

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## CIO TO PRESENT COUNTER PLAN

Nov. 7 Meeting To Make Full Reply To A. F. L. Peace Plan

With the A. F. of L. convention set for November 16, the Committee for Industrial Organization advanced its session from November 9th to the 7th in order to make possible the presence of all international unions affiliated with it.

The CIO has not declared what it intends to do about the appointment of a committee to meet with the A. F. of L. sub-committee but the matter will most likely be acted upon at the session. Matthew Woll, a member of the A. F. of L. sub-committee, expressed his belief that insufficient time remains for getting together, even if the CIO appoints a committee, since the members of the council will be involved, he said, in various pre-convention activities.

It has also become known that the question of sending full delegations to the Tampa convention will come up at the CIO sessions. It is known that a number of Internationals affiliated with the CIO intend to send delegations to the A. F. of L. convention. These organizations — I.L.G.W.U., Typos, Milliners and others—will seek to induce all the unions to be present at the convention in order to present a unified front in the fight for reinstatement of the suspended unions and to further the campaign for industrial unionism which will undoubtedly—regardless of the decision on the CIO—play a significant role at the convention in Tampa.

## ALP LEADER STATES PARTY IS PERMANENT

Asserting that the newly launched American Labor Party will remain permanently after election day "as a functioning, unafraid party of labor and progressive Americans," Elinore M. Herrick, state campaign director, in a radio address on October 21, emphasized that the party "has no commitments of any character to any other political party."

"The American Labor Party," she declared, "owes allegiance only to the trade unions, to the progressive organizations, and to individual members who are enrolled in its ranks. It has its own program of immediate demands and long-term objectives. It has no commitments of any character to any other existing political party. It has received no financial aid from any other political party."

She giped certain Republican papers and leaders for their alleged "revelations" about the permanence of the party and its fast growing strength—"facts which we have been shouting from the housetops."

"These make-believe 'revelations', I suppose, are intended to frighten Tammany Hall and the Democratic Party in New York State," Mrs. Herrick said. "This sudden tender solicitude for the interests of the Democratic Party on the part of its Republican enemies provides one of the big laughs of the big campaign, and surely a little laughter can do no harm."

# VOTE COMMUNIST

ON TUESDAY, November 3, you will go to the polls to vote for president. You will vote for the candidate who, in your opinion, stands for a program and policy that are best calculated to advance the fundamental interests of the working people of this country. You will vote for the candidate of the party which, in your opinion, really points the way to economic and social salvation for the great masses of the American people.

No worker who has the slightest idea of what it is all about will cast his vote for Lemke, the Union Party stooge of the unspeakable Coughlin, the figure-head of a crumbling coalition of fascist and semi-fascist crack-pot sects. Nor will any wide-awake worker vote for Landon, who brazenly champions a program of outright reaction, of the open shop and company unionism, whose platform is no more than a carbon copy of the political instructions of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Liberty League.

But how about Roosevelt? Ask yourselves: What does Roosevelt offer to labor? Look at the New Deal record and look at the New Deal program—listen to the President's speeches—what do you find? That there is indeed a big difference between Roosevelt and Landon—but not in their fundamental aims and objectives. Both are out to bolster up, strengthen and perpetuate the present capitalistic system, the system of the private ownership of the means of production and life, the system of production for profit, the system that is responsible for so many of our troubles, the system that breeds poverty, war, mass unemployment and ever-increasing misery. Every thing that Roosevelt has done, every word that he has spoken, has been directed towards saving this murderous system from well-merited destruction, towards patching it up and trying to keep it going as long as possible.

Yes, there are important difference between Roosevelt and Landon, but these differences are differences in ways and means of accomplishing the same thing. Landon proposes to save and perpetuate capitalism by old-line reactionary methods; Roosevelt proposes to achieve the same end by the more effective methods of New Deal liberalism. Decades of bitter experience in other parts of the world, in England, in Germany, in Austria, in France, have shown that labor has nothing to gain and everything to lose by dragging behind either the liberals or the conservatives, by placing its hopes in one or another section of the ruling class. Labor has accomplished something only where it has organized itself into an independent force politically, with its own ideals and striving with its own program, with its own candidates—all fundamentally hostile to the capitalist system which, for the workers, is hardly better than a hell on earth. If you are really opposed to capitalism, if you really feel that the only hope for the masses of the people lies in a new socialist order, then you have no business voting for Roosevelt!

In these elections, the aims and aspirations of the workers are represented by the two workers parties, the socialists and the communists. Having rejected all proposals for united action, they now face each other as rivals in the campaign. Unfortunately, both of these parties are in a state of desperate confusion. The Communist Party is now giving unofficial support to Roosevelt, while Norman Thomas, the socialist candidate, seems to be following a policy of palliating Landon's political sins in order to make a better case



against the Democratic banner-better. The election propaganda of the C. P. is hardly more than a jumble of crude, outworn and long discredited liberal phrases; not a vestige of genuine communism, of genuine class consciousness, can be found in it. The S.P., on the other hands, has insisted on making hostility to the American Labor Party, which, for all its grave shortcomings, nevertheless represents labor's first

hesitant steps towards greater political independence, a dominant note in its campaign. The platform of both parties are an unholy confusion of everything that the election platform of a workers party should not be—of petty reforms, utopian panaceas, high-sounding phrases meaning nothing, political cowardice and general nonsense!

Nevertheless, no matter how difficult the situation may be, there is but one course open to the class conscious worker—to VOTE COMMUNIST! For, whatever the C.P. election platform may promise or whatever Browder may say, the Communist Party remains at bottom a revolutionary party, despite the uncommunist policies it is momentarily following in so many fields. In its traditions, in its aims and aspirations, in the eyes of the more advanced sections of the working class, it stands for communism, for the "Soviet way," for real socialism and the promise of a better future—while the Socialist Party remains the party of reform, of self-defeating gradualism, of the way that led to disaster in Germany and Austria and to futility in Great Britain. For both parties are essentially international organizations and they can be judged finally only on the basis of the world movements of which they are a part. And between the two can any really class conscious worker fail to choose communism?

CLASS - CONSCIOUS WORKERS! In these elections, the cause of communism, of genuine socialism, is represented by the Communist Party alone, even tho its spokesmen are doing their best to confuse the issues and to stultify the revolutionary character of their appeal. But the cause and the party rise above the political confusion of the official leadership of the moment! Vote under the only banner that holds out real hope of the emancipation of labor! VOTE COMMUNIST!

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS! Don't let yourselves be misled by the thinly disguised Roosevelt propaganda your leaders are carrying on in this campaign. Surely you don't take seriously the fantastic idea that Landon is the spokesman of a "Fascist concentration" against whom Roosevelt represents—tho in a "hesitating," "vacillating" manner—the forces of "democracy" and "anti-fascism"? Then don't let yourselves be driven into the fatal trap of the "lesser evil"! In spite of all the confusion, hold close to fundamental principles!

CLASS CONSCIOUS WORKERS! COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS! Let us learn the lesson of the tragic situation in which we find ourselves in this election campaign. The fundamentally false policy which the Communist Party leadership is following today has brought and can bring nothing but ruin and discredit to the communist movement. Let us unite to put a speedy end to this disastrous state of affairs. Let us unite in a common effort to save the communist movement, to bring the Communist Party back to the fundamental principles which Marx and Lenin taught us and which the whole experience of the labor movement has so thoroly confirmed, the principles of communism!

## WORKERS DRIVE REBELS BACK

Gain Ground On Toledo Road; "Neutrality" in Deadlock

In the last stand being made at Madrid by the workers' forces, new spirit and hope for victory has been revealed. Premier Largo Caballero has declared that: "We are already in possession of a considerable formidable mechanized armament. We have tanks and a powerful air force." The growth in that most important of offensive weapons, the airplane, was attributed to a rumored purchase from American sources of fifteen planes. It is reputed that the remainder of the new strength of the government armies results from shipments of ammunition and tanks from Soviet Russia.

The recapture of 5 towns, three on the Toledo highway, and 2 on the Aranjuez road, has been announced by the government. The first route reopens the railway to Illescas, the second makes possible the ending of Madrid's isolation from the rest of the country. With the fall of Aranjuez, the last open road to the eastern seaport of Valencia was closed. If the new spurt of the loyalist forces can be maintained, the railroad can be recaptured. It is apparent that some of the disillusionment and heartlessness has been eradicated, so that the troops are no longer evacuating post after post without a fight.

(Continued on Page 6)

## STEEL BARONS BACK NEW COMPANY UNION

Despite the dangers inherent in any company union set-up that goes outside the individual mill, the steel tycoons have decided to set up a general "Central Committee," soon to become a Pittsburgh District General Council. This move will eliminate, the bosses hope, the "troublesome" elements in the Chicago area, who are almost completely pro-CIO and have put forward a definite set of demands.

A reflection of the steady gains of the steel drive is indicated by the "recognition" being extended to this multi-plant company union. In this way the employers in the steel industry hope to satisfy the demands of the steel workers for a national outfit, and, it is rumored, will use this committee to give the wage increase which has been promised for so long. It is obvious that some economic concessions will have to be granted by the steel barons; were they given thru the company-dominated "Central Committee," some sort of bolstering of the fast decaying company union structure would be achieved.

However, the Chicago steel workers are still pressing their demands to the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Co., and are fighting the proposed Pittsburgh Council. They have pointed out that the latter had the expenses of its recent meeting paid for by the employers—clear proof of its company character. In addition, they have carefully picked apart the so-called program of this outfit: the question of hiring and firing being completely in company hands, its lack of concrete demands on wages on hours, its thoroly undemocratic structure.



# Detroit CPO Warns CP On Farmer-Labor Ticket

Aroused by the fact that members of the Communist Party are running on the ticket of the discredited Farmer-Labor Party (See Workers Age, of September 26, 1936) the Michigan organization of the Communist Party (Opposition) called on the Communist Party to withdraw its members from the ticket.

The demand was placed in the form of a letter which follows in full.

October 26, 1936

The District Committee, Communist Party of America, 5969 Fourteenth Street, Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Comrades:

In looking over the list of candidates running for election on one of the two slates of the so-called Farmer-Labor Party we notice with apprehension and regret the names of several members and close friends of the Communist Party.

In view of the fact that this slate of the so-called Farmer-Labor Party has neither the support of the bona fide trade union movement nor of the farmers of this county or state, we urge you at this time to withdraw these candidates from the ticket before it is too late. Let us remind you that at the State Convention of this Farmer-Labor Party it split hopelessly into two groups, one, the Coughlin-Townsend-Farmers Union group supporting the potential fascist, Lemke; the second, the group of individual trade unionists, a few isolated labor unions, the Communist Party, its sympathizers, and liberals.

The labor movement of Michigan as a whole has repudiated both these groups and has supported the Non-Partisan Labor League. We believe that it is the duty of all communists to put all their efforts behind a policy of converting the N-PLL into a genuine labor party. In this our efforts are made more easy by the resolution of the N-PLL to remain in existence after the elections for the purpose of formulating labor's political policy.

We realize that meanwhile it is impossible for us as communists to vote for the Republican and Democratic candidates on the slate of the Non-Partisan Labor League, nor do we urge trade unionists to follow this course either.

As there are no independent labor candidates in the field, our group, the Communist Party of America (Opposition), is therefore voting for the straight Communist ticket. Where there are no candidates on that ticket, we are voting for the candidates of the Socialist Party. We cannot, under any circumstances, vote for communists running on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket as this would amount to recognition of a party which is in our opinion not only misnamed but a fraud and a fake and tends to put the very name, Farmer-Labor Party in a bad light, also giving the reactionaries a good opportunity to score at our expense by giving them a plausible basis for opposition to independent

political action, in principle, of the working class.

We urge you, even at this late hour, to retreat from the reckless and dangerous course you have pursued, to unite with us behind the policy outlined and prevent the name of Communism from being brought into ill repute in the minds of the workers of Michigan. To allow either the name of the Communist Party or any individual union local of this city to be associated, either directly or indirectly, with this menace is a serious blow both to Communism and the trade union movement.

Fraternally yours,

DETROIT DISTRICT, The Communist Party of America (Opposition).

# SHARP SLASHES MADE IN RELIEF ROLLS DESPITE INCREASED NEED

By STUART FORSYTHE

In April 1935, the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment Relief stated that there were 325,000 families on home and work relief in New York City. They estimated that there were 600,000 families without employment in the city. They then predicted that only a substantial increase in employment could save the city from an increasing relief load. This prediction has been borne out. At the beginning of May this year, there were 416,683 families on home or work relief, 202,683 families and unattached persons on home relief and 214,000 on W.P.A. At the end of September, the W.P.A. lists totalled 200,000, having been purposely cut to this number, and the Home Relief cases numbered 191,528.

Though these figures indicate a drop from May, they do not indicate that there has been a rise in employment comparable to the rise in business activity. Though the business index has increased 15% in the past year, employment in New York City increased only one per cent between January and August 1936. In fact, the only substantial increases in employment since June 1934, have been seasonal. The long term trend has remained practically unchanged. Moreover, increased employment does not mean a comparative decrease in the relief rolls. Many persons who obtain jobs in industry at such low wages that even the scanty relief budget is greater than their earnings and it is necessary for the Emergency Relief Bureau to supplement these wages from the relief funds. As Mayor La Guardia recently said, many employers are paying low wages and allowing the relief funds to subsidize them, though, at the same time, they are crying about increased taxes.

But all the tears about taxes and stories of relief "chiselers" and jobs for those who want to work had an effect on the reduction of the relief load—more effect than employment. The E.R.B. has entered upon a drive to close

# HAIL DEMOCRACY!

FEDERAL WORKERS, employed at Camp Elmford, a federal park project, were denied the right to vote by the Supreme Court of New York State. There are thirty-nine of these men whose only residence is the camp where they are working under the National Park Service. To give them the right to vote would be, according to the eminent jurist presiding, "a flagrant violation of the Constitution of the State of New York."

This is in Herbert Lehman's New York and Franklin Roosevelt's America. Place the adjectives "progressive," "democratic," "freedom-loving" where you will. They form a design which symbolizes capitalist democracy, which beautifully reveals the whole fraud of the bourgeois election system of "universal (sic) suffrage."

# EUROPE TODAY

By LAMBDA

THE EFFECTS of the prolonged blockade against Spain's revolutionary forces and the threatened capture of Madrid by the fascists has aroused the international working class to bitter resentment and protest. The same spirit has also expressed itself among the Soviet proletariat and was undoubtedly the cause of the Soviet Union's well known declaration in the London Committee. This act strengthened the activity of the

international proletariat but simultaneously also stiffened the resistance of the international bourgeoisie.

That the proletariat has been encouraged by the Soviet stand can be seen from the demand to reopen the non-intervention policy, at the Edinburgh Congress of the Labor Party, the stand of the Belgian Labor Party against the blockade, etc. But in France the proletarian parties and organizations have limited themselves to declarations and demands—the mass action of the workers is being systematically crippled by the organizations of the People's Front.

On the part of the governments both England and France are cooperating to drown the initiative of the Soviet Union in a sea of red tape. In France the big bourgeoisie seeks by all means to help defeat the Spanish revolution thru utilizing for its own purposes the petty-bourgeois pacifism which dominates the Radical Socialist followers and extends deep into the ranks of the Social Democracy.

There is but one antidote—to increase the mass activity of the international proletariat.

The deep confusion in the ranks of the social-democratic workers may be judged by the fact that Marceau Pivert, leader of the Parisian left socialists, now leans towards the anarchist position (the anarchists have gained influence because of the People's Front policy) proposing continued support of the Blum government regardless of what it may do, and simultaneously speculating about salvation by means of some general strike action.

In Spain proper political developments have moved steadily to the left as the pressure upon Madrid increased. The entry of the CNT and the POUM into the Catalan government cannot be considered, under the present circumstances, simply as a relapse into the People's Front. Proof of this is a decree which strips the old governing bodies of all functions and places governmental functions into the hands of the Local Committees which are constituted in the same manner as the Central Government in Barcelona. This is not the soviet form but it is decidedly no longer the bourgeois-democratic parliamentary system. These new organs of state power are dominated by the representatives of the workers organizations, not only at the top but also in the lower bodies. The left bourgeoisie still participates but it is in a minority and the support of the bureaucratic state apparatus is broken. The present form of state power is naturally not the final one.

In Madrid the Caballero Government has agreed to the demand of the CNT for the formation of a "Defense Junta" which is to have political as well as military functions. Thus have governmental developments gone far beyond the framework of the People's Front. In Madrid it appears that the bourgeois state apparatus has been disrupted by the fascist traitors and saboteurs within the government. It now becomes necessary to replace it completely and build a new structure based on the workers organizations. However, this can be done only in the face of the resistance of the O.P. and the S.P. The initiative now comes from the POUM, from the syndicalists and anarchists and from the mass of the workers, peasants and the militia itself. The resist-

(This is the first of 3 articles on relief in New York City).

# COMMUNISM or REFORMISM WHICH SHALL IT BE?

Hear Jay Lovestone

THURSDAY NIGHT, NOV. 12 8 P. M.

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# CP of Canada Endangers Gains of Unemployed

By PETE ROSS

As in other parts of the capitalist world, the working class of East York, particularly the unemployed, has been made to bear the burden of the world-wide depression: no jobs, inadequate relief, starvation, sickness, death. The East York workers however decided to do something about their lot, forced upon them by a government more concerned with preserving profits than caring for the needs of the working class. They met, discussed and organized into a militant unemployed organization, the East York Workers Association. Soon all of Canada was talking about the militant struggle made by the East York Workers Association for adequate relief, increased social services, etc.

## The Role of the C.P.O.

Necessity called for the organization of a progressive group inside the organization in order to fight against the ruinous policies and approach of Arthur Williams and his small organized coterie. It was necessary to force him to give militant leadership or expose him as an adventurer and betrayer of the interests of the workers.

The members of the local C.P.O., who had loyally helped to build the E.Y.W.A., who had been its most constructive workers, realized that now they must be its most ardent defenders. They must present Williams from strangling the organized fight of the East York workers. With this objective in mind, they approached all progressive elements, including the members of the Communist Party, urging the formation of a Progressive Group inside the E.Y.W.A. The C.P. forces, which but recently had attempted to split the E.Y.W.A., which had organized a dual organization, had fought the E.Y.W.A. as a "fascist" and "social-fascist" clique—officially refused to enter into such a progressive bloc. Privately, many of them agreed that the C.P.O. criticism and analysis was correct—that to fight Williams was necessary, that

the unemployed in other sections of Canada took heart—began to think of doing what the East York workers had succeeded in doing—organizing and thru organization obtaining their common objectives. Even the professional politicians began to take notice. They catered to the organization and to its leadership, particularly to the President of the E.Y.W.A., Arthur Williams, who had been elected to this office because of his smooth-tongued demagoguery.

## The Role of Williams

Williams saw his chance. He forced thru constitutional changes making him a virtual dictator in the organization. He saw to it that he was nominated for the Reeve-ship (Mayoralty) of the township. The E.Y.W.A. was turned into an election machine. Due to the efforts of the members of the association, Williams was elected Reeve of East York township. As soon as he was elected, he conveniently forgot that his election was due primarily to the efforts of the working class in East York, that he was their chosen representative, responsible to them, subject to their decisions; that, as the president of their association he was to lead their daily struggle for adequate relief, protect what they had succeeded in wresting from the authorities. Williams thought otherwise. He was going to show the capitalist politicians how a socialist (he prides himself on being one) administers relief. He became "dignified," "efficient," "practical," at the expense of the working class whose representative he was supposed to be. As a result, he succeeded in accomplishing the following:

1. Reduce relief rolls from 16,000 to 8,000.

2. Reduce relief grants from \$11.21 per person per month to \$8.21 per person per month.

3. Turn the E.Y.W.A. into an election machine.

4. Prevent consideration by the Association of the problems facing the unemployed.

5. Prevent the E.Y.W.A. from taking militant action against reduction of relief rolls and relief grants. (Such actions would embarrass him).

As a result the working class became discouraged and apathetic. The membership dropped from

only the organization of such a progressive bloc could save the E.Y.W.A. However, in contrast to their recent sectarian position, they now wanted "unity at all costs," behind Williams. The Clarion, daily C.P. paper of Canada, eulogized Williams editorially, pledged its support and attacked the Progressive Group which was formed, as saboteurs, splitters, enemies of the working class, "Lovestonite renegades," etc., etc. The C.P.O. members, together with many sincere and thoughtful workers, have organized a Progressive Group and will carry on the necessary fight against Williams in spite of expulsion, in spite of the use of physical force, in spite of the use of parliamentary trickery, in spite of the support given Williams by the Communist Party.

A few days ago, I withdrew membership in the Communist Party (Official) E. Y. Section; the East York Unit of the Y.C.L. and the District Bureau, Y.C.L. (S. Ontario); for the following reasons:

A succumbing to Right Opportunism on the part of the Party, i.e., inasmuch as they hide the face of the Party whenever controversial questions arise in the mass organizations. Accompanying this was a capitulation to social democratic ideology, e.g., the taxpayers "strike"—the substitution of "people" for the working class; and their apparent belief that parliamentary representatives should be free to go their own way without public censure.

## C.P. Membership Rebels

The healthy elements in the Communist Party are openly rebelling. Some have joined the C.P.O.—a number are working with the Progressive Group in spite of the orders of the C.P. leadership. Tho Williams has expelled all known C.P.O. members and many non-political progressives, tho the C.P. has had to bring down Stewart Smith, Acting Secretary of the Canadian Party, in order to rally support for Williams, the Progressive Group is bound to win, bound to gain the support of the working class in East York.

Williams is desperate. He is expelling members wholesale. He has curbed whatever democratic procedure remained in the organization. He is calling special business meetings of "loyal" members, admission by "invitation" only, where he makes the following remarks: "If I were allowed to be myself, I would appeal to a better class of

people to come into the Association, not the common ordinary class of people with ten cents in one hand and a bailiff's notice in the other."—and "What do you think the organization is for, to change bread and butter into steaks for you unemployed?" Williams threatens, blusters, inspires

# Canadian YCLer Joins CPO for Communist Line

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A falling away from Communist Principles, as exemplified in their refusal to criticize the social reformist policies of the right wing in the Unemployed Association. Criticism of Social Reformism, to my mind, is a fundamental duty of any Communist fraction.

The non-exposure of blatant class betrayal. By manifold articles, speeches, actions and work, the so-called, "Labor Reeve" has most ob-

viously deserted to what Lenin called, bourgeois reformism; to modifications in the capitalist structure, that objectively benefit the capitalist class at, of course, the expense of the workers. Where as Lenin laid down that class deserters be "hung, drawn, and quartered," that they be ruthlessly censured and exposed, the Party clandestinely supports the Reeve, to the now apparent detriment of the organized and unorganized workers.

These actions I find incompatible with my principles as a Communist. Naturally, now I am searching for some kindred grouping to associate with, for I still consider myself Communist. In the main, I find there are two other tendencies in the Communist movement, namely the "Field Group" (L.R.W.P.) and the "Lovestone Group" (C. P.O.).

Should I associate with the L.R.W.P., I should be orientated to an anti-C.P.S.U. position, and from there to an anti-Soviet Union position arising from the premise that the Soviet Union is "in transition from a proletarian to a capitalist dictatorship."

This I could not do, for my opinion is, that despite a few bureaucratic weaknesses in the C.P.S.U., the Soviet Union still remains as "the shining example" of proletarian class-rol to the international proletariat.

The alternative seems to be the Communist Party (Opposition). Upon close perusal of much of your literature, I find there are some basic principles on which you stand—

Proletarian dictatorship by Soviets. Substitution of a planned society based on social ownership of means of production by the workers; this develops to a socialist economic order, which abolishes the basis of class rule.

The destruction of the capitalist state machine (by violence) knowing that no ruling class gives up without a vicious struggle.

Defense of the Soviet Union as a proletarian dictatorship, by all workers.

The need for a Communist Party in each nation to lead the workers of that country; the need for a Communist International to lead the world struggle of the workers. The basis of organization in both cases must be democratic centralism.

With these I agree; I am ready, eager to work in an orderly, disciplined and organized fashion to bring this about.

I retain my right to present and to hold to my own opinions as to what steps shall be taken when, where, and how; but after full democratic discussion. I am willing to abide by the collective decision of the particular grouping to which I may belong.

Of course, should I (in the words of Lenin) "become convinced of the absolute inaccuracy . . . of any doctrine, I am duty bound to take a stand against it—at all costs."

# A POUM RESOLUTION

masses, the policy of the Popular Front has not caused the same damage in Catalonia as in the rest of Spain where the Socialist and Communist Parties have become appendages of the bourgeois revolution, influenced by the proletarian parties and organizations. The important thing is the program, and the hegemony of the proletariat which must be guaranteed. On one point there can be no doubt: the new government must make a declaration of unquestionable principles affirming its intention of turning the impulse of the masses into a revolutionary legality and directing it in the sense of the socialist revolution. As for the proletarian hegemony, the absolute majority of worker representatives will make it fully certain.

A government of this kind would give a great impulse to the revolution throughout the peninsula. The example of Catalonia would be an inspiration to the workers of the whole country, and this example would be followed with enthusiasm in spite of all efforts on the part of the traditional parties of the Spanish working class to hold back the revolution.

The Central Committee therefore considers that the party should offer every assistance in the formation of this government, and itself should enter and form part of the same.

The only circumstances in which collaboration should be refused are those in which all parties and organizations of the working class, and particularly the F.A.I. and C.N.T., might not be included in the government. If in order to accomplish this collaboration the name "government" must be set aside, our Party would see no objection to this measure. Whether called government, junta or council, the essential is the immediate formation of this body which circumstances so urgently demand.

As a result the working class became discouraged and apathetic. The membership dropped from

\* Syndicalist unions.  
\*\* Anarchist Federation of Iberia.

# WORKERS AGE

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## PEOPLE'S FRONT IS REBIRTH OF SOCIALIST COALITIONISM

(Continued from Page 4)  
create artificially a choice which is no choice at all, which does not remove the source and soil of fascism, a choice which only paves the way for a fascist victory in one form or another?

### People's Front Is Not United Labor Front

3. In the desperate effort to get and hold working class support for the People's Front course, the Socialist and Communist leaderships have deliberately and systematically confused it with the strategy of the united front of labor. They would have us believe that united action, joint struggle of working class organizations for the achievement of some specific concrete immediate interest or objective (regardless of differences over certain principles amongst these labor organizations) is synonymous with working class organizations collaborating with capitalist organizations on the basis of a capitalist program for the purpose of maintaining the capitalist status quo. This is the driest of rot. To confuse the united front of labor against the employing class interests or the capitalist government with the People's Front under whose very eyes, nose and ears, the Spanish fascists prepared their armed insurrection, or with the People's Front as just decreed by the Radical Party Congress in France, is the sheerest of political idiocy. It is like putting on one plane the great French general strike of February 12, 1934, the gigantic united front demonstrations of labor which broke the fascist onslaught and the pleas of Salengro, Blum, Duclos, Thorez, Daladier and Herriot to the French workers at the height of the strike wave last June "to know when to stop strikes", to stop them, to discontinue occupying factories and to accept compulsory arbitration.

### How Not To Win Middle Class Aid

4. And with these tactics of the People's Front its proponents and champions would have us believe that the working class will win the aid of the middle classes in the struggle against capitalism! Such claims are unfounded. We assume that the middle classes would be moving left, if and when they render aid to the proletariat. Well, the People's Front strategy and stratagems have been applied for about a year in France. The Radical Party of Herriot and Daladier is supposed to be the great party of the French middle class. It is the party without which there could be no so-called People's Front in France today. Compare the decisions it made at its last Radical Congress (Wagram) in 1935 (when the People's Front had not matured so much, when the working class was preparing its

offensive and not giving it up to the bourgeoisie) with the decisions it has just made at the Biarritz Congress. At the latter sessions the Radicals who admit that they would have lost still more in the elections had they not gone into the People's Front with the Socialist and Communist Parties were really arrogant in their demands upon the workers.

Is this aiding the working class? Is this the way to win over the middle class in the struggle against big capital? Can the working class defend its economic and social positions against the attacks of big capital when it has the "assistance" of such allies? Is that the way the Bolsheviks of Russia won over the great mass of the Russian middle class to its side in the struggle against Czarism and capitalism?

Of course, the working class should form alliances with the lower strata of the middle class. But these alliances should be under the leadership of the working class and not at the expense of the working class; such alliances should be for a common struggle against the common enemy—monopoly capital—and not for the purpose of systematically retreating before big capital as the People's Front has been making the French proletariat do before French big capital. Besides, when we say that the proletariat should make alliances with lower middle class organizations in the struggle against big capital it does not mean that such alliances should be made with bourgeois parties like the Radical Party of France which is dominated by the big bourgeoisie which systematically sabotages the struggle against big capital. Merely calling an alliance a People's Front doesn't change its suicidal character.

And for the working class in general and the Communist Party in particular to yield to the prejudices and ignorance of the lower bourgeoisie and adopt and defend these prejudices as their own does not elevate the class consciousness of the proletariat and, therefore, does not promote the struggle against fascism or any other form of capitalist reaction. In other words, in attempting to sell communism to the middle class, Browder and Thorez should not sell themselves. For decades the Social Democracy has tried to sell Socialism in this fashion. Page Germany and Austria for the results.

### Studied Confusion No Road To Victory

5. Too many Socialists and Communists have joined the chorus of capitalist confusionists in speaking of democracy, communism, socialism, fascism and capitalism—all in one breath, as if they were categories of the same type. This is confusion worse confounded—

### THE NEXT ISSUE

of the WORKERS AGE will mark the Seventh Anniversary of its publication and will commemorate the Nineteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. JAY LOVESTONE will contribute an article on Soviet foreign policy.

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## WORKERS DRIVE REBELS BACK

(Continued from Page 1)

In addition to the new offensive being launched by Madrid, for the first time word has come that plans are being made to harry the rear of the fascist troops now converging on the capital. Altho reports of much sniping and guerilla warfare have come thru, this signifies that the efforts to defeat the fascists by additional rear attacks is now being put on an organized basis.

### NEUTRALITY COMMITTEE WHITEWASHES ITALY

The international situation in regards to Spain seems to have cleared itself only by implication rather than overt statement. The Soviet Union has reiterated its statement that it will not be bound any more than are the other signatories to the "non-intervention" pact, apparently meaning that she is now in process of giving armed aid to Spain. France and Britain have been holding conferences, in which the "mother of democracy" has been attempting to persuade France to recognize Franco.

The practically open participation of Italy on the side of Franco's fascists was further proven by the discovery of hundreds of Italian "whippet tanks" being used by the rebels, plus the open appearance of Italian officers in rebel lines.

And yet the London Committee has the audacity to whitewash Italy and accuse Soviet Russia of fomenting war!

and it is primarily at the expense of the workers.

When we speak of Communism or Socialism on the one hand and capitalism on the other we are speaking of and comparing or contrasting Social Systems. When we speak of democracy we do not speak of it in the abstract. It is either capitalist democracy or working class democracy. When we speak of democracy in this sense, therefore, and compare it with fascism we are not comparing social systems but types of dictatorships, Forms of State, utilized by ruling classes to maintain their power, to help continue a certain type of social system. Thus, we have the identical social system prevailing in England, France, the U. S. Germany and Italy (capitalism) yet we have the parliamentary capitalist democracy serve as the instrument, as the form, of capitalist dictatorship in the first three countries and the fascist dictatorship as the instrument of the defense and perpetuation of capitalism in the last two mentioned lands.

To make hash out of important ideas, to make chop suey out of the fundamentals of the critical situation confronting the international working class is distinctly harmful. It becomes all the more dangerous when this all-too-old method of confusing the proletariat is palmed off as something new and helpful merely because it is re-named and given additional support precisely by those who should be its most determined opponents—all revolutionists.

### FACE THE ISSUES!



Courtesy Union News Service

## AUTO UNION IN NEW STRIKES

Racine, Wis.—More than 1,500 members of the United Automobile Workers of America began picketing the J. I. Case plant here Tuesday morning after the management had locked them out. The plant was employing about 1,600 workers.

Action of the union in picketing the plant came after a series of events that began several weeks ago when an A. F. of L. Federal local and an independent union merged to become a part of the United Automobile Workers. The management responded to this move by discharging eighty active union men. Further discharges followed the union's protest until about 500 men had been fired.

### DODGE LOCAL GROWS

In the Dodge Local applications for membership were being accepted by the hundreds during the past week as the result of the company's agreement with the union to observe seniority rules and rehire more than 3,000 workers whom they had discharged without regard for seniority.

Several settlements in smaller plants in Columbus, Ohio, Port Huron, Michigan, Alexandria, Indiana, and Oakland, California, were announced by the union.

## PROTEST DAVIS DISMISSAL

On October 20th, without any warning, Angell, president of Yale University announced that Dr. Jerome Davis would not be reappointed to the Yale Divinity School after June 30th, 1937. Dr. Davis is the president of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the A. F. of L. He recently published "Capitalism and Its Culture" a work which, the Dean of the Divinity School announced, had nothing to do with his dismissal. However nobody had asked the dean, and his statement was a complete giveaway. Dr. Davis has taught for 12 years at Yale, and it is only recently, when he became president of the Teachers Union and declared his support of Norman Thomas' presidential candidacy, that the University found "deficiencies" in his pedagogy. This rank frame-up, by one of "our leading universities," will be fought vigorously by the union, aided by many liberals. His dismissal has also been protested by the Yale Student Council.

Teachers at Columbia University, New York University, Long Island University, Sarah Lawrence College, and at the three colleges of the College of the City of New York joined in protesting the attempt of the Yale Corporation to dismiss Professor Jerome Davis.

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