

Workers Age

C. P. O. CALLS FOR UNITY OF LABOR

To all members of the Communist Party! To all communist sympathizers! To all workers!

The Fourth National Conference of the Communist Party (Opposition) ended on New Year's Day. It was an event of no small moment in the development of the American labor movement, especially of the revolutionary forces, the communist ranks.

Delegates from the hard and soft coal fields, from the textile centers, from the garment factories, from the shoe plants, from the metal and machine shops, from the fields of class battle from Los Angeles to New York, reported on the struggles of the American working people in recent months. The problems and tasks facing labor in the U. S. and the world-over were approached objectively, in a healthy, critical spirit, in the light of the revolutionary scientific teachings of Marx and Lenin.

It was inspiring to learn how the C.P.O., despite its poverty of forces and paucity of funds, was able to lend leadership to workers and to mobilize them against the employers and the government under the banner of the N.R.A. It was particularly instructive to learn of the growing effectiveness of our members and ever-growing number of sympathizers in their struggle against the reactionary, and often corrupt, trade union officialdom. It was most encouraging for us to be able to register our marked progress in defeating the destructive dual-unionist drives of the official C.P. and thus not only save the name of communism from being discredited in the eyes of thousands of striking workers but also to get these masses to move left and to enhance the influence and prestige of communism as the only force which spells hope and shows the way out for the exploited and oppressed in the world-shaking crisis.

C.P.O. FORGES AHEAD

More than that. The year behind us, was a year in which despite all mistakes and shortcomings, many of which have been costly, we extended and consolidated our communist position and influence. The number of recruits we have won, (especially those with great influence in the ranks of organized labor) the notable progress of the New Workers School, as the outstanding centre of Marxist-Leninist education in the country, our clarification and solution of burning issues confronting the world communist and labor movements, our successful struggle against Trotskyism and centrism, our strength-

Join Communist Opposition

ened determination to fight for the reconstruction and unification of the American and international communist movements—all of these will surely serve as a great stimulus to an improvement and intensification of our own work, to an even firmer welding of the solidarity of our sympathizers and workers, fighting shoulder to shoulder with us, against capitalist reaction and its rising tide of war and fascism.

But we do not rest here. We have made only a beginning. More unified than ever, more clear in our tactics and objectives, more experienced and determined, thru years on the firing line of the workers against the bosses and their agents, we, with more effective organization and steeled morale, now appeal to the workers to close their ranks and fight harder than ever against hunger and war, against misery and fascist reaction.

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UNITY IN FIGHT AGAINST HUNGER AND WAR

Our call for unity in the revolutionary labor movement goes out especially to our comrades in the C. P. How long will you, comrades of the Communist Party, allow the American and international communist movements to be broken in pieces by the stifling system of inner party life and leadership and by the sectarianism paralyzing our party in the face of countless opportunities for growth and influence? Comrades, our convention has reaffirmed our devotion to communist unity and our determination to hasten its realization. Let not our appeal fall on deaf ears! Let us learn, even from our most disastrous defeats, as well as victories. Let not the tragedy of Germany be repeated elsewhere, even in a limited form. Let us fight together for a return to the tactics of the first Four Congresses of the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin—to the tactics of the united front, to the strategy of fighting for the transformation of the trade unions into militant agencies of working class struggle. Let us join hands for unity in the revolutionary movement, for communist unity, as the first step towards unity of the working class.

To the members of the Socialist Party we say: Comrades, it is high time that you break with the false principles of reformism, which have brought incalculable dam-

age to the German and Austrian working classes and to the world proletariat.

Brothers and sisters in the labor unions! We are with you as one, for a fight for decent conditions, for clean and militant unionism.

Toilers on the land and in the mills, in the mines and in the factories! These are critical and decisive hours. Under the flag of the NRA and the New Deal the ruling class of this country is strengthening the grip of trusts and is preparing new heavy blows against us all, preparing to lower our standards of living and to deny us even the right to organize and strike.

What we need most, today, is unity of action—militant united action by the oppressed and exploited Negro workers, by the impoverished farmers, by the workers in the cities—against their common enemy—the boss class, the rulers of industry and agriculture, the owners of the government.

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RALLY TO THE C.P.O.

The C.P.O. is that section of the communist movement which resolutely adheres to the principles of world communism, the principles enunciated by Marx and Lenin, the principles on which the Soviet Union is founded and in which socialism, a classless society free from all exploitation, is now being constructed. We stand for tactics rooted in the soil of American conditions and the best of American revolutionary traditions as well as the experiences of our comrades and brothers in other countries.

We ask you to fight side by side with us. We ask you to join our organization. We urge you to take place in our ranks, as members, to help us hasten the unity and rebuilding of the communist and revolutionary movements, to speed up and insure the unity of the exploited against the exploiters and the victory of a new, a socialist, day in the United States.

Our convention keynote and message to the workers is: *Forward to unity against capitalist reaction and imperialist war!*

Forward to solidarity with the U.S.S.R.—the socialist fatherland of the working class of the world!

Forward to a victorious working class!

FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A. (Opposition)

Decisions of Convention

1. Resolutions on The Economic Situation in the U. S. A., and on The NRA and the Labor Movement. Adopted unanimously as amended by the National Bureau.

2. International Reports. Lovestone for the Bureau Majority and Zam for the Minority. For the majority—45; minority—7; abstentions—1.

3. Resolved, that we condemn Trotskyism, in its new phase, as an extension of the doctrine of Thermidor to the Communist International and as the ideological leadership of new centrism. Voting for—41; Against—2; Abstentions—4.

4. Resolved, that we condemn the Trotskyist position and premises for a new party and a new Communist International. Voting for—44; Against—None; Abstentions—5.

5. To repudiate the conception that the centrist parties, like the S.A.P. of Germany, O.S.P. and I.S.P. of Holland, P.U.P. of France and the I.L.P. of England, as a whole, as an intact organization, and the "Bolshevik Leninist-Left Opposition" (Trotskyites) can serve as the basis for the new C.P.'s and a new C.I.

Centrist parties, as types of reformist parties, have to be liquidated in order to make it possible for the workers adhering to these parties to advance to communism.

However, in view of the great differences which exist among the centrist parties, their heterogeneous composition and the different conditions in which they arise, in individual cases it may become necessary for us to conduct our work for winning the workers of these

parties to communism by organizing and supporting inside a struggle for winning or transforming the centrist parties.

This means to conduct our activities for winning the workers in centrist parties for communism by having them organize themselves inside their party for turning their party into a revolutionary party. Tho, as communists we realize that the organization of such a struggle inevitably involves a split with the centrist leaders and thus means liquidation of the centrist party. Yet, we understand that with such tactics we can facilitate our winning the workers from the influence of the reformist leaders for communism.

The I.C.O., and its affiliated organizations stands ready to unite with any working class organizations which are in agreement with us on the fundamental principles of communism and on our strategical, tactical line, regardless whether such organizations are made up of former members of the Communist Party or workers who were never in the communist movement. Such a step would not be a substitute for national and international Communist unity, but an important means of increasing our strength as the Communist Opposition and thereby towards accomplishing that end. Adopted unanimously.

6. To recognize the Soviet Union as the base for the world revolution and to conclude therefore, that we cannot have a new Comintern without the party leading the victorious proletariat—the C.P.S.U.—being part of it. Voting for—42;

Convention Greet Jailed Leaders

The Fourth National Conference of the Communist Party, U. S. A. (Opposition) sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the seven leaders of the Communist Party of Canada, now incarcerated in Portsmouth Prison.

This convention is unanimous in its approval of the inner prison struggles led by the comrades in protest against the holding of Comrade Cacic for a longer period than his sentence called for, and against the deportation planned and carried out by the Canadian authorities.

This convention looks forward to the day when our Canadian comrades will rejoin the ranks of the revolutionary party of the workers, and we pledge ourselves to work for the unification of the Communist parties under the banner of one international to the end that the revolutionary forces will the better be able to provide communist leadership for the workers and farmers in their struggles against the dangers of fascism, imperialist war and the repressive measures of the existing capitalist state.

Against—6; Abstentions—1.

In the voting, on motion 3, 4 and 6, the comrades supporting the minority voted for specific sections of the minority resolution which in their opinion expressed their attitude.

Report of Convention

The Fourth National Conference of the C.P.O., during intensive three days of work (December 30, 31 and January 1st), considered the economic situation in the country, the NRA as a recovery measure and its effect upon the labor movement, went exhaustively into the condition and status of the Comintern, Second International, the I.C.O. and the Paris Conference, and soberly considered the mass work and organizational condition of the C.P.O. in the U. S. The conference also discussed in great detail, the proposal of the minority for a reorientation of the C.P.O. and the I.C.O. in the direction of building new Communist Parties and a new International and overwhelmingly defeated this proposal and endorsed the present course of both the C.P.O. and the I.C.O. (See detailed decision elsewhere in this issue).

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Composition Of The Convention

There were 53 accredited delegates seated, 31 of these, from New York and 22 from out of town districts. In the latter is included delegations from Troy, Anthracite Mine Region, Los Angeles, Hartford, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, Philadelphia, Boston, Brookwood and Montreal and Toronto in Canada. The Detroit delegation arrived after the convention was closed. This was due to an automobile accident on the road. The San Antonio and Van Wert organizations were not represented. There were also present 21 alternates (15 from New York and 6 from out of town) as well as fraternal delegates from

Penna., Paterson, Passaic, Omaha and Washington.

* * *

Herberg Reports On Economic Situation And NRA

In the absence of Comrade Lovestone, who was then addressing the Student Congress in Washington, D. C., Comrade Benjamin got the convention under way and introduced the reporter on the Economic Situation and the NRA and The Labor Movement.

Comrade Herberg's report was delivered to a hall packed not only with delegates and C.P.O. members but also with a large number of workers sympathetic to the C.P.O. Comrade Herberg's report was based upon the document on these questions, previously printed in Workers Age.

This was followed by special field reports. Art Denslow reported on the shoe industry; Ben Lifshitz on the situation in the metal trades; Eli Keller dealt with the recent national silk strike; G. Peter explained the recent developments in the anthracite; Sasha Zimmerman discussed the needle trades situation and especially emphasized the dressmakers' recent successful strike and the present tasks; Comrade Miles reported for the Trade Union Department of the C.P.O.

About 20 comrades, active in various industries and in the present strike wave, discussed their experiences in the light of the report. What emerged from the day's reports and discussions was the proof of the virility of our trade union in the labor movement.

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R.P.C. Against "New" International

The Road to Revolutionary Unity

by G. F. M.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee of the I.L.P. has recently clarified its attitude to the Communist International and also to the proposed organization of a "new" International.

In a bulletin issued in the early part of December 1933, they say:

"The Revolutionary Policy Committee cannot agree that there is any justification for the formation of a new International, and urges members of the I.L.P. to oppose most strenuously any tendency that may widen the existing gap between any sections of the revolutionary movement and the Communist International.

"It does not, however, consider that unconditional association with the C.I. will in the present circumstances be most advantageous in the development of working-class struggle. But it suggests that the I.L.P. should welcome the suggestion made by the C.I. of association as a sympathetic body on the basis of the Twenty-One Conditions, if it is satisfied that the correct interpretation of those conditions is as outlined above."

This declaration coming, as it does, on the heels of the most frantic efforts at the organization of a centrist international (The Paris Conference and the later efforts of Trotsky) is indeed to be welcomed. Especially is this so in the light that Brockway, Maxton and Paton tend to look upon the Paris Conference as a sort of up-to-date version of the Zimmerwald Conference and will in the coming Easter congress of the I.L.P. attempt to commit the Congress to a policy definitely favoring the establishment of a new international.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee is to be congratulated on the firm and clear stand which it has taken for the unity of the world revolutionary forces as against the intensification of the political confusion now existing in the revolutionary and communist movement.

It is quite significant that the London Daily Worker in which this report is printed (December

18, 1933) has no comment to make on the above quotation. It does, however, wax very indignant at another quotation from the same bulletin, dealing with the trade union question. The bulletin of the R. P. C. quotes Lozowsky as follows:

"In creating the Red Trade Union organizations, have you strengthened the trade unions? Do you want to strengthen them? So long as we do not weaken and disrupt them (The reformist trade unions—G.F.M.) before the masses, so long as we do not disrupt their discipline, so long as the trade union apparatus is not destroyed, so long will they keep back a portion of the workers."

To which the London Daily Worker remarks that the quotation is one "which every good reformist trade unionist now knows by heart." Finally, in order to allay any further suspicions on the part of the R.P.C. it says:

"... Why not examine Communist practice in the trade unions in Great Britain during the last 12 months?"

This it must be admitted is an argument worthy of notice since the C.P.G.B. during the course of the last year has pursued a more or less constructive policy in the trade unions and has not applied the disastrous union-splitting line which became the official course elsewhere in the Comintern.

We must ask, however, why examine the trade union line of the C.P.G.B. only during the last 12 months? Why not before? Why not also the trade union line of other sections of the Comintern?

The answer must be apparent to every revolutionary worker. Also the C.P.G.B. had begun to practice a dual unionist course but reversed itself in time on the basis of its own disastrous experiences. On that score we have no quarrel.

But what guarantee is there that this course will not once again be changed. Just so long as the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. do not openly and frankly condemn dual unionism and union-splitting, and return, on an international scale, to Leninist tactics on the trade union field; just so long is there a legitimate and real basis for suspicion as to the course also of the C.P.G.B.

Does the C.P.G.B. maintain that its trade union line today is also the general trade union line of the R.I.L.U.? Then what has happened in Germany before the Nazis came to power? Was it not the course of the C.P.G. to build the R.G.O. as a dual center to the reformist mass unions? Is it not a fact that even today when the suppressed and tortured German workers are organizing underground inter-party trade unions, it is the

C.P.G. which is blocking unity of action thru its insistence on the organization of "pure red unions" to be affiliated with the R.I.L.U.?

As for the U.S.A., here the destructive trade union line of the R.I.L.U. has been carried out with appalling results which have brought discredit upon the name of Communism. Yet the C.P.U.S.A. persists in that attitude and constantly repeats that the building of the red trade unions is the main task of the Party.

The doubts of the R.P.C. on the trade union question are fully justified in the light of the whole course of the Comintern. If Comrade Pollitt feels that the trade union line of the C.P.G.B. can not be challenged it is his job to see that that line becomes the rule and not the exception, in the tactical course of the Comintern.

Workers League Set Up in Canada

A new organization, known as the Canadian Workers League, has just been established. This organization will meet a burning need of the Canadian workers, especially since various revolutionary groups have been declared illegal and have been suppressed by the government.

From the programmatic state-

Workers Age

Is an accurate source of information on the course of developments in the international labor and revolutionary movements.

To keep pace with the rapidly changing events you should read it regularly. A subscription is the best guarantee for receiving it.

ment it is clear that the Canadian Workers League is a revolutionary working class organization, fighting for the abolition of capitalism and for a workers republic.

In its relation to other working class parties, the C.W.L. is against the reformist policies of the Socialists as well as against the sectarian course of the Communist Party of Canada.

Internationally, it is definitely opposed to the organization of a "new" centrist International as well as against the Trotskyist efforts to set up a Fourth International.

The C.W.L. pledges to cooperate with such organizations as are striving for a unification of all revolutionary and communist forces on the basis of a correct tactical line.

The organization will begin, soon, to publish a monthly paper.

In a future issue of Workers Age we will deal, more exhaustively, with the program of the Canadian Workers League.

A NEW PERSPECTIVE

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that have left its ranks.

Recently Comrade Brockway said he believed that the probability was that the I. L. P. would declare itself for a new international unless the C. I. would soon undergo a drastic change. He was against an opposition party in the C.P.S.U. and against a return to the Weimar Constitution for Germany. This fact and the fact of the Swedish C.P.O.'s behaviour is fairly good evidence that the new C.I. would get off to a good start in providing the unifying force, so much needed, to rally all communist elements outside the official parties. By not putting ourselves in the forefront of the fight for a new C. I. we are merely allowing Trotsky to mishandle the movement in his own sweet way.

Much has been said about "the logic of positions" and the inevitable road to Trotskyism. Since Gitlow and Trotsky had the same premise (Becker spoke to me of new Kronstadt rebellions) a logical course brought Gitlow close to the Trotskyites. But if Herberg is going to prove by logic that Zam will take the same course when Zam starts from a different premise (Zam says the C. I. is not a traitor to Communism) then his logic is powerful indeed. Can Herberg prove that when Zam says, no opposition party in the Soviet Union, he really means the opposite? If Herberg can prove this his entire fight is won.

One more point was raised by Brockway. If it is permissible, in certain circumstances, to call for a new party then why not a new international? If such new parties were formed on a democratic basis would it be wrong for them to constitute themselves a new international? It would seem that the C. P. O. is thankful that it has not enough mass groups thruout the world to make this a burning question.

I.C.O. GREETES COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

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skyism, the acceptance of which would have disastrous consequences for the C.P.O. The C.P.O. cannot adopt the view-point of Comrade Zam, that in relation to the centrist parties we use a "tactic aiming at the conversion of these parties to communism—rather than their destruction and the absorption of their masses in the communist parties" without giving up its character as a communist organization. The centrist parties are reformist organizations even if they have separated themselves organizationally from open reformism, and the winning-over of their members for communism is impossible without an organizational break with the reformist elements. It is not our task to guard the organizational unity of centrist parties. On the contrary, we must do everything so that their members will break with the centrists and will adhere to communist principles and correct communist tactics not merely in words but in deeds, i.e. to the Communist Opposition.

The founding of a new party which Comrade Zam proposes must lead to capitulation before centrism and Trotskyism and to the destruction of the hopeful beginnings which our American organization has made towards winning over members of the official C. P. The organizations of the C.P.O. must strive to become the communist parties of their countries, but only thru gathering around themselves the communist workers of their countries, thru winning over the official sections of the C. I. in capitalist countries.

The proposal of Comrade Zam to establish a new C. I. without the C.P.S.U. is from the standpoint of communist principle not acceptable. There can be no Communist International without the leading party of the first proletarian dictatorship. Even after the I.C.O. succeeds in winning over a number of important sections of the C.I. it cannot found a new international without the C.P.S.U. It will remain even then a communist tendency striving for a reformed C.I., i.e. the cooperation of the C.P.S.U. on the basis of correct communist tactics and the elimination of the monopoly of leadership by this party.

The proposal for the international broadening of the I.C.O. is that its organizations in individual countries fight as the C.P.O., fight as the advance guard for the reform of the C.I., that they win practical successes in

The I. C. O. Letter

this struggle and show themselves to be the ablest fighters for communism.

WE ADVANCE IN GERMANY

Our German organizations, the C.P.G.O. has become, despite the most difficult conditions, a recognized factor in the illegal German labor movement. The ranks which our illegal literature reaches are greater than the number of readers we had during the time of legality. In America our organization has also strongly increased. If this work continues, if everything is done thru international cooperation and mutual ideological and material support in order to secure its progress, then, the I.C.O. will gain prominence in other countries too.

The victory of fascism in Germany, the growing fascist tendencies in other countries, the open bankruptcy of reformism in Germany, which was the strongest pillar of the Second International, the effects of the economic development and of the capitalist attempts to get out of the crisis—all these present new and complicated problems to the communist world movement and the international labor movement. They can not be solved by the ultra-left methods. They can certainly not be solved by the centrist-Trotskyite methods, which, consciously or unconsciously, lead to the destruction and liquidation of Com-

munist. The solution of these problems call more than ever for the greatest exertion of critical and positive work by the C.P.O. This work is progressing and is proving to be fruitful.

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AGAINST CENTRISM IN GERMANY

In Sweden the leadership of the C.P.S. has gone over to centrism and opportunism. On the other hand, due to the intervention of the I.C.O. the fundamental problems of communist tactics in the world today have been placed before the membership of the C. P. of Sweden and the world of labor in general. Thus criticism from the ranks of the members of the C.P.S. has already begun to set in. The inconvenient insistence of the I.C.O. against any opportunistic deviations or vacillations has everywhere aroused forces which oppose them, has increased the authority of the I.C.O. and has created new connections in several countries (England, Denmark, Holland, France).

CLARITY AND FIRMNESS—THE NEED OF THE HOUR

The international labor movement is at present in the process of great fermentation and transformation—thru which transformation the labor movement is to have the ability and readiness to lead the world revolution a step further, to fight for a new big break thru the capitalist front. This involves the decline and liquidation of reformism and the raising of the communist parties to a higher stage of maturity and ability to struggle. It is inevitable that this tremendously deep process of transformation embracing dozens of countries, millions of workers and a considerable period of time, should be connected with all sorts of signs of disintegration, vacillations and errors in the camp of the working class.

Communist inflexibility, firmness and clarity are necessary at such a time in order to set right comrades who are vacillating, to clear up confusion, in order to prepare to win the final victory.

We hope, comrades, that your conference will come forward with new proposals for the successful struggle of the C.P.O. in the U.S.A. and for the I.C.O.

With communist greetings,

HEINRICH BRANDLER

For the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition

Paris, Dec., 10, 1933.

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