every party center "enjoy the confidence of the members of the Party who are to endow this center with complete power, authority, and ample rights". Certainly, this is adequate provision for Party democracy. Unfortunately, Point 12 has been dead in the Comintern relationships for some time.

The International Communist Opposition has repeatedly emphasized that "the organizational foundation of the Communist International as well as of its sections, must

This letter of the Communist Opposition is a critical estimate of the I.L.P. letter to the Communist International. —Editor.

be democratic centralism. Revolutionary discipline based upon democratic centralism, is the indispensable binding force of the Communist Parties." We have never forgotten the lesson emphasized so often by Lenin that "if discipline stands in the service of a false policy, then it becomes mere grotesque foolishness". In recent years the ECCI, under the sole leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has made a mockery out of democratic centralism, and has foisted on the various sections of the Communist International a false and ultra-left sectarian policy.

## Relationships With The C. I.

May we suggest that a more adequate approach to the question of your organizational relationships with the Communist International than the one you have proposed on January 8th, is outlined in the platform of the International Communist Opposition. We propose that your N.A.C. and your National Conference should seriously consider the following:

"The Communist Opposition fights the present inner Party regime in the Communist International and its sections. It fights against the replacement of democratic centralism by bureaucratic centralism.

The Communist Opposition demands of the Communist International:

1. The extension of the right (existing in the statutes but not in fact) of criticism—which today exists only for the leadership of the Communist International.

2. The preparation of important decisions of the Communist International thru international discussions.

3. The abandonment of the mechanical transference of the points of view and inner-party differences in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to other sections and of the consideration of the questions of the individual sections primarily from the point of view of the differences in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The questions of the individual sections must be examined, estimated and decided from the viewpoint of the special conditions of the class struggle in the individual countries.

4. The replacement of the actual monopoly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the leadership of the Comintern by a real collective, and at the same time, united and centralized international leadership based upon party representatives who are in a position to pass their own judgment upon the class relations in their own country and who are not merely officials of the international leadership but actually trusted representatives of their sections.

5. The legal sections of the Comintern must raise their own means for regular party work. International financial support shall be given: a) to illegal parties; b) to legal parties for special campaigns and for the production and distribution of international propaganda literature.

6. The international leadership shall have as its tasks: a) the leading of international actions; b) the working-out of general tactical lines; c) the supervision and control of the carrying through of the fundamental principles as well as of the general tactical line by the individual sections. The international leadership cannot replace the leadership of the sections. The international leadership should lead but not hold in apron strings.

7. The withdrawal of all expulsions against the opponents of the ultra-left course."

## The Source Of The Crisis

What is the source of the crisis in the Communist International? At the conference of the International Communist Opposition held in July 1932, we declared:

"The real basic source of the ultra-left course is the false transference of the methods and forms of struggle, corresponding to a country in which the working class has already triumphed and in which Socialism is being built, to the Communist Parties of those countries in which the majority of the working class has still to be won and the prerequisites for taking up the struggle for power have still to be created."

Inseparable from this condition is the monopoly of the leadership of the Russian Communist Party. This factor has proved especially aggravating since the Russian leadership has become narrower and its international experiences have, with the passing of the years, been constantly receding further and further into the background. Besides, in view of the fundamentally different international situation today from that which prevailed before the war, it is all the more necessary to have a genuine international collective leadership in order to enable the Comintern to arrive at a correct tactical and strategical course.

## The C. I. Impedes I. L. P. Approach

It is most unfortunate that the leadership of the Communist International has put obstacles in the path of the membership of the Independent Labor Party travelling toward Communism. However, the failure of the ECCI to lend a helping hand to you comrades, should not discourage you and should not swerve you from your course of helping to build a sound foundation for a mass Communist party which will be able to overthrow the British ruling class, set up a proletarian dictatorship and begin the construction of Socialism in Great Britain. The abuse and filth showered on you by the ECCI, the sundry stupidities and crudities of the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain in its dealings with you, should not provoke you to embark upon routes that can only lead you to a dead end with the fundamental principles of Communism, or to an association with Trotskyism which is becoming evermore anti-Soviet in character and evermore the quintessence of international centrism, of hidden reformism today. Believe us, comrades, we have had even more provocations than you have. We have been subjected to the vilest slander. We have even had to face the physical violence of our comrades with whom we have no difference in principle but with whom we differ seriously on major tactical questions.

Yet, we have persistently clung to our objectives and energetically fought for the achievement of our aim: "the international consolidation of the Communist parties and movement in the individual countries into a united Communist World Party, into the Communist International, on the basis of the tactical teachings of Lenin."

Trotskyist Influence In I.L.P. Position On U.S.S.R. That is why we do hope you will break completely with the erroneous point of view you express in your document, a point of view which indicates the influence of Trotskyism on your approach to the question of world revolutionary unity. Concretely, we think that you are wrong when you conceive as the source of the crisis in the Communist International, the following: "The deliberate policy

of temporarily sacrificing the revolutionary movement in one country in order to strengthen the world revolutionary movement by safeguarding the U.S.S.R. by a network of trading agreements, non-aggression pacts, and treaties of friendship."

This conception is rooted in Trotsky's slanderous attack against the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in his entire theory of "National Bolshevism", in his whole anti-Leninist attitude towards the problem of Socialist construction in one country, specifically in the U.S.S.R.

You further state: "This question is of acute urgency owing to the present foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. government. The U.S.S.R. in its efforts to guard against military attack from imperialist and fascist powers has relied decreasingly on the workers in capitalist countries and increasingly on treaties with governments which are capitalist, imperialist and even Fascist."

We cannot emphasize too strongly our conviction that you are wrong in your conclusion: "that the Communist International is being driven to the position of holding back militants in some countries . . . and of promising to repudiate the essential activities of its own section in others."

## Approach To U.S.S.R. A Basic Problem

Allow us to go somewhat at length into this basic problem of the relationship between the victorious proletariat in Russia and the proletariat in Western Europe and America where we have yet to win power. We hold that the interests of the victorious proletariat in Russia, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, do not conflict with the interests of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and with the interests of the oppressed colonial masses. We do stress that though there is a uniformity of interests there cannot be a uniformity of tactics in the two sectors of the world revolutionary movement. It is obvious that a Communist party which has already led the working class to power and victory must necessarily use different tactics from those pursued by the Communist parties which have yet to achieve this task. It is equally obvious that Communist parties which are still fighting to win a majority of the working class in their respective countries cannot use the same tactics as those pursued by a Communist party which has already led the masses to the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship. More than that. While the principles of Communism are international, the tactics for the achievement of these principles are conditioned in every country by the specific peculiarities and objective situations prevailing there.

What is the actual relationship between the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the efforts to enhance the proletarian revolution outside of the Soviet Union? First of all, we underscore the fact that the problems of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., are not merely the concern of the Russian proletariat but of the entire world proletariat. Just as we can make mistakes outside the Soviet Union, so can the Russian comrades make mistakes inside of the Soviet Union. Therefore, it is the duty of all revolutionists to manifest the most virile interest in Russian problems which are in essence of great international significance. We should not have the attitude that Russian problems are only the concern of the Russians, and that we outside of the U.S.S.R., can have nothing to say about them. We hold that Russian problems should also be subject to consideration and action by the collective leadership of the international Communist movement. It so happens that we are in agreement with the general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in socialist construction but we have arrived at this agreement not thru formal approval or fear of touching the question because it is of the "sacred province" of Russian communists. Rather, our conclusions are based upon a critical examination of Russian conditions and tasks today.

## U.S.S.R. Inspires Proletarian Struggle

The U.S.S.R. the land of the proletarian dictatorship, is the base, the center of inspiration of the international social revolution. The successes in Socialist construction in the Soviet Union are a tremendous help to the world revolution. This help is not at the expense of the world revolution. Were it not for the great victories scored by the Soviet proletariat in socialist construction, the sectarian and adventurist policies of the Comintern in the capitalist and colonial countries would, by this time, have reduced the Communist International to a mere memory. Again, the Soviet Union has been a life saver for the international proletariat.

Obviously, it is folly to separate the interests of the Soviet Union, the interests of the First or the Second Five-Year Plan, from the interests of the world revolution. These interests are inseparable. They supplement and complete each other. There is no such thing as "Soviet nationalism". This is a pure fabrication of the worst enemies of the international communist movement, the Soviet Union and the entire world proletariat. Lenin foresaw the difficulties of the international social revolution and the hardships arising for the U.S.S.R. as a result of such difficulties and delay. Lenin placed this question very well when he underlined that:

"Ten to twenty years of proper relations with the peasantry and victory is guaranteed on a world scale (even if proletarian revolutions, which are growing, are delayed); otherwise, we shall have twenty to forty years of the torture of White Guard terror."

It is clear, Lenin was right. A victory in the U.S.S.R. is necessarily and automatically a victory for the working class on a world scale. The success of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. is of unlimited international import and is bound to serve as the mightiest stimulus for the development of a victorious proletarian movement throughout the capitalist countries. Of course, the more the proletarian mass movement is developed in a particular capitalist country, the more powerful a role does the Soviet Union's existence and achievements play in the speeding up of the process of communist victory in that country.

(Continued in next issue)

## ANTIWAR LEAGUE NEEDS NEW BASE

New York City. That the American League Against War and Fascism is in a bad state of affairs must have recently become evident to every one participating in League activity. The most glaring example of this situation was shown at the mass meeting called by the League for Monday, January 29th at St. Nicholas Arena.

Less than 300 workers turned out for the meeting, in a hall seating well over 5,000. This meeting was to have been part of a national campaign simultaneous with the appearance before President Roosevelt of a delegation to place demands against war appropriations and the war plans of the present administration.

This fiasco comes after a number of other indications that the Communist Party which is the controlling hand in the League appears to be sabotaging the activities of the League. At a recent Liebknecht-Luxemburg memorial meeting called by the Young Communist League, in which the main question was that of the struggle against war, the American League was not even mentioned by a single speaker. Nor was there to be seen a single copy of "Fight", the organ of the League. The National Committee of the League has not been called together because Comrade Browder considers "certain elements" on that body as unreliable—unreliable from the standpoint of the C.P. fraction in the National Committee.

These facts and the gradual squeezing out of the "non-communist" representatives from the leading committees of the Borough organizations of the League have well nigh wrecked the League.

Such a state of affairs cannot be permitted by any organization genuinely opposed to the war preparations now going on and to the ravages of Fascism. Especially now, when the groundwork for the new imperialist carnage is being feverishly prepared; when the question of a Spring offensive against the Soviet Union by Japan is being openly discussed even in the bourgeois press, at such a time it becomes a crime against the workers and against the Soviet Union to play the shabby game of faction politics that the C.P. is engaged in now.

What the situation calls for is the deepening and broadening of the anti-war movement, for the conversion of the League into a broad united front organization, inclusive of the trade unions, to make possible the mobilization of the toiling masses for the struggle against war and the defense of the Soviet Union.

## C.W.A. WORKERS DEMONSTRATE

New York City

A demonstration of 8,000 C.W.A. workers took place here on Thursday February 15, at Union Square. This demonstration was unique in that practically all organizations of unemployed participated. The demonstration put forward two main demands: The continuation of the C.W.A. on a living wage and against the contemplated mass lay-offs.

The following were among the speakers: Edward Welsh of the Workers Committee on Unemployment as chairman, David Lasser of the Association of Civil Works Employees, Marcel Sherer of the Federation of Architects, Michael Davidov of the Relief Workers League, Richard Sullivan of the Unemployed Councils, Jack Walsh of the Workers Committee on Unemployment, Joe Glass of the Unemployed League.

David Lasser headed the committee which placed the demands before Frederick Daniels of the Civil Workers Administration.

# Civil War in Austria

(Continued from Page 1)

terests it was. Meanwhile he proceeded energetically to disarm the working class, materially and politically. The Schutzbund was dissolved; civil liberties were abrogated; the powers of the Socialist municipality of Vienna were systematically shorn. Finally, as his social base began to disintegrate and the forces of Fascism to grow, Dollfuss undertook a political turn: He came out for a semi-Fascist "Christian corporative state"; he practically broke with his own party, the Christian Socialists; entered into an alliance with the Heimwehr and strengthened its forces and equipment with State means; he launched an offensive to wipe out the meager remnants of democracy that could still be found in Austria. This turn in domestic policy naturally reflected a veering away from France towards Italy in foreign politics.

7. The Dollfuss-Heimwehr alliance was sealed and blessed with a drive of deliberate provocation against the labor movement, a campaign to outlaw its organizations and to destroy what remained of its rights. It was the workers resistance against this drive that precipitated the five-day struggle.

### The Social-Democracy And The Austrian Events

8. Neither the mass heroism of the Social-democratic workers nor the individual courage of the Social-democratic leaders can obscure the fact that the fundamental errors in the characteristic Austrian Social-democratic theoretical outlook and political principles (Austro-Marxism) have become strikingly obvious in the light of the Austrian events.

9. What was the course of Austrian Social-democracy in the crisis? Its claims to radicalism and to orthodox Marxism were belied at every point by its reformist practice. In Austria, the notorious theory of the "lesser-evil" was not only systematically practiced but was even passed off as "real Marxism." Months after the dissolution of the Schutzbund and the vicious attacks on Vienna, the Austrian Social-democratic leaders abjectly implored Dollfuss to allow them to support him even in a dictatorial regime. "We offered to make the greatest concessions that a democratic and socialistic party had ever made," Otto Bauer declares in the authorized New York Times interview (February 18, 1934). "We let Dollfuss know that if he would only pass a bill thru parliament, we would accept a measure authorizing the government to govern by decree without parliament for two years." Even in the midst of the bloody struggle on the streets of Vienna, the Social-democratic leaders were begging for an alliance with Dollfuss. Their basic error consisted primarily in regarding Dollfuss as a potential ally and in looking to a block with him as the most reliable defense against the Fascist upsurge. In this, the Austrian Social-democrats merely followed in the footsteps of their German comrades, embracing their extreme reformism in practise if not in theory.

### Masses Resent Compromise

10. The effects of such a course upon the morale and fighting spirit of the Social-democratic workers was disastrous. "The dissatisfaction and agitation of the workers against the conservative policy of our party committee increased," Bauer testifies. "The workers said the government was making itself more powerful militarily, was wearing down our spirit and was choosing its own time to attack us." Subsequent events have shown that the workers were a thousand times correct and saw things far more clearly than the experienced and educated Austro-Marxist theoreticians.

### The Revolt Begins

11. An examination of how the revolt broke out will show how the Social-democratic policy operated in the most critical period. The movement of resistance exploded spontaneously both in Linz and Vienna and immediately met with the resistance of the party leaders, who were interested in nothing so much as in heading off an open revolt. "Last Sunday night," Bauer recounts, "a comrade coming from Linz warned me that the workers of Linz were highly indignant and alarmed over the Heimwehr action and had declared that if any further action were taken to deprive them of their arms, they would defend themselves for the sake of the republic. I was alarmed to hear of this spirit and, after discussion with my informant, we both decided that urgent messages must be sent to the workers to keep cool. . . . Apparently the message arrived too late." With such fear and distrust did the party leaders regard the possibility of mass struggle that "when the news reached Vienna that there had been shooting between the police and the workers in Linz and a strike had broken out there, members of the Social-democratic committee got in touch with the government to prevent an outbreak" (Dr. Julius Deutsch). Even when the general strike movement in Linz and Vienna passed over into armed revolt under Heimwehr provocations, and even when many party leaders stood at the head of the fighting workers, these very same leaders were anxious above all to deny the revolutionary character of the outbreak. So ingrained had their reformism become that it led them even to repudiate their own revolutionary action!

### The Communist Party And The Austrian Events

12. The contrast between the demoralizing passivity of German official Communism in the face of the Nazi victory and the heroic struggle of the Austrian Social-democrats against the Heimwehr-Austrian provocations, is a blasting condemnation of the paralyzing course the Communist International has followed in recent years. It will take many years of hard effort for the Communist move-

ment to win back what it has lost in prestige and standing among the workers of the world in the last period of time.

13. In the first revolutionary outbreak in many years, the Communist Party of Austria, as such, played no role at all, whatever part individual Communists may have taken. Furthermore, the whole Communist International, including the C.P.S.U., stand them nor explain them nor, above all, play any role whatever in them.

### Theory of "Social Fascism"—Bankrupt

14. The Austrian events have placed the final seal of refutation upon the notorious doctrines of "social-fascism" and "Social-democracy as the main prop of Fascism", doctrines which have served as the foundation stones of official Communist tactics in recent years.

15. Driven to desperation by the collapse of its entire system of policy and practise, the official Communist movement adopted a mad and suicidal course in the face of the Austrian events. Crude bluff, shameful slander and irresponsible abuse, reckless hooliganism, were piled mountain-high, culminating in the outrageous Madison Square Garden scandal.

16. While it is the fundamental principles of reformist Socialism that have again been refuted by the Austrian events, it is not the principles of Communism that have failed to stand the test, but the utterly false sectarian policies and tactics of the official Communist movement. The basic principles of Communism have again been confirmed by what has happened in Austria.

### Significance And Lessons Of The Austrian Events

17. What now in Austria? The end of the Dollfuss regime is at hand. The struggle between the Heimwehr and the Nazis, with all its international complications, will continue in an even more acute form, with the odds strongly in favor of the Nazis. The labor movement, tho materially weakened by the revolt and the Dollfuss massacres, will emerge from the struggle morally and politically strengthened. One thing is clear: The Austrian labor movement will not be so easily or so completely suppressed by victorious Fascism as was the German!

### Austria And World War

18. All of the many antagonisms among the European powers cross in Austria today. This country has become one of the chief focal points in the generation of a new world imperialist war. The new political situation in Austria has accentuated this danger of a war to the highest pitch.

### Struggle Against Fascism Strengthened

19. The heroic struggle of the Austrian workers has brought the anti-Fascist movement to a new and higher level. What has happened in Austria will serve as a tremendous source of inspiration and political courage to the workers of the rest of the world. Fascism will not have the same easy road in the future as it has had in the past!

20. The revolt of the Austrian workers evoked a tremendous wave of sympathy and solidarity among the workers of all countries. Backward strata were awakened to political thought. Huge protest movements, taking the form of general strikes and demonstrations, have been organized in many cities, even in the United States. In general, the political development of the labor movement has been greatly stimulated by the inspiring fight of Austrian labor.

21. The struggle of the Austrian proletariat was objectively a workers revolution, even tho the workers did not realize it and the Social-democratic leaders took special pains to deny it. Had it won military success, it could only have culminated in the establishment of a workers government. It is a sign of the essential reformism of the Austrian Social-democracy that it placed as the ultimate aim of the armed revolt the restoration of the bankrupt system of parliamentary democracy.

### Surrender Or Proletarian Dictatorship

22. The Austrian events confirm the fundamental principles of Communism. Again has history testified to the fact that, when the class struggle reaches a certain level of acuteness, it inevitably breaks out into armed civil war. Again has the bankrupt theory of the peaceful achievement of socialism been refuted. Before the Austrian proletariat stood the clear alternative: Either surrender to the bourgeoisie by reestablishing the outlived bourgeois democratic system or the setting up of a workers government operating as an iron dictatorship against the forces of reaction and counter-revolution.

23. The political lessons of the last few years of Austrian development culminating in the five-day revolt will not be lost upon the Austrian proletariat. Out of the ranks of the Social-democracy will emerge a really revolutionary Socialist movement, a Communist movement, which will be in a position to lead the Austrian workers to their emancipation from the yoke of capitalism.

### For World Unity Against Fascism

24. Now, at a time when the labor movement of the world has been aroused against Fascism by the Austrian events, it is necessary to make a gigantic effort for world labor unity. Let a preliminary conference of representatives of all international labor organizations be called to consider ways and means of setting up a real world labor congress against Fascism to unite the masses of the workers all over the world against this common menace. Now is the time when such a united anti-Fascist front can be set up. Soon it may be too late!

## THE PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

(Continued from Page 5)

selection of their leaders than they have with selecting the Ambassador to China. It is the irony of fate, that the members of the Communist Opposition expelled from the Party had more to do with the demotion of Browder by their struggle against the stupid policy of the leadership at the American Congress against War and Fascism, than did the members of the official Party.

The decisions of the 13th Plenum were adopted unanimously. While in the days of Lenin, large opposition votes on many questions were common occurrences, without resulting in any lynch spirit, and without any organizational persecution against a Radek or a Bordiga, today the procedure in the Communist International is just the opposite.

No revolutionary Party can grow and develop, nor can a correct line of policy be arrived at by a mechanical suppression of all dissenting opinion. Only mental atrophy can result, and the thesis of the 13th Plenum is the best proof of it.

### The Seventh Congress

According to the decision of the 13th Plenum, the 7th World Congress of the Comintern is finally to be held (after 6 years of "revolutionary upsurge" without a Congress) during the latter part of 1934. If the 7th Congress is not to be a painful replica of the completely worthless 13th Plenum, the members of the Communist Party must raise their voices demanding an extended discussion before the Congress, the end of the terror-regime in the Parties, the reunification of the Communist movement, and changing of the tactics and policies that have brought ruin and repeated defeats to the Communist Party.

### U. T. W. Establishes District Council

A Textile Metropolitan District Council was organized in New York for the first time at a meeting of representatives of 7 local unions affiliated to the United Textile Workers of America on January 25, 1934.

Joseph Corti, organizer of the U.T.W. in New York and representative of the Skein Dyers Local was chosen organizer of Council, and B. Herman, of the Broad Silk Local, secretary. It was decided that the Council should cover the entire Metropolitan district and would therefore include textile locals in Hudson County and in Connecticut.

## 500,000 STRIKE IN NEW YORK

(Continued from Page 1)

party leaders in disrupting a powerful labor demonstration of international solidarity. Such conduct is a crime against the working class and against the Communist movement!

"Trade Unionists! Socialist Party members! Do not judge Communism by the shameful actions of the official Communist party. These people are capable only of misrepresenting and discrediting Communism. We appeal to you to judge Communism by the policies and tactics of the Communist Opposition, which today alone upholds the great traditions of Communism, of Leninism."

Philadelphia, Pa.

At a conference called by the Socialist Party and the trade unions here it was decided to call upon trade unionists to stop work at 3 P. M. on Wednesday February 21. Workers are urged to turn out for the mass meeting at the Academy of Music. 30,000 workers are expected to respond to this call for solidarity with the Austrian working class against Fascism.

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## BARRICADES IN PARIS

At last France is on the map of drama in politics. To the superficial observer it had appeared the French people had made a revolution a hundred years ago and had been so busy celebrating it since then that they have had no time for, or weren't concerned with, mass struggles. Recent events in Paris and in a number of other cities should certainly put a quietus on these smart-alec observers and their superficial observations. What happened in Paris, the barricades on the streets, the hundreds of wounded, the many killed are only proof that France is beginning to suffer acutely from the consequences of the world crisis.

These dire consequences and backwash of the economic crisis have been coming to the fore for some months. Witness the mounting army of no-occupation, an increasingly disadvantageous position for French commodities in the world market, due especially to the "strength" of the franc and in the rising prices, the stormy tax protests, the degeneracy of parliamentary democracy, the putrid corruption cases, the Oustric scandal, and the all-inclusive and all-tarring, almost all-devastating scandal in true French Style—the Stavisky pawn shop bankruptcy fraud. Shining ministers, glittering army officers, "invincible" police chiefs have all been drawn into the net of the Stavisky fraud,—into the deadly emmeshment.

French class alignments are going to sharpen, are going to harden at a much greater tempo from now on. The moment of maturing, of the processes at work for decades, is arriving. The center parties in French politics, but yesterday the buttress of French political stability and class contentment will become weaker and weaker and at its expense the forces of the revolutionary proletariat on the left and counter-revolutionary heavy industrial interests and biggest financial magnates on the right (under the banner of Fascism—appearing in specifically peculiar French form) will grow in strength. The appointment of smiling, doddering ex-presidents will prove no solution to the French crisis. The strengthening of the executive power of the French Government will not solve the basic contradiction of French economy. The organization of "salvation cabinets" can, at best, only serve as a lid on the tempest, a lid that will be blown off with only greater force and violence, the longer the attempt will be made to keep it on. The squeezing out of pus from the French body-politic, here and there, cannot be taken as a sign of health in French political relations or stability of French class relations, but rather must be taken only as proof of the very opposite being the case. The basic, organic unsoundness in the French body-politic is now rooted more than ever before in a decaying economic system.

Lots depend on the French proletariat; about as much depends on the French Communist Party. If the French working class and French Communist and Social-democratic workers have learned the necessary lesson from the Hitler tragedy, then, better days are ahead for the French and international working class. If not, the Francists as the French Fascists call themselves, will triumph. Only a united front, honestly conceived and genuinely practiced by both the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of France, can block the road to the victory of the Tardieux, the Renaudels, the Marins, the Petains and other fascist and near-fascists of their kidney.

Eyes on France in the coming months. The storm over France is far from blown over. It is yet to develop hurricane proportions.

## THE SEVENTH PARTY CONVENTION

AFTER three years, the Communist party is calling another convention. The arrangements for the discussion insure its being pathetically anaemic, despite the fact that there hasn't been anything like a discussion of the party line or the situation in the Comintern for about five years.

A prominent and active party functionary writes us that, though he is not yet prepared to join the C.P.O., he is anxious to know what he would say to the party membership if we were permitted to join in the discussion. We can definitely reply to this comrade and to other comrades who are beginning to question matters inside the party that we indict the present official Communist Party tactical line and inner situation on the following basis:

1. The inner party life, through the denial of party democracy or democratic centralism, has brought about an atmosphere of sterility in official Communist ranks. There is a terrific turnover of membership and a constantly narrowing base of leadership as a result. The failure to develop new outstanding forces in these years of unequalled opportunity for revolutionary struggle affords a most damning indictment of the puppet regime now serving as the leadership in the Communist Party today. An expulsion mania grips every district organization from coast to coast. Hooliganism manifests itself with all too great frequency in the ranks of the party, especially on "holidays" like November 7th etc. Apropos of this, we can record the gangster methods employed by a crew of tin-foil self-styled "shock-troopers" at the last Lenin Memorial meeting in New York. The shameful rough handling of Comrade Lifshitz on this occasion is a victory which does the very opposite of credit to every party member who has the interest of Communist unity and strength at heart.

2. Bureaucratism and incompetency also dominate the party approach to the masses. The game of bluff and bombast is being played with fastness and fury. Things start with a bang and the spectacular and sensational. But they soon evaporate. Opportunity after opportunity has been squandered. See what has happened to the Mooney movement. Where are the members of what was once the Unemployed Council movement in Chicago? Where did the reported and alleged forty thousand striking miners of Western Pennsylvania go? Could anyone be so obliging as to provide us with the address of the National Miners Union—as a living trade union organization? What is reported to us in the Daily Worker as a victory one day, is reported a year or so later as a defeat. For example, on the eve of the Seventh National Convention, the Daily Worker, The Rote Fahne, and L'Humanite told the world that the American Communist Party had over 15,000 members. For questioning this figure we were denounced in the "red-hot manner" of which only the Daily Worker is today capable. However, as the years roll by, the truth rolls out. In the Daily Worker of January 27 we find the call for the Eighth National Convention admitting that "at the seventh convention our party had seven thousand members loosely organized".

Interesting indeed! Still the game goes on. The call for the

## Alsatian Opposition Grets American C.P.O.

Dear Comrades:  
The C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine sends its fraternal greetings to the conference of the American section.

We are following your reports on the planned, successful work of the C.P.O. of the U.S.A. with a great deal of joy and satisfaction. We are gratified at your complete co-ordination of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice. The political work of the C.P.O.-U.S.A. combines the complete rejection of and opposition to all reformists and centrist illusions and speculations, an untiring struggle for the clarity and sharpness of communist principles, for Leninist strategy and tactics with the application of these principles. The educational work done by the C.P.O. in the United States thru its papers, pamphlets, and its New Workers School, its successes on the trade union field and in the correct application of the Leninist united front tactics prove to us that our American section possesses the necessary revolutionary militancy in order to solve its problems in the difficult class struggles now being waged in the United States, or to be waged by the American working class in the future.

### C.P.O. Resists Attacks On Workers Standards

The C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine, engaged in a most difficult struggle against the rule of French imperialism, also faces serious problems. The French bourgeoisie is conducting an extensive attack on salaries, wages and social relief, wishing to shift the burdens of the crisis to the workers by the most brutal means. The first act of robbery, a considerable reduction of salaries of officials and pensions, has already been put into effect. A political attack on the democratic rights of the workers and for elimination of parliament is being prepared at the same time. The bourgeoisie demands a dictator, and is organizing and financing fascism—which is becoming stronger and stronger from week to week—appearing at first in the form of various fascist organizations. Fascism is expected to create that internal peace so necessary to the warlike aims of French imperialism, towards the attainment of which it is preparing by arming feverishly.

### The Struggle Against War And Fascism

Tremendous tasks are facing the C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine, engaged in the struggle against the attacks of capitalism, of fascism, and the imperialist war danger. The French social-democracy is preparing the way for these criminal aims. It is first among the war propagandists. It supports the attacks of capitalism and it sabotages the proletarian united front.

The C. P. of France has completely isolated itself from the masses thru its ultra-left course. It is without any influence whatsoever and persists despite constant failures in its sectarian policy, which makes any real united front impossible.

C.P.O. For National Emancipation  
The creation of a broad mass front against the attacks of capitalism, against the menace of fascism, against the imperialist war danger, therefore, depends primarily on the ideological work of enlightenment and practical organizational activities of the C.P.O. The C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine is, at the same time, the champion of all Alsatian workers, petty bourgeois people, and peasants culturally oppressed in their fight for national emancipation against the policies of French imperialism which suppresses nationalities.

### C.P.O. Controls City Of Strasbourg

The C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine is in control of the municipal government of Strasbourg. It is utilizing its parliamentary position as much as possible for the protection of the working masses against the attacks of capitalism. At the same time it combines these tasks with its efforts for the creation of a proletarian defense front, for the establishment of trade union unity and the defeat of the ultra-left course of the C.P.F. The successful work of the C.P.O.-U.S.A. has been a constant spur to us and will continue to be so in the future.

We wish your conference success. We hope and believe that the work of this present conference will be the basis for further successful work for communism and for the proletarian revolution.

With revolutionary, communist greetings,  
CHARLES HUEBER  
For the Party Leadership  
C.P.O. Alsace-Lorraine

## Trade Union Notes

(Continued from Page 3)

the mass leadership as the present industrial.

It is with this condition as a background that the Labor Board rushed thru its referendum (one day's notice) in a number of Board of Trade shops. The results, tho a foregone conclusion to all acquainted with the situation, was nevertheless surprising. Out of over 20 shops polled the Boot and Shoe carried only 10 and of these several went by very narrow margins. The significance becomes apparent when one remembers that great pressure was brought to bear by the employers to bring in the Boot and Shoe. The United Shoe carried 9 shops. Three or four voted for the open shop. The total vote cast for each union was not announced.

eight party convention now claims twenty-three thousand members in the party. In Moscow, Browder recently claimed about twenty thousand members. We are whispering no secrets or tips into the ears of our leaders when we tell them that a year or so from now the Daily Worker will boast of more progress and at the same time confess that in 1934 there were only 10,000 or so members in good standing in the party. Of course, to accept even this latter figure is also to substitute charity for accuracy.

3. The dual-unionist policy continues to sprout, though the variety of weeds is more colorful. The united front from below tactics continues to sink the party into ever-deeper isolation from the great mass of American workers who still have to learn even the most elementary conceptions of class consciousness. The why and wherefore of the above conditions, and this sectarian tactical line deserve the most critical examination of every party member regardless of what such examination may momentarily entail for him or her as official party members. This is our convention message.

### COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

51 West 14th Street  
New York, N. Y.

Please send me information in reference to the policies and activity of the C. P. O.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State.....



THE DISINHERITED, by Jack Conroy, Covici-Friede Publishers.

In the experiences of Larry Donovan, the main figure in the story, we view the summed up experiences of the laboring masses since the world war, through the last crisis, and up to the present time. It is the story of moving events in the lives of workers all over this country; "the richest in the world," yet men starve and actually die of starvation in its gutters; monuments to capitalism!

There is much to be said for the contention, that this tale is nearest to an American Gorki's. While "Disinherited" is built upon a more restricted canvas, keeping out of sight that section of mankind, its exploiters, the few thousand who waste, and dissipate the wealth of the country, it still reveals enough of these vultures, to show how they exploit the working class and how they force it to live and work, or fail to live. It is a story so vividly told as to appear brutal at times, as it cuts and smites like the cold wintry west wind.

Without exposing completely all the cross sections of American life and only by depicting faithfully the struggle for existence of the toiling sections of humanity, Conroy succeeds in stirring us to anger and hatred of the favoured few; to pity and tolerance for the enslaved masses, who are forced into ever greater hardships and deprivations; and to understanding for those toilers who are the energy of the soil and its very future, but who in the main, unfortunately are still unaware of this truth.

"Disinherited" is the story of these simple lives, the tragedies of their unemployed, the brutal existence of miners, the hardships of the migratory worker. It is the story of workers in factories, and on the land; it is the story of those driven from the land, and those driven from the cities, for lack of employment. It is the story of the white collar slaves and the Negro workers. It is indeed, the story of the dispossessed and disinherited, portrayed with such realism as to smite terror into the heart of the reader.

Only one who has been a part of this vast and varied industrial and agricultural scene, one who has lived and studied it, can write so knowingly, so revealingly of the misery in the lowest depths as well as of those human values which make the struggle worth while. Etching as he does, these lives, in all their misery and ignorance and most often in passive resistance, Conroy has not overlooked, as some sentimentalists might, those workers among them slowly rising to consciousness of their class as well as the more articulate workers who know their places in the class struggle. Yet this is not a propaganda story; it is experience and the existence of the bodies and souls of the millions, who have it in their power to bring out paradise of an imaginary heaven to us on earth; it is life itself revealed to us by a man with a heart and a head of an artist and the pen of one who knows how to write. He has shown us these men's lives and their slow awakening to the injustices they have to suffer.

—E. M.

### IMPORTANT EVENTS

Saturday Feb. 24, 8 P. M.

Bertram D. Wolfe speaks on

Rivera As Storm Center

Sunday Feb. 25, 8 P. M.

Sidney Hook speaks on

Communism Without Dogmas

Friday March 2, 8 P. M.

Jay Lovestone speaks on

Whither The American

Socialist Party

Sunday March 4, 2:30 P. M.

Jennie Lee M. P. speaks on

Decline of English Liberty

All lectures at

New Workers School

51 West 14th Street

New York City