

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 5.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1936.

5 Cents a Copy

C.P.O. CALLS FOR REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

SOIL ACT AIDS ELECTION PLANS

In essence the new Soil Conservation Act does not differ from that of the AAA. Both answer the agricultural crisis by deliberate crop destruction, both hope to raise commodity prices by this method. It would be a mistake however to overlook certain new, more reactionary features, contained in the new proposals.

Following the general trend of the Roosevelt administration, the power of the Executive is increased. The method of crop reductions, the decision as to which farmers are to be paid, is left wholly and arbitrarily in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture. No recourse is left to the existing organizations of the farmers. Secondly, the driving of smaller units of production out of the process altogether, is continued at an accelerated pace. The farmers are to be paid for putting their land to non-productive (soil-conserving) uses, and also for the retirement of "sub-marginal" lands. Bounties will be given on the basis of the ratio of the particular crop of one farm to the national total. Presumably the smaller the percentage, the larger the bounty. Those lands are most likely to be sub-marginal, the owners of which have been financially unable to take advantage of modern production methods. (See Workers Age, Jan. 18, for a discussion of this) Thus, the tendency to large-scale, capitalist farming is increased, and the bounties will go to the big farmers in increasing quantities. [In "The Annalist" of Jan. 17, it is estimated that the five largest wheat growers received in 1933, benefits totaling \$182,000; the five largest cotton farmers received a total of \$380,000.]

From a broad historical point of view, the revival of the mediaeval "fallow system" is of the utmost importance. It should be recalled that the triumph of capitalist agriculture was the introduction of crop rotation, infinitely more productive than the feudal method of exhausting the soil and then al-

(Continued on Page 5)

Not So Hot!

By JAY LOVESTONE

It's not the weather we are complaining about. It's the unsatisfactory condition of our campaign that we are registering.

Our appeals have apparently not gotten us where we hoped to be—should be—and must be. Shall we say: what's the use of useless appeals? Have our appeals been useless? Don't you want a bigger and better WORKER AGE? Aren't you aware of the urgency of aid to the world's most self-sacrificing heroes—the relentless fighters against Fascism in the Hitler hell? And can't you see that, considering the vital problems before us, we are really asking very little?

Nearly three weeks have elapsed: the first rush days are gone. Yet, we have to date gotten only about 30% of the total—approximately \$1500.00.

Long Live the King! Long Live the People's Front in Greece!

With amazing rapidity the full implications of the present opportunist swing of the Communist International unfolds itself—in each country bringing its own peculiar poison growths.

In the case of Greece the ultra-left revolutionists of yesterday bend the knee and pledge loyalty to King George II—and all in the name of the struggle against fascism. Reformist socialism in Germany gave birth to what was known as "Kaiser Sozialisten." The present opportunist line has already produced what we might call "Royal Communists."

The clipping is taken from Humanite (French C.P. Organ) of January 8. It reads as follows:

A STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE
ATHENS, January 7th:—A delegation of Communists appeared at the Royal Palace. It

entre les grévistes et la police. A Paris, le 7 janvier. Le groupe dit le "Front de la Démocratie" a été dissous. Les grévistes ont été réprimés. A Paris, le 7 janvier. Le groupe dit le "Front de la Démocratie" a été dissous. Les grévistes ont été réprimés.

Une déclaration du Parti communiste grec

L'Agence Havas communique: «Athènes, 7 janvier. — Une délégation communiste s'est présentée au palais royal. Elle a fait une déclaration affirmant que le parti, que la délégation représente agit dans le cadre du régime actuel, considérant le roi Georges II comme une garantie contre le fascisme et contre tout régime autoritaire.»

made a statement to the effect that the Communist Party which it represented would cooperate with the functionaries of the regime since it considered King George II a bulwark against fascism and against any autocratic regime."

Powell Dying; Patterson Doomed to Living Death

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—If there was any proof needed to convince the few who may have doubted that the State of Alabama was no place in which the Scottsboro boys could receive an unbiased trial, the vicious and murderous attack on Ozie Powell, who now lies dying in the hospital, is that proof.

It becomes clear, even from the meager information trickling thru the police lines, that the final shooting of Powell was the culminating act of a process of cuffing and slapping by the guards. Details are still wanting but no details can change the facts that guards may well take certain liberties with some young "niggers" when these same guards hear a Prosecuting Attorney admonishing a jury not to waste time in discussion of details but to find the

defendant Patterson guilty in a hurry.

The strategy of the authorities may be surmised from statements that "white men" were behind this attack. Clearly a case of preparing the ground for the cry of "reds."

Judging by the whole course of the trial nothing can be expected from the Grand Jury investigation of this latest assault upon Powell. Except perhaps to cover up some of the traces of this crime, and turn it into a new attack upon these innocent boys.

A protest mass meeting held in New York was addressed by Norman Thomas, Charles Zimmerman, Roy Wilkins, Robert Minor, Angelo Herndon and B. S. McLaurin.

DECATUR, Ala. — For the fourth time in his young life Heywood Patterson, heard the verdict of guilty from an Alabama jury, which in its benign justice this time recommended a 75 year sentence rather than death.

From the very beginning the prosecution showed once again, what is already known to every decent man and woman—that the Scottsboro boys cannot and will not get a fair trial in the atmosphere of an Alabama court room. This was proven to the hilt during every minute of the trial and was emphasized in the prosecution's summary to the jury in which every low and bestial prejudice was appealed to in order to secure a verdict of guilty.

There is hardly a doubt as to the verdict in the case of Norris, now proceeding. The decision in the Patterson case has set the precedent that the prosecution needed.

So biased were these trials that defense forces are certain of ample grounds for appeal. What is needed now, is the unstinted support—financially and morally—to the defense now making its last stand for the life of these Negro boys.

Communist Opposition Suggests Unity Planks In Letter to Communists and Socialists

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The National Bureau of the Communist Party (Opposition) has just made public an appeal for the unification into one party of all genuinely revolutionary forces in the labor movement.

Such unity, says this appeal addressed to communist and socialist workers, must be realized in order to "save mankind from the horrors of another world war; to halt the advance of fascism and to overthrow it where it is already in power; to destroy the whole mad system of capitalism and to lay the foundations of a new socialist order."

In order to realize this the Communist Opposition calls upon the all revolutionary working class organizations to cast aside prejudice or factional advantage and to consider this problem "from the point of view of the vital interests of the proletariat."

The Communist Opposition makes this proposal because it has become convinced that "neither the Communist Party, nor the Socialist Party nor the Communist Opposition nor any of the other workers' political groups is today in a position to provide the basis for the development of an effective revolutionary party of the proletariat."

However, the Communist Opposition does not visualize that unified revolutionary party as one in which every and any political philosophy can or should be included. The CPO appeal lays down five political tenets which it believes such a party must adhere to if it is to be able to carry out its revolutionary mission. The following are the five conditions which the CPO considers as constituting a "sound political foundation":

"1. The class independence of the proletariat—the rejection of any form of collaboration or coalition with the bourgeoisie.
"2. Revolutionary internationalist opposition to imperialist war and war preparations—the rejection of every form of class peace or support of 'our own' imperialist bourgeoisie, direct or indirect, in any war it may wage.
"3. Clarity on the question of the road to power—the practical recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in the form of workers' councils.
"4. Recognition of the proletarian class character of the Soviet government as a workers state engaged in the construction of socialism."

(Continued on Page 5)

The discussion over the Constitutional Amendment to permit Congress to enact social legislation, as recommended by the Atlantic City convention, was finally referred to the March session of the Executive Council after it became evident that the Council itself was divided. Republican and Democratic Party politics enters into this discussion in a big way.

Endorse "Fair Play" Committee. The Committee on Fair Play in Sports which has been conducting an intensive campaign against the Olympics in Naziland, was endorsed by the Council and Matthew Woll was named as the Federation's representative to that Committee.

Again Auto Problem. If the Council believed that with the decision on the CIO it was done with the question of industrial unionism, it was quite mistaken. The question came up once more in a sharp manner with the appearance of Frank Dillon, provisional president of the automobile workers union. Dillon petitioned the Council for the removal of craft stipulations from the charter in order to permit him to organize industrially.

Maxim Litvinov created a sensation when in the course of his discussion of the charges of Uruguay he flatly denied that the Soviet Union was engaged in any propaganda in Uruguay and that the latter had permitted herself to become a tool in the hands of Italy and Germany who have been conniving against the Soviet Union. Baron Aloisi of Italy was on his feet immediately repeating the usual refrain of civilization etc. which characterizes the methods of Italian foreign policy. Litvinov further charged that Uruguay should never have ousted Minister Minkin before taking up its alleged grievances with the League of Nations.

SOVIET REBUFFS INTRIGUERS

Nye Com. to Continue; Morgan Loans Bared

Through the medium of the Senate Munitions Investigating Committee, Roosevelt put the "heat" to the Bankers in a cute political circus. Alas for FDR, the actors—Morgan, Lamont, etc.—quit the show before the last act. More they are having the whole play banned as "indecent." The Nye Committee's liberal tack in the investigation has swamped their frail canoe, overlaid with facts too hot for them to handle. Afraid to attack the House of Morgan as part of the capitalist system, they created a personal devil, J. P. Morgan. All went smoothly until the last act, House of Morgan's control of the state and its puppet Wilson—this was carrying the thing too far. Nye begs for money to continue the show. He will revise the last act if he gets it. His as yet uncorked facts are very valuable, however—the Morgan loan flotation for Great Britain upon which there was no collateral.

Months ago John T. Flynn, Committee investigator, let it be known that the Committee would be smeared on the 5-yard line, short-circuiting a touchdown. With no funds, with the State Dept. refusing documents, with the Committee itself terror-stricken at its "audacity," the expose is practically ended. Its evidence to date is invaluable despite the failure to smash home the obvious conclusion that the House of Morgan's war activities are synonymous with the White House. The former dictates to the latter because of the nature of capitalism, in which the Morgan firm is supreme.

From the start the House of Morgan granted a loan to the French Government after the White House was persuaded that "commercial loans" were justifiable (in subtle distinction it was found that this was not floating foreign bonds) it became the agent of the British Government. As the war progressed the Morgan House handled all orders for the Allies and all loans. Of the total export trade between 1915 and 1917 they garnered 84%. Were they paid for these orders? "Yes," declared George Whitney, "in every instance the money was paid."

Outstanding in the investigation are the revelations of how the House of Morgan dictated war policy to the White House. Its pressure forced sanctioning of loans; its threat to withdraw support of the pound sterling, initiating financial collapse of the Allies, was a powerful club smashing into the weak-kneed Wilson and bringing instantaneous obedience. Lansing, Morgan's messenger in the White House, delivered the orders to Wilson, Balfour, Lloyd George; countless others in the Allied camp worked in collusion with the firm.

Were the Bankers responsible for America's entrance in the World War? "No," said Morgan. In the beginning all classes,

"American agriculture, labor, business and banking . . . benefited in a material way from America's great export trade." Only the U-boat "outrages" made the American people belligerent, and America's entrance imperative, Morgan added and flaunted his pride in his concurring sentiments with that of the people! That Germany was forced to retaliate against Morgan's loans and supplies to the Allies; that the Morgan-controlled press fomented the atrocity stories—this the Nye Committee failed to unmask; that 1913-14 found the United States in the trough of a depression; that the nation was a debtor nation; that its German and Austro-Hungarian market was cut away, and therefore the United States, a growing capitalist power, was forced by its dependence on the world market to seek new markets, so safe-guard these new markets when threatened with annihilation by joining the Allies in their war—all this the Committee evaded.

That Roosevelt intended the investigation as "pressure politics" against his political foes, and a demagogic pretense of anti-Banker sentiment, does not obviate the splendid raw material unearthed by the Nye Committee, which the labor movement alone can interpret.

—S. H.

POLICE DRUG CAR MEN

OMAHA, Neb.—Despite the most desperate attempts of the police, it is becoming increasingly clear that the striking car workers, indicted here on a charge of criminal syndicalism, are being embroiled in a first class frame up. Besides the usual police methods of planting a stool pigeon inside the union—in this case R. E. Marchand—the local police department thought up an improvement in the usual technique. In order to force confessions from the strikers the defendants were drugged and then beaten.

According to latest developments the police are concentrating on the three leaders of the union (J. C. Perkins, Wallace Pike and C. W. Pike) who withstood all torture and made no statements at all. They are being tried under the charge of criminal syndicalism.

Despite the slowness with which defense forces are getting under way news of this impending trial is spreading rapidly, many trade unions learning of this case for the first time.

Albert Goldman of Chicago will probably take over the defense of these workers.

According to latest developments the police are concentrating on the three leaders of the union (J. C. Perkins, Wallace Pike and C. W. Pike) who withstood all torture and made no statements at all. They are being tried under the charge of criminal syndicalism.

Despite the slowness with which defense forces are getting under way news of this impending trial is spreading rapidly, many trade unions learning of this case for the first time.

Albert Goldman of Chicago will probably take over the defense of these workers.

PHILADELPHIA
BERNARD HERMAN
speaks on
Fascism and Democracy
On
Sunday Feb. 2, 8 p. m.
at
329 PINE STREET
Phila., Pa.
Auspices: Phila. Section C.P.O.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

CAN YOU SAY AS MUCH?



International Communist Opposition

This is an enlargement of a stamp being sold now (in denomination of 10c and 25c) by members and friends of the C.P.O. as part of the drive to raise a fund of \$5,000. As funds are raised they are allocated three ways—extension of our organization work, enlargement and improvement of Workers Age, and for the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), to be used for underground work.

LOVESTONE TO WRITE SERIES ON EUROPE IN FERMENT

We are glad to be able to announce that the long expected and much asked for articles by Jay Lovestone on the present situation in Europe are about to begin to run in Workers Age.

The recent trip thru the most important countries of Europe may be compared to the trip which Comrade Lovestone made in 1932. Upon his return then he was accused by many of being unduly pessimistic about the situation—this because he forecast the victory of fascism and derided the tactics of both Communists and Socialists which made this possible. Who was right history has proven.

Once more Lovestone returns from an extensive trip and again those who prefer wish-thinking and day-dreaming to facing reality are shouting pessimist, alarmist!

What Lovestone has to say about recent developments you will learn by following the series of six ar-

1. Hours of Decision in France.
 2. Rebuilding the German Labor Movement.
 3. "The British Commonwealth of Nations."
 4. Soviet Union—The Dawn of a New Day.
 5. World Labor in Transition: (two articles)
- A. International Social Democracy.
B. The World Communist Movement.

We don't know how you are fixed for money but if you want to take a tip from us subscribe to Workers Age immediately. It is the best guarantee against missing any of these articles so necessary to a thorough understanding of present-day Europe.

PROPOSE CCC FOR AIR CORPS BASE HOUSE DEFEATS BONUS VETO

The administration is seriously considering a proposal to create an air-corps in the CCC, under its "educational" program. This revelation was made by Vidal, air commerce bureau chief, at a hearing of the House Military Committee. The latter was considering a bill providing for the supervision of flying instruction in private flying colleges, colleges and universities, by the Air Corps.

The CCC has long stood condemned as one of the basic recruiting grounds for the military power of American imperialism. This new step which must be fought vigorously, is frank confirmation of the accusation. Vidal testified that "until recently the object of the U. S. as well as leading foreign powers had been for quantity in aircraft and pilots, now we and they are interested in quality." Translated, this means that the broad bases of tremendous rearming of the imperialists on a war-time footing has been laid, and the intensification of this drive is the new stage of preparation.

After years of struggle, the veterans, who made the world safe for democracy, have finally forced the payment of their bonus. The method that is scheduled to carry is the issuance of "baby bonds" to the sum of about 2 and 1/2 billion dollars, redeemable after June 15th. The overwhelming defeat of the Presidential veto not only shows the pressure of the veterans' lobbies, but the pressure of the crisis on the veterans themselves.

The Executive veto was based on the following strategy: Roosevelt can come before finance-capital as having "done his duty"; he can come before the middle classes as having done his best to avoid increased taxation; and, he can come before the veterans, saying that a Democratic Congress passed the bonus, and his veto wasn't decisive anyhow.

The ruling class was forced to yield, but did so only because it saw a way of shifting the financial onus to the broad masses. Workers and farmers must fight for a provision for payment by big-capital.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

On the LABOR FRONT

LaGUARDIA AS PEACEMAKER

Mayor LaGuardia has stepped into the situation in the dress industry in an effort to compose the differences between the manufacturers' groups and the union. If the Mayor fails to bring about an agreement New York will see over 100,000 workers tie up the industry completely.

Leaving nothing to chance the Joint Board of the Dressmakers, under the leadership of Julius Hochman, has made all preparation for the strike.

A mass meeting of shop chairmen was attended by several thousand and was addressed by President Dubinsky, Julius Hochman, Charles Zimmerman, Luigi Antonini, and others. President Dubinsky was elected Chairman of the strike committee with Hochman as first vice-chairman.

Dubinsky warned the manufacturers that the union's demands would be increased if a strike has to be undertaken.

BUILDING SERVICE STRIKE

Building Service Employees Union, Local 32B, has gone on strike. Many buildings in the Bronx, as well as in the fur and garment district have been affected. The union demands wage increases, in some cases up to 40%, and a 48 hour week. Negotiations are proceeding and some buildings were forced to sign up because of the sub-zero cold wave.

The union also announces that 15,000 of its members may be involved in a general strike simultaneously with the pending strike of the garment workers.

SEAMEN'S UNION ASKS GOV'T INQUIRY

The Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast is in for a tough time. Besides the Chamber of Commerce, the shipping interests and the Department of Justice—all of whom are dead set against the militant federation—the International Seamen's Union has joined the pack.

The convention has ordered its locals to withdraw from the Federation because "the Maritime Federation has been functioning contrary to the law of the International Seamen's Union and the A. F. of L."

The convention has also unanimously passed a motion calling upon President Roosevelt to investigate conditions on the west coast. Harry Bridges, militant leader of the Federation, has also endorsed this request. He stated that the shipping interests would be found responsible for the present state of affairs on the west coast.

FURRIERS PLANNING STRIKE

For some reason or other all the associations in the garment trades are riding high these days. The fur manufacturers have refused to meet the demands of the International Fur Workers Union and a strike in New York appears unavoidable.

INDIANA STILL UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Clark and Floyd Counties have been placed under martial law by Governor Paul V. McNutt. Troops were sent because of strikes in the shirt plants of these counties. This makes it a total of four counties now under military rule. Strikers are being arrested under various charges but the bulk refuse to go back into the shops until their union is recognized.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

WAR, FASCISM, AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

By WILL HERBERG

The problem of developing an effective mass movement against war and fascism is an acute one today; it confronts the advanced sections of the working class with an urgency that will not be denied. The gravity of the situation is fully appreciated on all sides and there is undoubtedly the most fervent desire to build up such a mass movement. But good intentions, as the recent Cleveland congress of the American League Against War and Fascism so amply proved, are unfortunately of no avail where there is no understanding. Nothing is more imperative at the present time than a thorough and basic discussion of the whole problem.

Some Marxist Fundamentals

It is necessary to begin with fundamentals. Under conditions of modern capitalism—Marxism teaches us—no social movement can possibly be genuinely progressive unless it is, in some sense, a labor movement. For under modern conditions, the proletariat alone has the class independence enabling it to play a consistently progressive role and the class power to make its social action really effective. Unless it is firmly rooted in the working class, no movement can hope to develop enough clarity and force to challenge capitalism in any important respect. If this is true in general, how much more true is it for a struggle against war and fascism in which the very foundations of the existing system, objectively and by implication at least, are called into question? In the United States a movement against war and fascism must be a labor movement, a movement of the laboring masses based on the organizations of labor, or it is no movement at all!

This conclusion is bound to arouse the objection that, since the working class is by no means the whole of society, even in a country like ours, to conceive the anti-fascist movement as a labor movement means to restrict it unnecessarily and therefore to limit its force and power. Why not, we are asked, appeal to the people as a whole? Nobody wants war; nobody wants fascism—that is, nobody but a mere handful of reactionaries. Why not, then, appeal to everybody, since the broader the appeal, the more numerous and powerful the movement? Why always harp on "labor" and thus make it more difficult to attract millions of people who have no direct interest in or connection with the labor movement? It is very good, of course, for trade unions and labor organizations to support the struggle against war and fascism but, after all, they constitute merely one of the elements in the movement and, perhaps, by no means the most important one. Such is the viewpoint commonly held in liberal circles and such is the viewpoint that, under the slogan of the People's Front, seems to have determined the activities of the official Communist Party up to the Cleveland congress of the American League and, to a certain degree, even after it.

Under the influence of the strategy of the People's Front and of the new opportunist course as a whole, there has grown up such a tendency to idealize the petty bourgeoisie that we are in danger of losing our Marxist moorings. Attention is called to the growing discontent and to the increasingly radical mood among the middle classes and the conclusion is drawn therefrom that the petty bourgeoisie has become a powerful progressive social force on which a movement against war and fascism can securely be based. But it is necessary to state plainly that, as a class, the petty bourgeoisie is, inherently conservative; only under certain conditions do sections of it assume a progressive character. All sense of Marxism and of social reality points to this conclusion and yet its denial is directly implied in the entire official communist attitude to the petty bourgeoisie today.

Only when they form part of a social movement which is working class in character and which is under working class leadership, can middle class elements play a progressive role. In the class struggle against capitalism, the petty bourgeoisie is a welcome and, indeed, necessary ally—but the alliance can have meaning and force only if it is under proletarian hegemony. Perhaps it may be useful to recall another fundamental Marxist conception—that, in modern society, only the proletariat can rise to the level of an independent and leading class force against capitalism and

and so on and so on! The proposal, made at the congress by spokesmen of the S.P. and of the C.P.O., to dissolve the American League into a new, broad labor movement against war and fascism is characteristically transformed by Mr. Mangold into: "... the organization of a special anti-war, anti-fascist body among the trade unions" (my emphasis—W.H.)—a sort of adjunct, apparently, to the churches and peace societies! The paragraph in the Nation (January 22, 1936) is quite in the same spirit.

In substance, if not in form, the liberal viewpoint is faithfully reproduced in the official communist press. After having been informed that less than 10% of the delegates to the congress—197 is the grand total—came from trade unions of any sort, we are calmly assured that "solid gains (were) made during the last year by the League in extending its base and broadening its scope..." (Daily Worker, January 7, 1936). What does this mean but that those responsible for the congress (or at least for the story in the Daily Worker) see the "base" and the "scope" of the movement elsewhere than in the trade unions, for how otherwise could they plume themselves on an anti-fascist and anti-war organization over 90% non-labor in character? We may be told that the Daily Worker should not be taken too seriously; that its reports are mere ballyhoo and face-saving. But even ballyhoo and face-saving have their political logic and may point significantly to the fundamental orientation in the background.

Why the Emphasis on Labor?

The problem still remains: Why the "exclusive fixation" upon labor? Why "narrow down" the movement instead of "broadening" it out by appealing to the people as a whole? Let us translate these questions in concrete class terms. When the "people as a whole" is spoken of, as something more than the working class, what is meant is, of course, the petty bourgeoisie, the middle classes of town and country. The problem is, therefore, the relation of the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie in the struggle against war and fascism.

Under the influence of the strategy of the People's Front and of the new opportunist course as a whole, there has grown up such a tendency to idealize the petty bourgeoisie that we are in danger of losing our Marxist moorings. Attention is called to the growing discontent and to the increasingly radical mood among the middle classes and the conclusion is drawn therefrom that the petty bourgeoisie has become a powerful progressive social force on which a movement against war and fascism can securely be based. But it is necessary to state plainly that, as a class, the petty bourgeoisie is, inherently conservative; only under certain conditions do sections of it assume a progressive character. All sense of Marxism and of social reality points to this conclusion and yet its denial is directly implied in the entire official communist attitude to the petty bourgeoisie today.

Only when they form part of a social movement which is working class in character and which is under working class leadership, can middle class elements play a progressive role. In the class struggle against capitalism, the petty bourgeoisie is a welcome and, indeed, necessary ally—but the alliance can have meaning and force only if it is under proletarian hegemony. Perhaps it may be useful to recall another fundamental Marxist conception—that, in modern society, only the proletariat can rise to the level of an independent and leading class force against capitalism and

that all of the intermediate strata all sections of the middle class, can have historical significance only insofar as they fall behind either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie!

The Petty Bourgeoisie and Fascism

Under present conditions, the petty bourgeoisie no longer has the social capacity to play an independent role in the class struggle. If it does not act under the leadership of the proletariat, it is bound to fall under the influence, direct or indirect, of the bourgeoisie. And this is especially true of those movements, such as fascism, in which the petty bourgeoisie, thru an act of collective self-deception, believes itself to be a genuinely independent force on the stage of history. Here we see clearly how, under prevailing conditions, apparently spontaneous, superficially independent movements of the petty bourgeoisie—plebeian, even "rebellious" in character—develop directly into fascism. "The leading representative of the small producer who has not yet forsaken 'his own standpoint,'" Lenin warned us long ago, "is very frequently that of the anti-semites..." In fact, it is not too much to say that, as things stand today, any petty bourgeois movement, not firmly under the leadership of the proletariat, bears within itself an impelling tendency towards fascism. Not only, therefore, is an anti-war movement of a predominantly middle class character doomed to utter futility but ultimately it may even become a serious difficulty, perhaps danger, to the very cause which it is ostensibly out to serve.

The leadership of the proletariat in a broad, popular movement against capitalism in certain of its aspects, such as war and fascism, is not to be achieved by radical phrases or by "clever" manipulations behind the scenes. The Cleveland congress was not a working class gathering despite the speeches of Hathaway and Browder and despite also the remotest control of the C.P. The Cleveland congress was a petty bourgeois gathering, a conference of miscellaneous middle class groups together with a bare sprinkling of labor organizations. The hegemony of the proletariat may be securely established only thru bringing the petty bourgeoisie masses under the influence of a united and aggressive labor movement, a movement based, primarily and in the first

place, upon the organizations of labor!

LARGE TURNOUT IN MONTREAL FOR JAY LOVESTONE MEETINGS

In spite of the high admission fee, more than 400 people crowded the York Room of the Windsor Hotel, to hear Jay Lovestone speak on "Europe in Ferment," on Thursday, January 16th.

In the course of an hour's talk, Comrade Lovestone analyzed the present critical situation in Europe, stressing particularly the rapidly changing scene in France, and the critical state of Austria and Germany, closing with an appeal for aid for the heroic anti-fascist fighters in the latter countries. The response to this appeal was a collection of \$75.00.

At the second meeting about 450 workers heard Comrade Lovestone launch into a vigorous and illuminating survey of the problems facing the international working class.

Briefly analyzing the decisions of the 7th World Congress, and halting those decision which were correct, Comrade Lovestone proceeded to a critical and devastating analysis of the position of the C.I. on the question of war and bourgeois democracy, striking a note of

True Aspect of a People's Movement

A labor movement is not simply a movement embracing large numbers of workers—as should be obvious from examining the Democratic Party or the Catholic Church. It is a movement of the class organizations of labor, especially of the trade unions, for in advanced capitalist countries the trade unions are the basic organizations of the working class. A labor movement against war and fascism means, therefore, a movement with a firm trade union base and of a predominantly trade union character, yet rendered all-inclusive thru its ready accessibility to all workers organizations whatever without regard to political or other distinctions. Such a movement could attract large sections of the middle classes and, what is more important, could turn their activity into definitely progressive class channels. This is how a real people's movement should be built up—rooted in the labor organizations, leading the masses of the petty bourgeoisie against capitalism!

Anti-fascist and anti-war sentiment is more widespread among the American workers today than at any other time in recent decades. The Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L. last October reflected the temper of organized labor in the strong stand it took against fascism and against Italian imperialism in Ethiopia. Spontaneously, and with very little encouragement, many unions are making brave efforts of their own to initiate united action. The sentiment is there, vague and unclear perhaps but very significant nonetheless. The task of a real movement against war and fascism is to give organizational form and power to this widespread sentiment in the ranks of labor, to lend it clarity and direction. It will not simply to get together a few of the more progressive local unions as a "labor base"; the problem is to give broad organizational expression to the rising spirit of those hundreds of thousands of workers who are just awakening to the necessity of "doing something" about war and fascism.

Such a movement will probably not make as brave a show as the congresses of the American

League nor will it pass such high-sounding resolutions. It will certainly not be a "left" movement. It will be elementary, hesitant, crude, ideologically immature, cautious to the point of conservatism, burdened with old prejudices and outlived conceptions. But it will be a class movement! It will carry American labor just a little way in a fight against the fascist menace—no further than labor is ready to go at the moment—but that little will mark the beginning of a movement bearing within itself truly far-reaching potentialities. And, under present circumstances, this is the supreme task of the Marxists.

changed conditions."

In his reply Comrade Lovestone made a biting summary of the anti-Soviet slanders of the Trotskyites, and the ridiculous position of the Party representative with his "changed conditions."

The meeting undoubtedly was a step forward in the direction of clarification of the Montreal comrades who are months behind the American C.P. on all the vital questions.

The Trotskyites attacked Comrade Lovestone for refusing to see that a Fourth International was necessary, while the leading theoretical light of the party in Montreal, Comrade R. contributed to the discussion by calling Comrade Lovestone "Mr." and placed him in the same category with Norman Thomas and Walter Duranty as a left Social Democrat, because he refused to accept the formula of

place, upon the organizations of labor!

Secretarian Futility Under "Radical" Phrases

It is not surprising that the Trotskyites, whose morbid sectarianism now bids fair to out—do the worst excess of the "third period", ridicule the very idea of such a broad, united front labor movement against war and fascism. Since it obviously will not accept the revolutionary internationalist position on war, a movement of this character—they maintain—must necessarily become only a trap for the workers, etc., etc. Any one who has the courage to plough his way thru the columns of the New Militant will find this viewpoint expressed in all its glory. Is it really necessary, at this day and age, to deal with such "arguments" of degenerate leftism? Haven't they been answered to the hilt in the polemics of the last seven years? On war as on political action, the sum and substance of Trotskyite wisdom seems to be that, if labor is not ready at the present time to accept the proper revolutionary slogans, it can just go hang; short of a revolutionary struggle, there is nothing that organized labor can do in fighting war and fascism. This may sound very "radical" but it is plainly the most extravagant sectarian futility.

As Marxists, we should know how to distinguish between revolutionary anti-war and anti-fascist activity proper, on the one hand, and the mass mobilization of the workers to take the first elementary steps in the struggle against war and fascism, on the other. But as Marxists, we should know also how to combine the two into an organic, integral whole, the fusion of the conscious and the elementary, of the vanguard and the class!

Such a movement will probably not make as brave a show as the congresses of the American

changed conditions."

In his reply Comrade Lovestone made a biting summary of the anti-Soviet slanders of the Trotskyites, and the ridiculous position of the Party representative with his "changed conditions."

The meeting undoubtedly was a step forward in the direction of clarification of the Montreal comrades who are months behind the American C.P. on all the vital questions.

The Trotskyites attacked Comrade Lovestone for refusing to see that a Fourth International was necessary, while the leading theoretical light of the party in Montreal, Comrade R. contributed to the discussion by calling Comrade Lovestone "Mr." and placed him in the same category with Norman Thomas and Walter Duranty as a left Social Democrat, because he refused to accept the formula of

WORKERS AGE
Organ of the National Committee
COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.
(Opposition)
51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

Published every Saturday by the
WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
Subscription Rates: \$2.00 per year;
\$1.25 for six months; 5c a copy.
Foreign Rates: \$2.50 per year; \$1.50
for six months.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5,
1934, at the Post Office, New York,
N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1929.
Address mail to Box 68 Station "O"
New York City.

Vol. V, No. 5 Sat., Feb. 1, 1936

**SUBSCRIBE TO
Workers Age**
\$1.50 for one year
\$1.00 for six months
WORKERS AGE
51 West 14th St.,
New York, N. Y.
Enclosed find \$.....
for a months sub.
Name
Address
City
State

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

WE HOPE our comrades of the Communist Party, I.L.P. and L.P. of England will not consider it presumptuous on our part if we give them some suggestions for the occasion of Edward VIII becoming monarch of the British "Commonwealth of Nations."

All the labor delegates in the House of Commons should introduce a measure proposing the following:

One, the king should abdicate. Two, all his income should be devoted to slum clearance. This should certainly not be a hard task for the erstwhile Prince of Wales. He is reputed to have had—before his father's death—great interest in the housing difficulties in the depressed areas.

Thirdly, all royal titles and incomes therefore are to be abolished forthwith. The funds thus saved for the people are to go towards taking care of the children of the poor, so that a more healthy generation will grow up to replace the decadent titled family branches.

Fourthly, upon Edward VIII's peaceful and law-abiding acceptance of these measures, Parliament should pass a law granting him the right of asylum in the British Islands. Surely, there should be no objection on anybody's part to restoring to England this right of asylum for which it was once world-renowned. We reckon that even the most conservative people in Great Britain will not object to applying the right of asylum in this case.

And what more peaceful way of extending parliamentary democracy could one devise for the Labor Party leaders who have such abounding faith in it? We fervently hope that monarchical traditions are already sufficiently weak and republican sufficiently strong in the ranks of British labor for it to give serious consideration to these practical proposals of ours.

IT IS WITH increasing rarity that we have been able in recent times to hail any act or event in the ranks of official Communism. However, we rejoice at being able to present to our readers the following report from the December 21st issue of L'Humanite, central organ of the C.P. of France:

"And finally, the law provides for the extension of the military service."

"We regret that only the Communist delegates protested against these measures."

"No doubt it will be remembered what sarcasm greeted the famous Stalin-Laval communique."

"Even in the ranks of the party with which we have a united front (Socialist Party of France) certain forces claimed that the Communist Party would drop its criticism of and its attacks on French imperialism and militarism. The Mulhouse Congress reiterated this fantastic assertion."

"We are pleased to report for the information of the broad masses that our Party has once more proven in practice that it remains the relentless enemy of militarism."

This is indeed laudable—especially in comparison with what the C.P. of Czechoslovakia did. At this time we would further like to stress that we would appreciate it very much if our contemporary, the Socialist Call, would try to explain the how and why of the French S.P. vote on this bill.

THE YEAR-END financial reports dispelled two notions which have, in recent months, gained wide currency. First of all, it is not true that Roosevelt's business regulation policies strike at the vital interests of public utilities.

Secondly, it is untrue, that public utility corporations have been hit in the pocket-book by the Roosevelt program.

The December dividends declared by the biggest corporations are the largest for any December since 1931. Furthermore, public utilities lead in the increase. Banks and insurance companies follow.

There is no question but that there are serious differences of opinion between many public utility directors and the Administration over questions of government regulation. Both the White House and the public utility directors are animated by the same motive: they both seek the stabilization and perpetuation, as well as constant enhancement, of private profit in these fields. However, the Roosevelt school is convinced that in the interest not only of the public utilities themselves but also of the general good (of capitalism as a system), some definite governmental

The Frazier Insurance Bill

The Daily Worker of January 4, 1936 carried the complete draft of the Workers Social Insurance Bill which will be introduced in Congress by Senator Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota. The new draft elaborates the Lundeen Bill and includes, in addition to unemployment insurance, disability, old age, maternity and widows' and mothers' insurance. It also includes insurance of the self-employed, that is, of the unemployed middle class. It is this last form of insurance which we wish to discuss. The discussion does not cover the Frazier Bill as a whole. This would require much more space.

The Frazier Bill is by far the best yet framed on Social Insurance in this country. The Lundeen Bill itself was a true working class document. The new draft goes beyond this and effects a union of the unemployed working class with the unemployed middle class—a union soundly effected in accordance with the actual economic status of the unemployed person rather than the alleged legal status as a propertied person.

An Important Advance

The introductory paragraph in the Daily Worker reads: "The system of self-employment insurance set forth marks a significant step forward in social insurance programs. It provides specifically for the self-employed, and thus benefits directly farmers, professional workers, the small business men and all those who are popularly regarded as the 'middle class.'" The provisions in the Frazier Bill which carry out this idea are the definition of worker to include farmers and other small business people and the definition of eligibility which rests on net income rather than gross, the exemption of the relief money from all creditor claims and the inclusion of agricultural cooperatives under workers' organizations. This means that a farmer who has not enough to eat or wear can apply for aid without being obliged to sell his cows first. The small property owner with no income and no buyer in sight can also apply.

The Frazier Bill will thus apply to the country as well as to the city. In the past the Lundeen Bill was for workers and a separate Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill was pressed for adoption among the farmers. This farmers' bill did not become widely known. It originated in the drought section and did not clearly distinguish between relief and special measures to save farm property. It attempted to challenge the capitalist system in too many ways at once. In addition, it made distinctions between farmers who relied mainly on their own labor and farmers who hired labor. Such a bill could never have been enforced because there was no division in custom or law among farmers on this basis. Some farmers who hired labor complained about this feature of the bill and a Communist organizer was reprimanded for paying any attention to their complaints. The Bill was not intended for "kulaks," so the explanation ran. The Frazier Bill, however, is the same for workers and farmers. It is a straight relief and insurance bill, based on need and concentrating on essentials.

Possible Objections

The Frazier Bill will probably encounter one set of objections in rural sections. In small towns, villages and on farms its provisions will seem exorbitant to many because the wage scale of agricultural labor is less than the minimum weekly unemployment compensation of \$10 and \$3 for each dependent. An agricultural laborer who earns \$7 a week plus his house rent, wood and milk may be getting in real wages as much as or more than the minimum compensation would give a city laborer, but in dollars he receives less. The great majority of agricultural laborers do not get as much as this. If some statement is not included in the bill showing how to equate country and city rates we shall have the spectacle on the one hand of cautious but not unsympathetic New England farmers voting against it because it asks too much and on the other hand of Southern landlords equating country sunshine to city dollars.

A Suggestion

We believe that articles discussing how the Frazier Bill might be administered and what differences from present conditions it would make in predominantly country regions would be useful. For example, what farm organizations in, say Louisiana, Arkansas, South Dakota, Nebraska and Maine, would be entitled to submit nominations for the panels of regional and district committees? It is not suggested that these matters be included in the Bill itself but merely that a pamphlet based partly on talks with country people be drawn up for the use of labor and farmer organizations and Farmer-Labor parties sponsoring the Frazier Bill.

Our conversation concluded with his statement that he would oppose my readmission into the party but that I could appeal to the District Bureau if I am dissatisfied with his decision. I closed by stating I could see no reason for appealing since it is quite clear to me that democratic centralism is as lacking today as it was in 1930 and 1931.

Chicago, Ill.

* In my column of January 18 I referred to the Supreme Court ruling against Wagner Act. This of course is an error. I should have said the Federal District Court.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of the American Federation of Labor is now in session in Miami—among the orange scented groves, as John L. Lewis puts it—and before them lie many herculean tasks. Whether the Council has considered the general condition of the A.F. of L. I do not know but the fact remains that there is much to be discussed. The phenomenal growth which characterized most of the international and national unions has been almost completely arrested. Only in isolated cases do we find some legitimate membership increases. In most cases membership has declined. All this in the face of a most virulent growth of company unionism as indicated by a recent survey of the Department of Labor. I use the term "legitimate increase" advisedly because a number of craft unions which figured prominently in the fight against industrial unionism at the Atlantic City convention are conducting intensive campaigns to "increase their membership" and their number of good standing members so that they may have greater voting weight at the coming convention.

As I said, I don't know whether this condition will be gone into but it remains a serious problem and in a fundamental sense will not be solved until the whole question of structure is finally settled.

Another question which might

An Experience In Party Democracy

By JACK STEELE

You comrades know that I applied for readmission into the Communist Party. Well, on December 28 I received a letter from the District Office requesting me to discuss my application with H. Yaris. The substance of our discussion was briefly the following: There are certain things which are not debatable any more in the Party. The 10th Plenum of the Comintern has declared "Lovestonism" as anti-Communist and that question is therefore undebatable. What does he mean by Lovestonism? Well, that the C.P. was pursuing a wrong tactical line on united front, trade union question, etc. This is not true. The party was always right, is right and, I presume, will always be right.

When I pointed out to him that forbidding members the right to discuss the correctness of our present and past line is a direct violation of democratic centralism, he replied that it is the party that defines democratic centralism. And when I protested, insisting that the C.I. had defined that a long time ago and practiced it for years, he went off on a long tirade on the general subject of debating societies as against parties of action. We discussed for about an hour. He was friendly even almost comradely. He went so far as to admit that "basically" most of the Lovestonites are communists. But when I insisted on an answer to why they should not be in the Communist Party his reply was that the Lovestonites think they are communists but that that is not his opinion.

Our conversation concluded with his statement that he would oppose my readmission into the party but that I could appeal to the District Bureau if I am dissatisfied with his decision. I closed by stating I could see no reason for appealing since it is quite clear to me that democratic centralism is as lacking today as it was in 1930 and 1931.

Chicago, Ill.

* In my column of January 18 I referred to the Supreme Court ruling against Wagner Act. This of course is an error. I should have said the Federal District Court.

cause some rise in temperature is the old building trades feud. Despite the praise showered upon vice president Harrison for solving this mess which threatened to split wide open the unions of the A. F. of L., the battle is on again between the McDonough group and the Williams group. It all came about because the smaller internationals are dissatisfied with the division of the paid offices. A last minute attempt to create some fictitious jobs at substantial pay may have arrested. Only in isolated cases do we find some legitimate membership increases. In most cases membership has declined. All this in the face of a most virulent growth of company unionism as indicated by a recent survey of the Department of Labor. I use the term "legitimate increase" advisedly because a number of craft unions which figured prominently in the fight against industrial unionism at the Atlantic City convention are conducting intensive campaigns to "increase their membership" and their number of good standing members so that they may have greater voting weight at the coming convention.

As I said, I don't know whether this condition will be gone into but it remains a serious problem and in a fundamental sense will not be solved until the whole question of structure is finally settled.

Another question which might

An Experience In Party Democracy

By JACK STEELE

You comrades know that I applied for readmission into the Communist Party. Well, on December 28 I received a letter from the District Office requesting me to discuss my application with H. Yaris. The substance of our discussion was briefly the following: There are certain things which are not debatable any more in the Party. The 10th Plenum of the Comintern has declared "Lovestonism" as anti-Communist and that question is therefore undebatable. What does he mean by Lovestonism? Well, that the C.P. was pursuing a wrong tactical line on united front, trade union question, etc. This is not true. The party was always right, is right and, I presume, will always be right.

When I pointed out to him that forbidding members the right to discuss the correctness of our present and past line is a direct violation of democratic centralism, he replied that it is the party that defines democratic centralism. And when I protested, insisting that the C.I. had defined that a long time ago and practiced it for years, he went off on a long tirade on the general subject of debating societies as against parties of action. We discussed for about an hour. He was friendly even almost comradely. He went so far as to admit that "basically" most of the Lovestonites are communists. But when I insisted on an answer to why they should not be in the Communist Party his reply was that the Lovestonites think they are communists but that that is not his opinion.

Our conversation concluded with his statement that he would oppose my readmission into the party but that I could appeal to the District Bureau if I am dissatisfied with his decision. I closed by stating I could see no reason for appealing since it is quite clear to me that democratic centralism is as lacking today as it was in 1930 and 1931.

Chicago, Ill.

* In my column of January 18 I referred to the Supreme Court ruling against Wagner Act. This of course is an error. I should have said the Federal District Court.

FOR A UNITED REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

An Appeal By the National Bureau of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition)

The following appeal was sent by the Communist Party (Opposition) to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

—Editor

AN OVERWHELMING desire for class unity is sweeping the ranks of the workers thruout the world today. Impressed with the vast progress of the Soviet Union, awakened by the disasters in Germany, Spain and other countries, where the disunity of the proletariat was largely responsible for the triumph of reaction, aroused by the menacing advances of fascism in recent years, the masses of workers are calling for unity in tones that will not be denied and are impatiently brushing aside the old antagonisms that have proved such barriers in the past. Under their pressure, great political obstacles are being gradually cleared away. Profiting by the experiences of Germany, Spain and Austria, the socialist masses are learning to look with revulsion upon the crude reformist bourgeois coalition policies of their old leaders and are beginning to tear down the wall of unreasoning hostility separating them from the communist workers.

A Sound Basis

But, if such unity is to be anything more than a snare and a delusion, it must be based on sound political foundations. Austria has plainly shown us that the mere organizational unity of the proletariat within one party is not enough to assure victory or to stave off the triumph of fascism. What is needed is not merely socialist unity but revolutionary socialist unity—the political unity of the proletariat on the basis of the tested principles of revolutionary Marxism. The experience of decades of the world labor movement, climaxing, in its various phases, in the great Russian revolution, in the miserable fiascos of the two British labor governments and in the bitter defeats in Germany, Austria and Spain, have thrown abundant light upon those principles which alone can give strength and revolutionary effectiveness to a working class political party:

1. The class independence of the proletariat—the rejection of any form of collaboration or coalition with the bourgeoisie.
2. Revolutionary internationalist opposition to imperialist war and war preparations—the rejection of every form of class peace or support of "our own" imperialist bourgeoisie, direct or indirect, in any war it may wage.
3. Clarity on the question of the road to power—the practical recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in the form of workers councils.
4. Recognition of the proletarian class character of the Soviet government as a workers state engaged in the construction of socialism—the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against all enemies.
5. Democratic centralism as the basis of party organization—in order to be able to combine discipline and unity of action with genuine collective initiative and complete freedom of political discussion and decision within the party.

The First Steps

The first form in which this elemental striving for class unity has expressed itself is the achievement of trade union unity and the establishment of united fronts or common action among the socialist communist and other labor organizations. Great advances in this direction have already been made in Austria, Spain, France, Switzerland and Belgium. The sometimes weakened and disfigured by the opportunist distortions of the so-called People's Front, such united action represents not only a significant step in the class consolidation of the proletariat but also, and precisely for that reason, the first really effective answer to the bloody challenge of fascism. In the United States, the same underlying tendency is to be felt, but here specific conditions, especially the weakness of the workers' political movement, have hitherto given it the form primarily of a drive for trade union unity.

United action, however welcome and necessary it undoubtedly is and however vigorously all class conscious workers should strive to realize it, is only the first step in the direction of proletarian class unity. Since the days of the world war, the political movement of labor, embracing its most advanced and conscious elements, has been split into two main streams—social-democratic and communist. Under the circumstances in which it occurred, this split was both necessary and progressive, for it was the inevitable consequence of the brazen desertion of socialist principles on the part of the most opportunist sections of the social-democratic movement. Only thru its instrumentality could revolu-

tionary Marxism have rid itself of the rotting carcass of anti-socialist opportunism and have acquired that ideological independence and freedom of political activity without which a revolutionary movement is altogether impossible. To overcome this division in a sound and effective manner has always been a great objective for all revolutionary Marxists. The highest form of the unity of the proletariat is the revolutionary unity of its vanguard in the ranks of one revolutionary party:

But, if such unity is to be anything more than a snare and a delusion, it must be based on sound political foundations. Austria has plainly shown us that the mere organizational unity of the proletariat within one party is not enough to assure victory or to stave off the triumph of fascism. What is needed is not merely socialist unity but revolutionary socialist unity—the political unity of the proletariat on the basis of the tested principles of revolutionary Marxism. The experience of decades of the world labor movement, climaxing, in its various phases, in the great Russian revolution, in the miserable fiascos of the two British labor governments and in the bitter defeats in Germany, Austria and Spain, have thrown abundant light upon those principles which alone can give strength and revolutionary effectiveness to a working class political party:

1. The class independence of the proletariat—the rejection of any form of collaboration or coalition with the bourgeoisie.
2. Revolutionary internationalist opposition to imperialist war and war preparations—the rejection of every form of class peace or support of "our own" imperialist bourgeoisie, direct or indirect, in any war it may wage.
3. Clarity on the question of the road to power—the practical recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in the form of workers councils.
4. Recognition of the proletarian class character of the Soviet government as a workers state engaged in the construction of socialism—the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against all enemies.
5. Democratic centralism as the basis of party organization—in order to be able to combine discipline and unity of action with genuine collective initiative and complete freedom of political discussion and decision within the party.

Unity—Need of Hour

Unity on such foundations would be sound, revolutionary unity. We must heartily greet the fact that such unity is today becoming increasingly possible, just as the demand for it among the masses of the class conscious workers is becoming increasingly urgent. Under the impact of the colossal experiences of the last six years, a deep fermentation is under way in the socialist movement everywhere, achieving expression in a process of far-reaching political differentiation and, in particular, in a pronounced swing to the left among the best sections of the socialist workers. In a number of countries an important revolutionary wing has emerged, breaking with reformism of all shades and openly championing the principles of revolutionary socialism (communism). Behind this advanced element follow other broad sections of socialist workers, at present more backward but moving in the same general direction. In the United States,

similar processes are taking place; in a hesitant, irregular, uneven manner, the leftward movement is forming here as well, heading towards revolutionary socialism. This process of political reorientation now under way in socialist ranks creates the possibility for a broad extension of the basis of revolutionary unity and gives the slogan the timeliness and vitality which it has already acquired.

The achievement of sound unity will, of course, necessarily imply the elimination of many obstacles now in the way, including the traces of old prejudices, remnants of reformism and unclearly among the left socialists as well as the new opportunism and the stultification of the forms of democratic centralism among the official communists. Such obstacles cannot long withstand the mighty will to unity of the masses of class conscious workers.

Revolutionary unity is the great demand of the hour. It must be recognized that, by and for itself, neither the Communist Party, nor the Socialist Party nor the Communist Opposition nor any of the other workers political groups is today in a position to provide the basis for the development of the effective revolutionary party of the proletariat. Revolutionary unity can and must be achieved if the proletariat is to have a leadership equal to the gigantic historical tasks facing it—to save mankind from the horrors of another world

war; to halt the advance of fascism and to overthrow it where it is already in power; to destroy the whole mad system of capitalism and to lay the foundations of a new socialist order.

Our Fight For Unity

The Communist Opposition was born in the struggle for working class unity. We championed the cause of the united labor front and of trade union unity when we had to stand alone against the bitter opposition of both the socialists and official communists. The result of our unyielding fight for unity are well known. Our fundamental policy has been thoroughly justified in life itself, in every one of the great events that have changed the face of the world labor movement in the last seven years.

Today it becomes the task of the Communist Opposition to raise the slogan of revolutionary unity in response to the deepest needs of the proletariat. We earnestly appeal to the official Communist Party, to the left socialists and to all other class conscious workers to face this problem, to discuss it and to make known their attitude towards it. We urge that the question be examined entirely from the point of view of the vital interests of the proletariat and that any secondary considerations of prejudice or factional advantage be brushed aside. We are confident that, if the question is approached

in this spirit, the answer can be only one of enthusiastic support of the movement for revolutionary unity!

Our Tasks

For itself the Communist Opposition lays down the following tasks:

1. To raise and to champion the slogan of revolutionary unity among the workers of various political tendencies and to fight against all resistance to unity whether it comes from right opportunism or from ultra-left sectarianism.
2. To strive for the broadening and extension of every form of socialist-communist collaboration and of the united labor front in general in order to mobilize the forces of the workers against capitalist reaction as well as to prepare the way for and to stimulate unification on a still higher level, in one revolutionary political party.
3. To explain the political basis of sound revolutionary unity and to expose and resist all efforts to bring about unity on an unsound, un-Marxist basis.

Forward to the united labor front against capital!

Forward to the unification of the class conscious vanguard of the proletariat on the basis of revolutionary Marxism!

**NATIONAL BUREAU
COMMUNIST PARTY
(OPPOSITION)**
Jay Lovestone, Sec'y

ROOSEVELT REACHES FOR RURAL VOTE

(Continued from Page 1)

lowing it to lie "fallow" or idle for decades. But in this so-called "modern" administration, the progressive achievements of capitalism are discarded, and farmers are to be paid for reviving the essence of feudal agriculture! Capitalism, in its imperialist stage revives "all that is dying and mediaeval" (Lenin)

As the administration has pointed out, certain features of Hoover's program are here included. In this connection note should be made of the fact that the triple A decision did not arouse the expected enthusiasm in the ranks of the G.O.P. For the bourgeoisie, as a class, has no fundamental solution for the agrarian crisis. The major struggle that looms concerns the attitude towards foreign markets. Some elements of the ruling class wish to raise the farmer's price at home (domestic allotment plan) and keep the export price low to compete on the world market. Others wish to raise the farmer's price abroad

First, by transforming the AAA machinery into the Soil Conservation machinery, he will be able to uphold the vast bureaucratic electoral machine that he has built on the countryside. This apparatus acts also as a powerful pressure instrument to keep the farmers hitched to the ruling class.

Secondly, altho the benefit payments will eventually reach a smaller layer of farmers, he stands forth as maintaining a farm-relief program that speaks in terms of cash. This assures him of the

C.P. Drags Opposition To Court

The following document is an official complaint lodged by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with the Czech Gardmarerie. The appeal to the "republican police" against the Communist Party (Opposition) is quite in line with the action of the Communist Party in voting for Benes for President and for his proposed military budget.

To the District Police Authorities in Asch (Czechoslovakia)
Concerning: Complaint against misuse of our Party name:

The undersigned files the following complaint in the name of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, District Asch, with a request for action:

Josef Voell, Asch, Arbeiterheim, publishes a periodical paper entitled "Arbeiterpolitik." As is evident from the enclosed copy the

(export debenture plan, a kind of drive for markets, pointing out that agricultural exports have decreased, and imports increased.

The new plan is put forth with an officially sponsored fear of unconstitutionality, altho leaving out any provisions to pay the bounties, it is hoped to avoid conflict with the Supreme Court. Roosevelt's strategy begins to be outlined rather clearly, even at this stage of the electoral game.

First, by transforming the AAA machinery into the Soil Conservation machinery, he will be able to uphold the vast bureaucratic electoral machine that he has built on the countryside. This apparatus acts also as a powerful pressure instrument to keep the farmers hitched to the ruling class.

Secondly, altho the benefit payments will eventually reach a smaller layer of farmers, he stands forth as maintaining a farm-relief program that speaks in terms of cash. This assures him of the

major part of the agricultural vote. Thirdly, the dangers of a "constitutional amendment campaign" already appear to be too great for the powers that be. The bourgeoisie, if they did decide to pass an amendment, would only concoct one for their own class aims. This would not be an amendment to give Congress the power to pass social legislation, but an amendment that would increase the powers of the Executive, perhaps even with a loophole for a kind of "government by decree" ("in the interests of the nation" (read bourgeoisie)). But, at present, it becomes too risky to play with the very conception of a constitutional amendment. The differences over the type of amendment might, they reason, hasten the development of a Farmer-Labor Party, and lose Roosevelt a good section of his support. The bourgeoisie cannot afford today to take the same "liberal" attitude as was possible for their European brethren, thirty and forty years ago.

—M. S. M.

C.P.O. APPEALS FOR UNITY

(Continued from Page 1)

ism—the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against all enemies.

"5. Democratic centralism as the basis of party organization—in order to be able to combine discipline and unity of action with genuine collective initiative and complete freedom of political discussion and decision within the party."

This document (printed on this page) is being submitted by the National Bureau to the enlarged session of the National Committee to be held in New York on February 22 and 23.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

KARL WETTENGEL
Asch, Arbeiterheim
Asch, December 27, 1935.

In the International Labor Movement

NORWAY LABOR HALTS FASCISM

Comrade Hal Bojer is one of the leading comrades in the "Mot Dag" group in Norway. This organization is in fraternal relations with the International Communist Opposition.

In the next issue we will print an article on the situation in Germany by Comrade Aufhäuser, one of the leaders of the Left group in the German Social Democracy.—Editor

By HAL BOJER

I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN SCANDINAVIA

Norway and Sweden have been getting their share of the general tendency of revival, and partly even more than their share. The volume of trade has been increasing, particularly in Sweden. On the other hand, employment has not been rising as rapidly as production. Trade barriers have been raised, and Denmark in particular has been forced to make some radical changes in order to adjust itself to the difficulties of foreign trade. Prices have not risen, despite depreciation of currencies. Agricultural prices have been low, causing unrest among the farmers.

II. POLITICAL TRENDS

(a) Fascism

It was generally expected that fascism would gain in strength in most European countries after Hitler's victory. And this seemed to be the case, too. However, from the very start the Scandinavian countries were lagging behind in this development. Democratic traditions were strong. The resentment against German militarism, of which Hitlerism was regarded as an offshoot, was very strong. Elections showed slight gains for fascist parties. The fascists tried to adjust themselves to this condition, everywhere claiming to be "constitutional" and "democratic" as against the parties of "Marxism and dictatorship," this term including all labor parties. However, one event was a complete knockout for all fascist tendencies, as far as a foothold among the masses is concerned, this event being the murder of Roehm, Schleicher, etc., in June, 1934. From that time on, fascism has been on the run. The petty bourgeois masses detested the fascist propaganda, and looked to the labor party for economic reforms.

(b) The Bourgeois parties

These parties have been losing ground everywhere. They have been forced to disassociate themselves from fascism. For that very reason, they have been unable to come forward with any kind of fake reform programs. On the other hand, under the pressure of the Labor Party, appropriations for public works, for relief, subsidies to agriculture, and fishing have been increased. The Labor Party has been credited as the only party determined to enforce effective measures against the depression. These measures have been introduced mainly at the bottom of the general business curve, and the Labor Party has been able to collect the credits for the revival which has taken place.

(c) The Norwegian Agrarian Party

This party based itself on the non-partisan farmers league, somewhat as the Labor Party is basing itself on the unions. It used to be the most reactionary one of them all. Out of this party emerged the main fascist group. When in office, from 1931 to 1933, this party introduced several reactionary measures, the most important one making all unemployed, receiving public relief, ineligible for public office. During this time the largest lockout occurred, the one of 1931, and the Agrarians mobilized marines and army detachments against

the workers. Until about one year ago, the Agrarians continued as the main reactionary force, the leaders thundering against "Marxism," and blaming the whole economic crisis upon the workers and their organizations. This caused widespread dissatisfaction among the membership. The farmers realized that as far as debt reductions and price-raising were concerned, the agrarians and the laborites had much in common. They deserted their party by thousands while others, remaining, demanded co-operation with the laborites. Finally, after the local elections in the fall of 1934, the leaders got scared. They realized that the laborites were by far the strongest party even in the farming districts and realized that something had to be done in order to keep all the farmers from deserting their party in favor of the laborites.

By the beginning of this year, the Agrarians introduced a resolution of non-confidence in the liberal government. The laborites introduced a similar resolution. These two parties combined control a majority in the parliament. The Agrarians declared themselves in favor of larger appropriations for unemployment relief and agrarian subsidies, and the laborites, declaring themselves against excessive government spending, resigned. With the blessing of the Agrarians, the laborites formed a new government.

(d) The Labor Government

The laborites, of course, had to make concessions. First, they appropriated the usual apparatus for the royal family. This is of minor importance, most people regard the royals as being ridiculous, and they play no role whatsoever. More serious was the appropriation for the so-called state-police, a creation of reaction which had served the chief purpose of smashing strikes. However, simultaneously they are trying to re-shape this body in order to check the reactionary tendencies somewhat. The most debatable thing was a sales-tax, making commodities more expensive for the consumers. All commodities are subject to this tax, which amounts to 1%. This was a direct concession to the Agrarians, and has made the laborites lose a little prestige among the small store-keepers. Finally, the laborites have been forced to do all they can to avoid strikes, and settle wage-matters peacefully. All wage agreements were up for revision this year, and the workers expected to get some gains. Most agreements, however, retained old wage standards. Now, these are the concessions, what are the gains?

The first one, the prestige of being able to govern, and the credit for the revival. Then the credit for more subsidies to the agrarian and fishing population. Further, governmental works, and attempts of re-establishing some home-industries (ship-building, iron and steel, artificial silk, etc.) which have been at low ebb. Then some important political gains. Some severe anti-union laws have been repealed, likewise the one making people on relief ineligible. The Agrarians, having introduced most of these laws, now voted for their repeal.

(e) The Labor Movement

Last year, there was a sentiment running: "Concessions to reaction,"

let's adopt the fascist slogans and tactics, and gain their adherents. This movement was checked at the congress of labor youth. Simultaneously, some union leaders, chief among them Halvard Olsen, head of the labor federation, recommended some reactionary laws, practically putting the union decisions concerning strikes under government control. However, a movement was started against this, the labor members of parliament voted against the law, and last fall at the labor federation convention, Olsen and his followers had to resign from union leadership. This convention was very radical in mood. While most radical measures were toned down, due to the lack of an organized left wing, the convention served as a lesson for all those who wanted to co-operate with the capitalists and make concessions at the expense of the workers.

One important achievement was the decision to organize the unemployed in separate unions, and giving them a good representation in the federation. In general, the year 1935 once more proved that the real right-wingers have very slight chances to get ahead in the Norwegian labor movement. This year, one more tendency has been checked, that of Colbjornsen, propagating for the erection of giant industries according to some three or five year plan, before the workers have seized state-power. With the responsibility of being in office the Labor Party has been forced to drop these more or less utopian schemes. Colbjornsen still is an influential man, but his plans have been modified by himself, and even more by others, mainly the cabinet members.

Now, every class-conscious Norwegian worker is expecting and hoping for one thing: A majority in the fall elections. And there are chances that it may happen. The laborites are playing too much with the conservatives. The Agrarians have been vacillating, their followers think they may just as well go the whole hog and join the laborites. The fascists are playing no part whatsoever. The communists are falling in line, propagating for a labor majority next fall, and for a united ticket. They'll probably be turned down, and in the last turn all they can do is to ask their followers to vote for the Labor Party.

Recently, the Communist youth negotiated with the Labor Youth for organizational unity. The whole thing blew up owing to the demand on the part of the Communists that the united youth should adhere to neither one of the parties. When turned down, they made another proposition, namely of forming a youth league, collectively attached to the Labor Party, but individuals to have the right of reservation. This too, was turned down, and all the CP now can do is to crawl on its belly for organizational unity. This everybody expects them to do. Recently I attended the congress of Labor Sport for the town of Oslo. The Labor Sport is a more important body than the youth leagues, second only to the parties and unions. At the congress, the CP introduced a resolution for a united worker's ticket next fall. The Labor Party resolution called on the CP to vote for the Labor Party. Ten hands were raised for the CP, two hundred for the LP.

The recent elections in Denmark showed large gains for the Social Democrats. This despite the fact that they have governed for six years—six years of depression and difficulties. The wind here is blowing in the same direction, and the



CANADIAN YOUNG WORKERS TAKE ANTI-WAR STAND

The Ontario Section of the Co-operative Commonwealth Youth Movement held its first Annual Convention in Toronto recently. 51 delegates, representing 800 members, attended the Convention, which occupied two days, and charted the future course of the organization. [The C.C.Y.M. is the largest working-class political youth movement in Canada.]

Reflecting the ideological level of the majority of the delegates was the continual bickering over constitutional amendments. If this level had been at a higher stage of development, several important resolutions on the united front, war and sanctions, would have been considered of greater importance. As it happened, it was not until the last few hours of the convention that the discussion of these items got under way.

What constitutes an united front was left to the Provincial Executive to decide, thereby placing in its hands extremely wide powers.

A resolution calling for opposition to League of Nations sanctions and support of independent working-class action, produced much friction. The Y.C.L. sympathisers lined up with the reactionaries and the discussion resulted in a resolution stating that the League of Nations could not be regarded as an instrument of peace and that we support a labor boycott. This does not provide a clear-cut stand on sanctions. The delegate who introduced this resolution stated that it was a compromise between the warring factions—the Lovestonites on one side and the Y.C.L. and reformists on the other.

The following resolution on war was adopted, despite strenuous objection:

"Be it resolved that (1) the CCYM is unalterably opposed to all capitalistic war. (2) In case Canada should go to war the CCYM will continue waging a struggle of opposition to such action by agitating amongst the militia, regulars, reserves and all military units to refrain from leaving these shores and instead fight for the overthrow of the existing regime. (3) In time of war the CCYM favours the general strike as the only weapon that can stop the capitalist class from using workers as cannon fodder. (4) Should a revolutionary situation develop through Canadian participation in a war the CCYM will be prepared to utilize the opportunity to attain power. (5) The CCYM must conduct an intensive anti-war agitation now both within and without the organization and to the latter end it must cooperate with and seek to attract other youth organizations into a broad

probability of a labor majority next fall is recognized by everybody. This election in any event will turn out to be very important. Oslo, Dec. 22, 1935.

anti-war youth organization."

On this question, of course, the Y.C.L. lined up with all other progressive factions and endorsed the above attitude toward capitalist war. This resolution does not represent the sentiment of the CCYM and undoubtedly a referendum of all the units in Ontario will be held, to reconsider it, and there is no question of its rejection.

In line with the recent turn of the Communist International the Young Communist League presented a proposal for organic unity, which met with little sympathy from the delegates. Due to the third period tactics, a strong anti-Communist sentiment has been developed in the CCYM and all proposals for unity are regarded with extreme scepticism.

The CCYM in Ontario has barely touched the fringe in endeavoring to organize the youth. Efforts must be made to transform it from its present structure into a broad non-partisan youth movement.

N E W

First Number - Order Today

International CLASS STRUGGLE

Quarterly theoretical organ of the International Communist Opposition. (English Edition). Devoted to a critical examination of the economic, political and tactical problems of the international revolutionary movement.

•

January - March Issue
(48 pages - printed)

•

Contents

Problems of Illegal Organization in Germany. By Leo.

Road To Communist Unity—A Letter to the Communist International.

Lenin or Luxemburg? By Bern Brandon

Review of 1935—Editorial — and other articles —

•

Single Copy — 25c
Subscription \$1.00 a year

•

order from

WORKERS AGE
P. O. Box 68 Station "O"
New York City

•

A bi-monthly organ of the I.C.O. is being published in German under the same name. Write us for further information if you are interested in the German Edition.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

Smith Blasts New Deal In Speech To American Liberty League

At last the tension is broken. Every Democratic and Republican politician has been holding his breath, waiting with great impatience for the "happy warrior" to declare, what everyone already surmised would be, a declaration of independence from anything and everything that the present administration has done.

Surrounded by many of the leading Republicans—who, by a queer quirk of fate found themselves suddenly the staunch defenders of states' rights and by many democratic dignitaries such as John W. Davis, Governor Ely of Massachusetts, former Governor Ritchie of Maryland, etc., Al Smith addressed an assembly of 2,000 who, according to the New York Times, "represented, either through principals or attorneys, a large portion of the capitalistic wealth of the country."

The setting was appropriate, the time equally so, for the same day the press carried the report that Congress was considering an investigation of the very body Smith was now addressing—the American Liberty League. Equally in tune was the character of Al Smith's speech—for running thru it all was the attack upon the New Deal (which he never mentioned by name) as "socialistic" or "communist."

Mixing Oil and Water

This leader of reaction, who was once the white hope of all liberals and pink radicals, insisted that the New Deal as carried out in practice is much closer to the Socialist Program than to any program of the Democratic Party and warned that Socialism and Communism do not mix with representative democracy. Warning to this subject, he got quite a laugh by informing his audience that "the young brain trusters caught the Socialists in swimming and they ran away with their clothes." And, in an effort to make up for his failure to speak at the Jackson Day dinner, he continues: "It is all right with me, if they want to disguise themselves as Karl Marx or Lenin or any of the rest of that bunch, but I won't stand for their allowing them to march under the banner of Jackson or Cleveland."

Finally, Al Smith, always the showman, ended with a vicious assault upon the Soviet Union, "Now in conclusion," he said, "let me give this solemn warning. There can be only one capital, Washington or Moscow.

"There can be only one atmosphere of government, the clear, pure, fresh air of free America, or the foul breath of communistic Russia. There can be only one flag, the Stars and Stripes, or the flag of the godless Union of the Soviets. There can be only one national anthem, The Star Spangled Banner, or the Internationale."

He Speaks For No Man

Denying the possible charge that he speaks for certain groups Smith insisted that he speaks for no one, rather just as a simple citizen who puts patriotism above partisanship and wants to keep open those opportunities which made it possible for him to rise to his present position from a newsboy on the sidewalks of New York.

[We got to admit that he is a good riser. He is now President and director of the \$55,000,000 Empire State Building; trustee, the \$150,000,000 Postal Telegraph Company; director, the \$50,000,000 National Surety Corporation; director, the \$2,000,000,000 New York Life Insurance Company; chairman of the board of directors, the \$42,000,000 Lawyers County Trust Company; chairman of the board, County Improvement Company,

Meenan Oil Company, Inc., Meenan Coal Company, Inc.; director, the Knott Hotels Corporation.]

But this former newsboy, now the mouthpiece of the biggest of big business is unalterably opposed to having the rich help pay the national debt. At least that is one of his chief arguments against the New Deal—that it resorts to soaking the rich.

Indictment of New Deal

His chief indictments of the New Deal were that it stunts individual opportunity, it drains the resources of the people, it sets class against class and has created a government by bureaucracy.

Taking up the platform of the Democratic Party of 1932 upon which Roosevelt ran and was elected Smith charged that with the exception of the regulation of the Stock Exchange and repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, not a single important point has been carried out. "This is the first time," he continued, "that I have known a party, upon such a huge scale, not only not to carry out the planks, but to do directly the opposite thing to what they promised."

Roll Call

Taking up the 1932 Platform plank by plank he shows that Roosevelt has reversed himself thruout. Where the program called for "An immediate drastic reduction of governmental expenditures" the cost of government has gone up: On paper, the pledge to "abolish useless commissions and offices" and in practice, he said, an extension of commissions, boards and bureaucrats of all kind. In words the proposal for the annual balancing of the budget thru "accurate executive estimates" and in practice a constantly mounting deficit. As against Federal credits to states, the Federal government has itself taken over all relief work.

In the field of farm relief Smith quoted the platform as promising the enactment of "constitutional measures" and pointed to the AAA and the decisions of the Supreme Court. "The Supreme Court," he said, "is working overtime, throwing the alphabet out of the window, three letters at a time." Where the Program pledges the President to remove "the government from all fields of private enterprise," the NRA turned out to be, according to Smith, "a vast octopus set up by the government that wound its arms around all the business of the country and choked little business to death."

In a similar vein Smith scored the system of plowing under corn and wheat while importing these very commodities from foreign lands and government's entry into speculative business by buying up cotton of which it will own 4,500,000 bales by February first.

Smith Sees Bolt

Discussing the possibilities at the coming Philadelphia convention of the Democratic Party, Smith visualizes an endorsement of the Administration policies. Under such circumstances, he said, "we can either take on the mantle of hypocrisy or we can take a walk, and we will probably do the latter."

MINERS FOOLED AGAIN

Governor Chandler, recently elected with the support of organized labor, has ordered troops to proceed to the coal fields of North-east Kentucky where the United Mine Workers has led a bitter fight for unionization lasting many months. A veritable reign of terror exists thruout the area, many union miners having been killed and wounded and others framed and jailed.

LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand Daniel De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party

MORE THAN TWO decades of labor history have swirled over the grave of Daniel DeLeon, yet his opponents are not yet done vituperating him, and his cohorts in the Socialist Labor Party not yet done uncritically worshipping him. The memoirs and autobiography of every significant leader of American labor who knew and dealt with DeLeon single him out for verbal lashing. Samuel Gompers called him "that monumental libeler, that assassin of men's characters." Morris Hillquit, although forced to admit that DeLeon was "a person of great erudition, rare ability, and indomitable energy," labeled him a "fanatic," "the perfect American prototype of Russian Bolshevism." Bill Haywood called DeLeon "the theorizing professor." The S. L. P., on the other hand, revives an editorial of his every so often in the Weekly People, hawks his pamphlets as gospel-truth, and quotes him as if he were the first Pope. DeLeon is all that the S.L.P. has left and it is making the most out of his heritage. That heritage has so much glory and grandeur attached to it that it has been able to keep alive even the wild sectarians of Rose Street.

Amidst all this clamor and name-calling, both condemnatory and laudatory, one great voice has been raised in DeLeon's behalf since his death in May 1914 at Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York. That voice carries so much authority, has proven itself to be so often right, that it compensates by its quality over DeLeon. But certainly the cantankerous woodpecker at De Leon by a Moissaye J. Olgin in the Morning Freiheit last year can do little to besmirch him. Dialectics, of which DeLeon was an expounder, can best explain his failings and his contributions. Vituperation can be left to those who can spit fire without generating ideas.

Daniel DeLeon was born in 1852 on the island of Curacao in the Dutch West Indies. His father was a doctor, and he came of "a good family." His early years were spent in Curacao, and then he studied at the "gymnasium" at Hildesheim, Germany. After that it is said that he studied at the University of Leyden, Holland. In New York DeLeon studied at and was graduated from Columbia Law School with honors in international law and diplomacy, carrying off prizes in both. One of his classmates was Samuel Untermyer. He was made a lecturer in his honor-subject, but his work in the university terminated in 1889.

In 1890 he joined the Socialist Labor Party which was then thirteen years old. Its influence was largely among the German immigrant population of the East, and its literary influence was through the New York Volkszeitung, with which DeLeon was to do hard battle for many years. He had come to the S.L.P. after work with the Henry George movement in New York, and affiliation with Edward Bellamy's "Nationalist" movement. He then discovered Marx and threw himself into work for a socialist society. His active work begins with his participation as a speaker in the mayoralty campaign of 1890. The campaign resulted in the founding of a newspaper, the People, edited by Lucien Samial, with DeLeon as associate editor. The next year DeLeon was made editor and continued to hold that office until his death in 1914.

For five years he urged boring from within the trade unions, and he himself attempted to bore from within District 49 of the Knights of Labor, while other Socialists were boring in the A. F. of L. In 1894 the boring seemed to be taking effect. An independent labor party was sanctioned by a referendum vote of the members of the A. F. of L. but it was buried in the convention of the federation at Denver. At this convention DeLeon succeeded for the first and last time in having Gompers defeated for the presidency. Gompers' opposition to political action which DeLeon nicknamed "pure and simpleton" unionism, and his insistence on craft unionism against DeLeon's industrial unionism aroused DeLeon's hatred. In 1895 Gompers came back to the presidency, and DeLeon pulled out of the A. F. of L. (To Be Continued)

But DeLeon's theory was better than his practice. In practice he was wrong consistently for almost twenty years. He became in 1895, after reverses in the American Federation of Labor, the most dyed-in-the-wool dual unionist that the world labor movement has ever seen. William Z. Foster, in The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement, makes out a case for DeLeon's dual unionism as being the

MINERS RETURN TO WORK

Miners in ten collieries of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company have been ordered to return to work by the United Mine Workers of America. This week-old strike was called off after the company agreed to comply with the demands of the miners regarding safety conditions in the mines.

TRADE UNION NOTES

(Continued from Page 4)
ship. They continued to exist until a few weeks ago when a new stoppage was called. For two days the workers remained out and then went back to work. Sixteen of the leading workers were fired and the backbone of the union broken.

Now, according to the clipping a "Club" (read company union) has been organized, a club house secured, an athletic field bought, and a baseball team in process of formation. Oh yes, we forgot to mention, George E. Stavitsky, personnel manager of Pratt and Whitney Aircraft, is president of this Club. Jan. 22, 1936

PAINTERS VOTE FOR CLEAN UNIONISM!

Freeman Is Progressive Hope In Elections To Brooklyn Council

For the first time in many years the members of the Painters' Unions in Brooklyn and New York will have an opportunity once and for all to clean house, to tear up root and branch the gangsterism and racketeering which afflicted these unions. On February 8th the Brooklyn painters will vote for a secretary of the District Council and in Manhattan the workers will be called upon to vote on February 29th.

For many years the Lepke-Garrah thugs dominated and ran the Brooklyn organization to their pocket's content. Internally the gun and the black jack kept down an ever growing resentful opposition within the union. Now with the outstanding representatives of this gang behind prison bars for graft and racketeering, the workers have breathed a sigh of relief and are preparing to place in office men from their own ranks, whom they know and trust.

Three Candidates In Field

There are three candidates now in the field for the office of Secretary-Treasurer of District Council 18 (Brooklyn). Bob Kellman, nominated by Local 860 for this position is a true disciple of Jake The Bum (one of those who are now in the jug) and if elected to this position promises to conduct himself in the best traditions of the Lepke-Garrah gang. The second candidate, J. Bresinger, is a member of the "Rank and File Group" and was nominated by Local 778. The third candidate—the one who has the best chances of getting elected—is Sam Freeman, nominated by Local 645. Freeman, who has made a name for himself because of his fearless and undaunted opposition during the worst days of the gang terror in the union, is one of the best known of the progressives and has the endorsement of the Painters Progressive Group.

The Progressive Program

The Program upon which Freeman is running for office is also the Program of the Painters Progressive Group. Here it is:

"Recognizing that racketeering, corruption, gangsterism and reactionary trade unionism are harmful to the best interests of our union, the Painters Progressive Group is pledged to fight for:

"1. Improved conditions and for the best interests of all the members of the Brotherhood, through enforcing union conditions, scale of wages, the 7 hour day on all jobs and shops; equal division of work during slow season; the right of the man to his job after two weeks of trial; for the enforcement of the 50% clause in the agreement. (50% of all workers must be hired thru the union office. The employer may hire the rest directly. All must be union members.)

"2. An honest administration.

"3. Democratic procedure and free speech for all members of the union.

"4. The strengthening of the union through organization of the unorganized and the unionization of open shops; and AGAINST

"5. Discrimination because of race, creed or political affiliation.

"6. Any attempt to weaken or demoralize the ranks of our union.

"7. Corruption, racketeering and favoritism."

Freeman Getting Support

On Friday January 25, Freeman addressed Local 971. After explaining in detail the program upon which he stands he entered upon a discussion of present conditions in the union and stated that one of the most important tasks is to

MINERS SUPPORT LEWIS IN FIGHT

The United Mine Workers of America, most powerful industrial union in the A. F. of L., has begun a two weeks convention in Washington. The union is expected to face the problems of its own industry, wage agreements for both anthracite and bituminous, the question of the 1936 elections, and the problem of the struggle for industrial unionism in the A. F. of L.

Approximately, 3,000 resolutions have been received from the locals, and while this interest and vitality is to be welcomed, the overwhelming majority of them present no proposals in addition to those of Lewis on the question of political action.

All the Locals, so far as can be learned, are solidly behind Lewis, in his struggle for industrial unionism, openly endorsing the principles of the Committee for Industrial Organization. This represents the solid vote of a half-million members of the A. F. of L.

Present indications are that the miners have not yet been won over to support of a Labor Party. Lewis, Murray, and Kennedy (Lt.-Gov. of Penna.) are ardent New Dealers and have already agitated for support of Roosevelt in the union organ. The insistence on an open endorsement is being used by Lewis in his fight against the crafts who stand by the old formula of "non-partisanship" and in this respect, Lewis splits with the progressives, who are not for any sort of political action, but for a Labor Party.

The present bituminous agreement expires in 1937, and the anthracite contract on March 31 of this year. The nature of both agreements will be discussed at this convention. The main task is to get a one year agreement for anthracite, in order that both agreements may expire simultaneously, and the full power of industrial unionism be exercised.

clean the union of the remnants of the Lepke-Garrah gang. This statement was received with great enthusiasm by the assembled workers. The proposal to endorse Freeman's candidacy was postponed for a week.

Painters Being Registered

Considerable interest has also been aroused in the situation in the Manhattan District Council. Here Zausner, whom all the painters had learned to swear at in the course of his despicable racketeering career as the Czar of the New York painters, finally was forced to duck in an effort to side-step the same fate that befell his compatriots in Brooklyn. This left the position of Secretary-Treasurer to be filled by the election on February 29.

There are two candidates in the field for this position—Bruno Wagner who is said to have been very closely connected with the Zausner machine and Weinstock of Local 808. The latter is the outstanding leader of the Rank and File Group. According to most pre-election guesses Weinstock appears to have the best chance of election.

Election Procedure

In order to make absolutely certain that there is no fakery resorted to in the elections the progressives proposed that every member of the union be forced to register and only those be permitted to vote who can show a registration card. In addition it was also proposed that observers of the Socialist Party and the Civil Liberties Union be permitted with in the polling

NEGLECT PROVEN IN SILICOSIS INVESTIGATION BY CONGRESS

2,000 men, miners and technicians, have been smitten by the deadly lung disease, silicosis. Almost five hundred of these are already dead, and the other 1500 are considered to be irrevocably doomed, for no cure is known. The inhalation of silicate dust is, according to the Academy of Medicine, the inhalation of poison. It is important to note that the Academy believes that the disease also "pre-supposes tuberculosis." Not only therefore is the lack of safety precautions to be condemned, but the industrial system which previously weakened these men to the point of a tubercular condition, also reveals itself as physically destructive.

These men acquired the disease working at the Hawks Nest Power development at Gauley Bridge, Va., a project of the Union Carbide Company. The company has responded to the charges of brutal negligence by a flat denial and a remark that "we are very proud of our safety record everywhere!"

What is most striking in this tragedy is the futility of an investigation from the point of view of the men already stricken. They are already doomed and bend their minds only to the counting of their numbered days.

Nevertheless, the horror aroused has penetrated into Congress, and an investigation of the conditions at West Virginia is proceeding. In this connection, a U. S. senator has already maintained that the investigation will be made impossible by the political struggle of the GOP against the New Deal. That is, that Roosevelt represents the knight in armor who wishes to investigate, whereas the Republicans are the utilities personified. Such nonsense must be blasted by the workers, for it is under the Roosevelt administration that this industrial crime of the capitalist system has occurred. The New Deal will undoubtedly try to take advantage

places.

The process of registering all union painters is proceeding but the proposal for observers was turned down today (Saturday). Edward Ackerley, a vice president of the Brotherhood, stated before the District Council that the General Executive Board would not permit observers from organizations outside the union.

Eyes On The Painters

The eyes of the progressive workers of all unions will be turned upon the members of the painters' unions during this month in the hope that the workers will rise in sufficient numbers to deal a death blow to the gangsters and racketeers which infested these unions. A victory for clean and progressive unionism in the two district councils would go a long way to raise the prestige of unionism generally and would also give courage to the progressives in other unions making the same fight.

BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA

SEASONABLE
FOOD
AT
REASONABLE
PRICES

6th Ave. at 14th Street

UNITED SHOE IN UNITY APPEAL

Israel Zimmerman, General Organizer of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union addressed an appeal to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to unify the ranks of the shoe workers into one union. No reply to this document has yet been made public.

The letter to the Council was occasioned by the present situation in the city of Haverhill in which the employers utilized the division in the ranks of the workers to oust the United. In this case the Boot and Shoe was used for this purpose. Using this as an example of the situation that has plagued the shoe workers Zimmerman makes a stirring appeal for unity in the name of his General Executive Board.

"Before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor," the letter says, "this situation presents not only an opportunity but a duty of taking the initiative of putting an end to the disgraceful condition. We propose to you in the interests of the shoe workers in particular and the trade union movement in general that you initiate a call for a conference of representatives of the various unions now existing in the shoe industry with a view to unifying all these forces under the banner of the American Federation of Labor."

The United goes on to pledge every possible cooperation in the successful conduct of such a conference.

WHAT DO YOU SAY?

Do you like Workers Age in its present form?

Have you any suggestions for its improvement?

Please, take the trouble to drop us a line telling us just what you think. It will be of great help to us in making Workers Age more effective in the working class struggle.

Address your comments to George F. Miles, Editor Workers Age, Box 68, Etation "O," New York, N. Y.

Indispensable to Every Student of Marxism!

YOU HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR

AUGUST THALHEIMER'S

INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

This, the finest and most lucid, presentation of the Marxist

World-View is now ready in an English Translation

Published by Covici-Friede at \$2.00

YOU CAN BUY IT NOW THRU

WORKERS AGE

51 West 14th Street

For \$1.75

Mail Orders to P. O. Box 68, Station "O", N. Y. C.

(10c additional for postage)