

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 10.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1936.

5 Cents a Copy

Historian Scores School Censors Of Communism

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The censorship of controversial school subjects came in for sharp criticism from Charles A. Beard, author and historian, in a talk delivered before the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association.

"Surely no intelligent American believes that European history should be deliberately falsified by omitting all references to Communism, and by teaching, as one school persecutor has urged, 'only the geographical facts of Russia.'

"Such perversion of instruction in the schools is more than a betrayal of knowledge and truth. . . . It is not an outgrowth of patriotism, as alleged. It represents an effort of partisan and narrow interests to intimidate and conquer the schools for their own purposes and ends."

Speaking more plainly still, Jesse H. Newton, Professor of Education at Teachers' College, Columbia University, said, "Fascism and Communism are facts in the contemporary world, facts of tremendous significance. Unless these and all other proposals, whether for gradual or more drastic improvement of social conditions, are studied, the schools will be failing to give youth understanding of the world today.

"Democracy," he added, "can never regard as satisfactory an economic system that produces in our rich country at one end of the scale a class possessed of wealth such as the world has never dreamed of, and at the other end millions living in poverty even in times of prosperity, to say nothing of the 12,000,000 unemployed in these depression years."

Weinstock Wins in Painters' Poll For Secretary

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Louis Weinstock, militant leader among the New York painters won out in a bitterly fought contest for Secretary-Treasurer of District Council No. 9. He was elected with a vote of 3,246 against 1,175 for Bruno Wagner, a candidate formerly used by the Zausner clique and now running with the support of the Old Guard in the Socialist Party and the Jewish Daily Forward. Weinstock had received the support of all progressive and militant forces in the organization.

The painters have reason to celebrate for within the last month they have delivered some telling blows against racketeering and gangsterism in the unions. Several weeks back Sam Freeman was elected secretary of the Brooklyn District Council and with Weinstock's victory now, the organizations of the painters in the whole city passes over into the hands of progressive forces.

Japanese Military Clique May Still Win Out Despite Defeat

Dispatches from Tokyo indicate that the military rebellion of four days duration has been put down and altho leaders of the rebellion have either committed hari-kari or are awaiting court-martial the causes which brought forth this dramatic and bloody affair are neither trivial nor settled.

Coming as it did almost simultaneously with the signing of the Franco-Soviet Pact one might almost state that there was a direct relationship between the two. The military clique, swollen with power in the Japanese governmental set-up, has been straining at the leash for years for an opportunity to set upon the Soviet Union. The Franco-Soviet Pact, tho not directly affecting Japan, nevertheless bears witness to the increasing strength and military prowess of the Soviet Union. It enraged and aroused the Army whose leadership blamed the pussy-footing civilian authorities for restraining it from action against the Soviet Union when it was much weaker than it is now.

The military leaders and the

capitalist forces behind them felt that the victory at the polls of the so-called liberals endangered their military victories in China and might possibly curb their ambitious program. The revolt was a signal to these civilian authorities, who cautioned against rash action at this time, that the military would not tolerate any restrictions upon its activities in Manchukuo and China.

On the other hand the civilian authorities interpret the big vote for the "liberals" as an undeniable sign of widespread dissatisfaction with the tremendous tax burdens which the military penetration of Asia has placed upon the shoulders of the workers and peasants. They felt that to continue at the same tempo would result in upheavals of a deepgoing political character and the possible endangering of the whole regime.

Thus altho both forces have worked overtime to create for Japanese capitalism an empire on the mainland, the one would blindly continue at a constantly accelerated pace while the other urges caution in the very interests of

maintaining this newly won empire.

The military revolt dramatized this struggle in the sharpest possible manner and altho once again the Foreign Office has won out over the General Staff, the issue is far from settled.

It is not at all excluded that in defeat the military way can yet be victorious to a certain extent. The military revolt was received with such widespread apathy, as far as the broad masses were concerned, that it is not impossible that the Emperor may think it safe to attempt to mollify the military forces by placing the government in the hands of people much more to their liking.

The revolt, altho confined to a relatively small section of the city of Tokyo, nevertheless was of profound significance as was indicated by the tenseness with which all the world powers awaited the fate of the army of 1,000. For the Soviet Union this present turn of events will prove that it has a very dangerous neighbor in the east against whom it must be amply prepared at all times.

FRANK TALK IS HAGOOD CRIME

After testifying rather critically at the House committee hearings for the War Dep't appropriations, General Hagood was relieved of his post by order of Craig, chief-of-staff. The publication of the testimony was followed by his dismissal, and after this had raised the roofs off the various Administration buildings, Craig took personal responsibility for the dismissal on the grounds of the "good of the service."

Hagood had commented bitterly on the red tape involved in getting WPA money for army projects. He pointed out that, bound by the existing rules and regulations, "real army needs" could not be provided for while "CCC hobbies, like butterfly collecting" were well supported by appropriations. The capitalist press, Democratic and Republican, has considered this a breach of the right of freedom to criticize, from the point of view of the necessity of "frank" discussion of war needs and imperialist preparation. This fact alone hardly makes Hagood's dismissal a cause for lamentation on the part of the workers and farmers.

Another element enters in the situation when we recall Hagood's assertion that "we aren't in need of an army for war, so much as for home purposes." It is decidedly indiscreet for an army officer to admit that the military branch of the government is for use against the governed.

The GOP intends making political capital out of this, showing how free speech is proscribed under the New Deal. The labor movement must realize that Hagood was punished for public utterance of

private truths, for obstinacy in demanding too frankly the building of a war machine.

GREEN STUMPED BY CIO PLAN

Giving the lie in the throat to those who see in the industrial union movement a "dualist" attempt (and to those who would like to see it become that), the Committee for Industrial Organization sent a letter to Wm. Green outlining proposals for the organization of the steel workers by the American Federation of Labor.

The industrial union leaders offered to advance a half million to an A. F. of L. fund, if the Executive would raise a million. The Council was then to work out plans for an organization drive in the steel industry, this drive to have two main organizational features. First, that it be led by a trustworthy trade unionist, who was sympathetic to the problem, and secondly, that the unionization be industrial rather than craft in character. If these conditions were observed, the CIO pledged itself wholeheartedly to the drive.

Green put himself clearly on the side of the craft-splitters in his rejection of this proposal on the basis of "too many strings attached." He said the "Council was working out its own plans." The Council has been doing this for years.

The organization of the steel workers, possible only on an industrial basis, is one of the major problems before the American labor movement. It particularly affects the miners, as Lewis points out, because of the "captive" mines owned by the steel mills, threatening the existence of the UMWA.

HOUSE DEFEATS RFC EXEMPTION

The silver-inflationist bloc in the House, led by Patman, defeated an administration measure to exempt from federal or state taxation, the bank stock and notes of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Traditionally representing anti-trustism, and the hatred of the farming debtor class for Wall Street, Patman and his group revived old features of populism in this drive.

The Maryland courts and finally the Supreme Court had upheld the right of states to tax these notes. It was the administration that had proposed the exemption bill, the Roosevelt administration which poses as the saviour of the social welfare of the nation. This should give some slight inkling of Roosevelt's struggle against the autocracy of the Supreme Court.

Office Workers Arrested At Margon Firm

Thirty-nine pickets of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union have been arrested during the past few days at the Margon Corporation. Sam Baron, union vice-president, in a letter to LaGuardia charged Herman Blume, office manager of the firm, with political wire-pulling, using Tammany influence to encourage police to harass pickets. The Margon strike is testing the mettle of the recently rejuvenated Local 12646 of New York City. Young, eager for the fray, the union membership has met the Margon challenge with exemplary union loyalty. Picketing takes place every morning at 8:30, every evening at 5:15, Margon Corp., 233 Spring St.

Rubber Workers Pledged General Strike in Akron

The United Rubber Workers of America, conducting a strike at Goodyear's Plant No. 2 at Akron, has enlisted the full support of the labor movement of that city and elsewhere. The Central Labor Union met and decided to appoint a committee of twenty-five empowered to call a general strike. It was announced that this committee "has been given power to call on organized labor to come to the defense of Goodyear Local No. 2 in a general strike should any move be made to use force to break the union's peaceful picket lines and reopen the plant."

Goodyear, which practically owns the town, had its judges issue an injunction intended to cripple effective picketing, and had it read to a booming mass picket line by the Sheriff. So determined to hold their own were the picketers, that as yet no attempt has been made to dislodge them. Undoubtedly their own splendid solidarity, plus the threatened general strike action of the Central Trades Council has so far prevented the enforcement of the company's injunction.

At present there are 14,000 men out on strike, living in tents around the plant, and picketing in sub-zero weather. Other workers of Goodyears have already pledged complete support in the form of picketing, and are helping in the picketing now. The strike, it will be recalled, began with the novel "sit-down" form of stoppage, whereby the workers entered the plant but sat by their machines refusing to do work. 140 workers had been unjustly laid off, and this move on the part of the firm, was the spark that set off the smouldering resentment of the rubber workers, for years without a union, and victims of steady speed-up and wage cuts.

Guild Strikers In Milwaukee Firm Against Hearst

The Newspaper Guild strike against Hearst's Wisconsin News is still going full blast, with the State and city American Federation of Labor units lining up full strength behind the Guild in this strike. Saturday, Feb. 29th, a large and successful mass rally was held in front of the plant, Broun and other Guildsmen and labor figures speaking. The mass picket line was three deep and a square block around, while sympathetic workers brought the crowd up to about 2,000.

Attempts have been and are being made to break the strike and the Guild by telephone threats and anonymous appeals to call off the strike. The Guild has stated that it will negotiate with the publisher and his representatives as a collective bargaining agency and has maintained its position in the face of these maneuvers.

The printing trades union issued a statement of support.

CPO Plenum Backs Unity Resolution And Tom Mooney for President Call

The full meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) was held during the week-end of February 22 and 23. Besides the members of the National Committee there were present representatives from units outside of New York, and the members of the New York District.

Coming about six months after the convening of the CPO, the plenum was faced with the task of reviewing the decisions of our group; of testing our policies in the light of the very important developments in the American and international labor movement.

The plenum also had to give more exact characterization to the nature of the new line of the Comintern than we could do last September, having had very few of the documents of the 7th Congress at hand and before their full implications in action had become clear.

I.C.O. Greets Plenum

The tone of the plenum was set by a letter from the I.C.O. which expressed great appreciation for the responsibility which the American group has shown in meeting its international responsibilities. After dealing with the condition of the various sections of the I.C.O. showing that there has been considerable spread of I.C.O. influence and organizational growth, the letter enters upon a detailed discussion of the present opportunism of the Communist Parties which flows out of the application of the 7th Congress line. The dangers inherent in the line in France, Czechoslovakia and Germany are dealt with in detail, and after advising that a section of the Berlin organization of the Communist Party is in revolt against the People's Front policy, the letter expresses the belief that the very rapidity of development and depth reached indicates that this period of opportunism in the Comintern will run its course in much less time than did the ultra-left line.

The letter also reports that the German opposition has established working relations with a section of the leftward moving Social-Democratic workers. Most gratifying in the letter was the news that the various maneuvers by the CI to destroy the opposition forces in Europe were defeated just as we had done here. (See full text of letter in this issue)

Lovestone's Report

The outstanding report of the plenum was delivered by Comrade Lovestone. He emphasized that the world labor movement was going through a period of reorientation with leftward tendencies making their appearance in the Social-Democratic parties while the first experiences of the Communist Parties in carrying out the opportunistic line of the 7th Congress were causing great confusion and damage. It was made clear in the report and in the discussion that followed, that after the first flush of enthusiasm for the new line among the official Communist Parties a certain amount of doubt, hesitancy and misgivings arose in the ranks

and also in the leaderships of the C.P.'s, causing a refusal to carry out the logic of the false premises on war, democracy, etc. that were laid down at the 7th Congress. This hopeful sign was illustrated in the conditions outlined by the C.P. for organic unity in France; in the rejection, even tho in bureaucratic fashion, of a policy carried out by the C.P. of Czechoslovakia in voting for military budget. The C.P. retains the premise—the false position on war, fascism, democracy and people's fronts—their unwillingness to carry out these policies to their logical conclusions, their shrinking from these conclusions testifies to the differences in quality which still exists between the Communist Parties, despite their opportunist swing and the Socialist Parties, despite the swing of certain sections of their parties.

Resolution On Sanctions

A position on sanctions was outlined by Comrade Lovestone in which he indicated that previous expressions of the group on sanctions, tho not constituting officially formulated resolutions, were weakened by the fact that they did not deal in a practical fashion with the issues involved. A resolution was introduced by Lovestone and Herberg but due to inadequate discussion (main attention being directed to more immediate group problems) it was referred to the National Bureau for final action.

In the section of the report dealing with America, Comrade Lovestone gave a thorough analysis of the new movement for industrial unionism growing in the ranks of American labor. He showed the tremendous significance of this movement for the future development of the working class.

The plenum considered thoroughly the activities of the Communist Party in this country; the mechanical application of the opportunist course of the CI; the contradictory and sometimes third period application of trade union policies in certain situations; the People's Front distortion of a Labor Party; the organization of movements like the National Negro Congress without working class base or program,—all these characterize the new course.

For Revolutionary Unity

In the discussion much attention was given to the problem of collaboration with the CP and other forces in the trade union movement. The united front policy of the group in the unions was outlined as one favoring collaboration with the CP and other forces wherever a progressive and constructive program can be agreed upon. An attempt is to be made to make such collaboration general throughout the trade union movement. The plenum endorsed the statement of the National Bureau for Revolutionary Unity which aims to unite into one party the genuinely revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party, the Communist Party

and ourself. Our position is in sharp contrast to that of the Trotskyist "solution" in that we consider the unification with either force on the program outlined as a step in the direction of complete unification of the revolutionary movement. Our "Mooney for President" proposal was further elaborated and the great need for the development of this movement was emphasized. The intimidated rejection of this proposal by the Communist Party leadership—a rejection inspired by factional considerations, because the proposal originated with the CPO—was condemned and served to indicate that the CP has not completely overcome its narrow and sectarian attitude to the labor movement.

Special reports were submitted by B. Herman on a proposed membership drive and by Eve Stone on a subscription drive. Judging by the enthusiastic response received by the Age in its new format, we may look forward to a highly successful drive. On the

membership drive also excellent response may be expected. The reports from our comrades throughout the country indicated that we have struck deep roots in the trade unions and other organizations of the workers. This influence which the group has won will now be converted into manpower for the Communist Opposition.

Decisions Made

With the closing of the discussions a vote on the various proposals was taken. The report of Comrade Lovestone was approved as were the appeals for Revolutionary Unity and Mooney for President. The letter from the I.C.O. was approved and the Bureau was instructed to draft a return letter expressing our satisfaction with the work of the I.C.O.; the organizational growth; the issuance of the "International Class Struggle" (theoretical quarterly of the I.C.O.); and the successful efforts at setting up fields of cooperation with revolutionary sections of Social-Democracy.

The plenum also instructed the Bureau to make a survey with the aim of having a Summer Training School. Resolutions of greetings were sent to Tom Mooney, M. N. Roy—who is still serving in British jail in India, and to a number of other comrades either in jail or seriously ill.

WE HAVE NOT SPOKEN IN VAIN

By JAY LOVESTONE

Things are beginning to happen. We have really begun to move our friends. What's still more important is that our friends have begun to move.

Only the other day, a worker came panting up the straight and narrow path (the unenticing almost perpendicular stairs) leading to our office with a serious grievance. He complained: "I can't stand them any more. These appeals of the \$5000.00 drive simply must stop. I am fed up. They have been pounding at my heart. Isn't there a limit. Well, I wish I could do better and more, but here are two dollars to help put it over."

We assure you dear comrades, friends, critics and readers, we don't want to break your heart. But what can we do but tell the truth, (tho it may hurt), when plain-talk is what is needed? Here's our whisper—out loud. We haven't even reached the \$3000.00 mark at this writing.

Yet, we are optimistic. And give? Well, here's the reason, as given in a letter from Toronto.

"Dear Sir: I am enclosing money order for \$3.00 to the special \$5000.00 fund. Although I would like to take a \$25.00 wallop at Hitler, I'll have to be content at this time with a three dollar slap in the face. If I can send a further contribution before the close of the campaign I will go so.

Hoping you go over the top, I am,
Yours truly,
F. C. R."

That's the spirit. Oh, what a few hundred or thousand such "heart-breaks" and slaps could do for what is most worthwhile to all of us and against all the Hitlers, the Mussolinis, the Arakis and their ilk! Do you agree with us? If yes, tell us. If not, why not?

Yes, indeed, we are convinced that in things that count it's much better to rely on candor than courtesy. This is our experience. This

On the LABOR FRONT

El Paso Power Strike

The city of El Paso and an area of 100 miles in its vicinity reaching into Texas and New Mexico was shrouded in darkness on Feb. 27th, when employees of the El Paso Electric Co. and members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers went out on strike. N. P. Clay, union president, declared the company violated its agreement by dismissing workers to draft a return letter expressing our satisfaction with the work of the I.C.O.; the organizational growth; the issuance of the "International Class Struggle" (theoretical quarterly of the I.C.O.); and the successful efforts at setting up fields of cooperation with revolutionary sections of Social-Democracy.

N. Y. Radio Workers To Join Electrical Union

Hoping to drive a wedge into the Radio Factory Workers Union, whose 30,000 members were recently refused a charter by the A. F. of L. William Collins, representative of the New York local vote to affiliate to Class B membership in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The entire local will have only one vote in the international, whereas skilled electricians in Class A have one vote each. Second class citizens . . . what an honor!

Anthracite Miners Demand Wage Boost

Representing three district organizations of the United Mine Workers, about 100,000 coal diggers of Pennsylvania, have formulated the following demands for incorporation in the new agreement (the old one terminates 6 years of life on April 1), which John L. Lewis and a committee have presented to operators in New York: A six-hour, five-day week to replace the 48 hour week; wage increases, equalization of working time to end bootlegging, a complete union checkoff, time and a half for overtime and Sunday work and a two year agreement. While the operators plead poverty and severe competition from coal substitutes, the mine leaders charge operators with lining the pockets of railroad czars with exorbitant profits (railroads own the mines). 60,000 hard coal miners are permanently unemployed.

Machine Guns Smash Strike

Lining them up with submachine guns police drove over 100 WPA men back to work on a sewer project in Dover, Ohio, after they had quit to protest the discharge of Joseph Horvath, member of the Project Workers' Union. Horvath had been fired for being a "union agitator" and a "ring-leader" of the men, who had complained against being forced to work outdoors in subzero weather.

Meanwhile in Washington, Harry Hopkins issued an order permitting WPA contractors to requisition union labor direct from the unions. Another sop to labor. Sops and submachine guns against labor.

Strutwear Strike Goes On

Since August 1935 the Strutwear Knitting Company plant, Minneapolis, Minn., has not operated, being paralyzed by a strike called by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. The firm refused to grant workers' demands for higher wages and union recognition. The firm is suing Gov. Floyd B. Olson and city officials charging malicious interference with operation of plant. Sheriff John Wall refused a request for the deputizing of additional men for strike duty.

CHARLES EMIL RUTHENBERG

On March 2 it will be 9 years 'since the death of Charles Emil Ruthenberg, one of the founders of the Communist Party and one of its outstanding leaders.

From its very inception the American Communist Party had shown certain weaknesses especially in the direction of sectarianism and this became therefore the burden of the struggle of Ruthenberg and those grouped around him. With great tenacity the Ruthenberg group set to work to uproot these manifestations of sectarianism both upon the political field as well as the trade union field. The most successful campaigns of the Communist Party, during the lifetime of Ruthenberg, were conducted after the defeat of sectarianism by 1922-23. The campaign for amalgamation of the craft unions (into industrial unions) and the drive for a Farmer-Labor Party, placed the Communist Party on the map of American politics, and as a serious force for progress and health in the trade union movement.

But even during this campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party Ruthenberg proved his ability in the struggle against opportunism. When the Minnesota District of the Party (under the leadership of Clarence Hathway) endangered the existence of the Party by a policy of liquidation into the Farmer-Labor Party, Ruthenberg began the struggle against that position as opportunism. Also the Communist International condemned that position of Hathway in so many words. When the minority of the District Committee of Detroit (supporters of Foster and Browder) proposed that the Party give its support to a Republican standard bearer, Ruthenberg thought it high time to propose a discussion on the limitations of the united front.

The end of the Farmer-Labor Party campaign marked the beginning of a bitter faction war in the Party, in which the Fosters, Cannons and Browders unleashed a campaign of particularly vicious personal abuse against Ruthenberg. In December of 1924 Ruthenberg in notes this slanderous campaign when he says: "It seems that we have come quickly to that stage in the party discussion in which epithets and name calling is to be

substituted for arguments on the basis of principles and facts."

The opportunists of yesterday who endangered the very party itself were suddenly metamorphosed into fiery leftists. To sponsor the slogan of Farmer-Labor Party became treason in the eyes of Foster, Browder, etc., and the charge of "Farmer-Labor Communists" was hurled at Ruthenberg and his supporters. It is to them that he speaks when he says in an article on December 6, 1934:

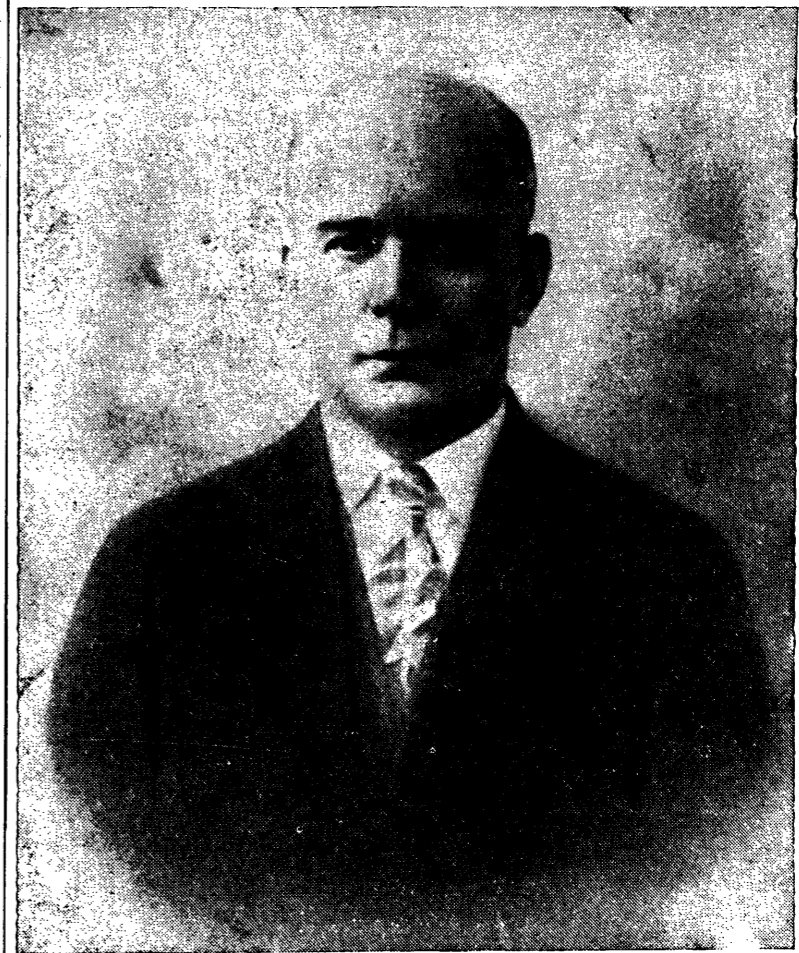
"On the basis of this record we hurl back into the teeth of the Foster-Cannon Group the epithet 'Farmer-Labor Communists'. Let the Foster-Cannon Group stand up before the party and try to explain this consistent refusal to follow a Bolshevik policy. Epithets directed against the group (The Ruthenberg Group of which Ruthenberg and Lovestone were the leaders) in the party which has consistently fought against vacillations and compromises . . ."

The struggle thus begun against the Labor Party slogan by Foster and Browder was continued for many years, even during the period of 1929-35 during which they were the decisive element in the leadership. It was not until recently that they changed their attitude to the Labor Party slogan, upon the request of the Communist International.

Of Comrade Ruthenberg's struggle during the years of war hysteria little need be said. It is well known that he was among those who fought for a proletarian position at the St. Louis convention of the Socialist Party and ultimately paid for his bitter opposition to the imperialist war by serving a long prison sentence.

When the official Communist Party commemorates Ruthenberg's death it does little to honor his memory. The Communist Party is guilty of having practiced that which Ruthenberg considered so dangerous and harmful for the working class—from rejection of the Labor Party slogan and practice of dual unionism to the present class opportunism. It is the Communist Party (Opposition) in whose ranks are to be found Lovestone, Wolfe and other close collaborators of Ruthenberg, that personalities the best that Ruthenberg fought for.

DIED ON MARCH 2, 1927



Limits of the United Front

(A minority of the District Executive Committee of the Workers' (Communist) Party in Michigan proposed that the party, if it did not support, should at least not fight against a candidate in the Republican Party primaries, because he had the support of the labor movement of Detroit and of the State of Michigan. The reply is taken from "The Farmer-Labor United Front.")

HOW FAR can we go in the united front? What are the limits of the united front? The test of any united front movement for us as communists is whether the movement develops the class consciousness of the workers and tends towards class action. If a united front serves this purpose then we, as communists, can enter into it and fight with other workers. But if the united front, in place of developing class consciousness and creating the basis for class action, leads away from these things, it is our duty to fight against it and endeavor to build a united front which will develop class consciousness.

What did the proposal of the Michigan comrades mean? The Republican and Democratic parties are class instruments of the ruling class. They are the organizations through which the capitalists control the government. The capitalists use these parties to establish their class domination, to keep the workers in subjection.

The capitalists foster the illusion that the Republican and Democratic parties through which they maintain their class domination represent the interests of the whole people. It is our task to destroy these illusions. The destruction of this illusion is part of our work of developing class consciousness among the workers.

From the foregoing it appears very clearly that under no circumstances can our party support candidates on either side of the old party tickets. To do that would be leading the workers back into the parties of their enemies. In place of developing class consciousness we would be helping the capitalists to maintain the illusions which we are endeavoring to destroy.

Force in the Class Struggle

(Delivered during the Bridgeman Trial, May, 1923)

BASED ON THE lessons of past history it is the teaching of the Communist Party that when the class struggle comes to its final issue, when there has grown up a great movement of workers and farmers to take out of the hands of the capitalists their control of the government and to abolish the capitalist dictatorship—that is, the control and the use of the government in the interests of the capitalists—then, when the capitalists sense the majority of the workers and farmers intent upon securing relief from this exploitation, the capitalists, in the final struggle will resort to force to protect their privileged position and maintain their power to exploit the workers and farmers, and then this struggle will develop into a struggle in which there will be armed force and civil war . . .

The question of force in this class struggle is the outcome of (Continued on Page 5)

Why the Labor Party Slogan?

(From "The Liberator," Dec., 1924)

THE FORCES which develop class political action by labor are the experiences of labor in its fight for more of what it produces and for better working conditions. It is a fundamental of Marxism that the development of capitalism brings about the intensification of the class struggle, that this intensified class struggle involves the open use of the state power against the workers and forces the workers into a political struggle as a class in their own defense. . . .

In 1922, when the united front labor party policy was adopted by the Communist Party, it was apparent that we had reached the stage of development in the United States which would produce a class political struggle by the

workers on a mass scale. The development of capitalism in the United States, as a result of the war, has brought about an intensification of the class struggle here. The great industrial revolts of 1919 and 1922 were the expression of this situation. The more open use of the state power against the workers developed the idea of labor political action to take this weapon out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters. The demand for such labor political action took the form of a movement for a Farmer-Labor party.

It was thus no artificial slogan created by our Party which was the basis for our united front farmer-labor policy, but the actual developments of capitalism and the workers' struggle in the United States. Our Party adopted the slogan "For a Labor Party" as a means of crystallizing the sentiment for independent political action by labor which had grown up through the life experiences of the workers. Therefore, the slogan "For a Labor Party" was not based upon mere ephemeral conditions, but upon the rock foundation that the development of capitalism intensifying the class struggle, bringing with it the use of the state power against the workers, inevitably forces them into a class political struggle against the capitalist state power.

Our Faith

WE SOCIALISTS have faith in the working class. We believe the workers have advanced too far to submit to industrial slavery, and therefore our confidence that they will assert their power to bring into existence the only alternative to capitalist despotism, which is the social ownership of the already socialized means of production.

C. E. RUTHENBERG
in the "Columbus Socialist,"
June 22, 1912.

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Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rate: \$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, 1879.

Address mail to Box 68 Station "O" New York City.

Vol. V. Saturday, March 7, 1936 No. 10

The Japanese Volcano Erupts

WORDS often misused and seldom understood can shed no light on the latest crisis in Japan. Merely to scream Fascism might serve to generate some heat in the screamer but would not in the least illuminate the gravely complicated situation dramatized in the army-inspired and General-Staff-manufactured "revolt" in Tokio.

The social and economic forces making for the wave of select assassinations are explosive. They have begun to reach a boiling point; nay, they are en route to a breaking point, to an explosion. It's not a question of introducing or imposing Fascism in the Nipponese empire. Certainly there are Fascists in Japan. Of course there are Fascist "ideas" at large in this powerful imperialist country. Nor can any one challenge the fact that the present form of government in Japan has certain Fascist features and may assume still more of them in the near future. The same can be said for many "truly great" bourgeois democracies today. For tomorrow, this may be even more appropriate. But there is no mass base for Fascism as the form of class rule in Japan today.

There is no doubt that this outbreak in Japan reflects in a most revealing and dynamic fashion the deep and insoluble contradictions in which the empire is buried. For some decades Japan has been in the throes of rapid capitalist development and its ensuing imperialist aggression and expansion. All this time the state, the government structure and system, has been primarily a military-feudal coalition, something akin to the Junker governments of pre-war Germany. Given modern capitalist economic development with its rise of a proletariat and an ever-more impoverished peasantry, with a growing class of monopolist financiers and industrialists, and a fundamental weakening of the economic base of feudal forces, this governmental system becomes ever more out of date, an unsuitable superstructure for the base of social and economic relations.

The very successes of the military, operating to the advantage of the mighty rising capitalist class may have blurred and blunted, as they did for a while, this antagonism. Actually there was no solution in the process. There was only a further complication at bottom. Specific, peculiar, Japanese conditions, hardened by the weight of solid traditions, only served as the gathering lava which was later, if not sooner, to be hurled with terrific force and violence. The present Tokio "rebellion" is only a manifestation, (not all carefully thought out, it is true, by the participants) of this problem with which the Japanese ruling classes have been grappling. Sixty years of general development of parliamentarism have not given Japan a so-called democratic political system, a capitalist parliamentary dictatorship.

The Manchurian venture, the drive to rip up China, the preparations to assault the U.S.S.R., the plans to consolidate and extend Japanese hegemony in the Far East have been proceeding at a terrific pace because of the world economic crisis and the very explosive general international situation. The militarist forces have pushed affairs at a dizzy pace in no small measure with a view of strengthening their position at home, for the purpose of tightening the grip on the state machinery. Obviously, the big industrialists could well go along with such adventures. These military achievements opened new fields of exploitation for the Japanese big bourgeoisie. However, these drives are very costly; they become all the more costly when they are continued at an unbroken and tempestuous gait. Today more than half the Japanese government budget is devoured by current, or immediate, military needs.

Inevitably this means increasingly oppressive tax burdens for the middle classes and deteriorating and unbearable living conditions for the laboring people in the cities and for the toiling folks on the land. Here is fertile soil for social revolutionary developments which grow, the still inarticulate, numbers of the middle and lower layers of the Japanese bourgeoisie dread. This fear has been all the more accentuated by the marked successes of socialist economy in the Soviet Union in recent years. There is reason to believe that no small section of the Nipponese capitalist class has actually, if not yet expressly, been hoping for a slowing down of the tempo of the military drive in order to lessen the resultant pressure and strain on the economic machine. Such a slowing down the military clique fears for inner reasons as well as outer: This sabre-rattling crew sees in such restraint a possible cause for a reduction instead of an enhancement of its power at home. Furthermore, the army crowd feels, and with real justification, that now is the time to strike while Great Britain and the U. S. are in difficulties and while the Soviet Union has not yet finished certain economic undertakings.

In this light, the latest Japanese volcanic political eruption is bound to have repercussions and consequences of world-wide import. Let no one even for a moment think that the armed forces of Japanese imperialism are an independent distinct class in themselves, with their own economic base, like the bourgeoisie have. Secondly, no one is warranted in assuming that the military might of Japan is a homogeneous force, without any serious differences in their ranks as to how to attain the objectives they seek. Witness the friction between the navy and army staffs. Thirdly, it would be folly to think that the murdered ministers were liberals in the European or even American sense of the word. At most it was a difference in shading. Then, let no one believe that the aims of the militarists are in any real sense in conflict with those of the finance capitalists. The clash is much more over means than ends, over the division of spoils.

It is apparent that a victory in the present conflict for the more open, ardent and arrogant militarist forces will emphasize the certainty of further Japanese imperialist aggression in China and multiply the danger of an attack against Outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union. This should not be interpreted as meaning an immediate onslaught on the U.S.S.R. The foreign policy of imperialist Japan is largely determined by the General Staff. The latter knows very well that an immediate drive against the Soviet Union is not the best military sense. Soviet military and aviation prowess is today a force which Japan doesn't dare tackle alone. In 1932 it might have been different. The

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ROOSEVELT AND BIG BUSINESS

Article II In Series Roosevelt And The Liberty League

By WILL HERBERG

The relations between the Roosevelt administration and the big capitalist interests of this country are not easy either to analyze or to define. In the last three years they have undergone constant change, often manifesting themselves in contradictory and paradoxical forms. Nor is anything added to clarity by the foggy pre-election atmosphere in which current discussion of the New Deal is taking place. In the press, everything seems to be reduced largely to the issue of the "Redness" or the constitutionality of the Roosevelt program. The problem, however, is much broader. It is really central to an understanding of the entire current political situation and hence it deserves some very serious consideration.

How the New Deal Was Born

Under what circumstances was the New Deal program initiated in 1933 and what was the attitude of the dominant capitalist interests towards it? It may be necessary to recall in general outline the state of affairs on the eve of the last presidential elections. The economic crisis had reached uncharted depths. Complete economic collapse seemed to be staring the country in the face. Spokesmen of big capital had begun to lose faith in the passive, do-nothing, "let-nature-take-its-course" policy of the Hoover administration, which they had lauded to the skies in the early days of the crisis and which Hoover himself was now beginning to modify towards the end of his term. Deep discontent, a mood of aching dissatisfaction and unrest, was sweeping the country, bursting out to the surface in bonus marches and farmers' revolts. For the first time, fear and uncertainty began to grip the ruling class, fear not so much of revolution, also that was there too, but of the imminent collapse of the whole capitalist structure in chaos about their ears.

By the end of the second year of the crisis, in fact, the "best minds" of American big business had already begun to do some serious thinking how best to meet the grave emergency and, at the same time, stabilize and reinforce the economic system of capitalism. In February 1931 the United States Chamber of Commerce appointed a Committee on Continuity of Business and Employment, with H. I. Harriman, its president, as chairman. The report of this committee, made in November of the same year, is a document of considerable significance. On the basis of a study of the causes of the depression, a long-range program was offered, prefaced by a declaration that is especially interesting in view of President Roosevelt's recent allusion to the "horse-and-buggy-days," of decentralization and "rugged individualism":

"A freedom of action which might have been justified in the relatively simple life of the last century cannot be tolerated today, because the unwise action of one individual may adversely affect the lives of thousands. We have left the period of extreme individualism and are living in a period in which national economy must be recognized as a controlling factor."

Among the practical proposals which this U. S. Chamber of Commerce committee made were such points as the following:

- 1. Control of production to balance consumption.
- 2. Modification of the Sherman anti-trust law to permit business

units to enter into agreements to control production under government supervision.

3. A national economic council, to be composed of outstanding representatives of all fields of social life and of the Department of Commerce, to operate under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce.

4. Unemployment insurance and old age pensions.

5. Shorter hours in industry.

At about the same time, towards the end of 1931, Gerald Swope made public his (first) Swope Plan, urging the legalization of trade associations under a modification of the anti-trust laws and the investment of these associations with the power to outline trade practices, stabilize production, regulate prices, set up methods of accounting and initiate workmen's compensation, unemployment, disability and old-age insurance and "employee representation."

A similar movement came from another direction. A second U. S. Chamber of Commerce body, the Committee on Work Periods in Industry, was set up in the summer of 1932 to study the "share-the-work" plan. By September the committee reported, endorsing the "share-the-work" idea, but going further to suggest that employers be permitted to unite for agreements to shorten hours and adopt minimum wage scales.

The Program of Big Business

All this, remember, took place before the election of Roosevelt and certainly before the inauguration of the New Deal. By the time the new president was ready to enter the White House, big business, as represented by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, had put forward a program including: (1) the modification of the anti-trust laws; (2) "self-government" by trade associations under codes to regulate production, prices and trade practices; (3) code provisions to shorten hours and establish minimum wages; and (4) the initiation of unemployment, disability and old-age insurance. Indeed, it was precisely because big business felt that some sort of positive action along these lines was necessary to head off complete collapse and to perpetuate the capitalist system, that it swung so largely away from Hoover, who seemed incapable of doing anything at all, towards Roosevelt, who promised action aplenty in the desired direction. Roosevelt was elected not against big business but with the support of the dominant capitalist interests of this country!

After March 1933 a new element entered into the situation. On April 8, the Senate adopted, by a vote of 53 to 30, a bill offered by Senator Black of Alabama prohibiting employers operating in interstate commerce from working their employees more than thirty hours a week. This action came as a bewildering surprise to the business world. Only a few days later the Committee on Work Periods in Industry, referred to above, issued its final report recommending that trade associations be authorized to enter into agreements on minimum wages and maximum hours; that all industry adopt the "share-the-work" principle; that the maximum 40-hour week be accepted; and that the weekly quota of hours, within that limit, be flexible.

Heading Off the Black 30-Hours Bill

The clash between the rigid 30-hour clause of the Black bill and the "flexible 40-hour" provision of the Chamber of Commerce commit-

tee report, became immediately obvious. While the Senate measure was being held up by a vote to reconsider, pressure was put upon Senator Black by Mr. Harriman and others for some sort of compromise. But Black would not budge. More than that, his bill was passed again by a large vote and, in the House a similar measure, the Connelly bill, was favorably reported, in spite of Secretary Perkins' warning that the president could not approve of it. Meanwhile, Senator Wagner was meeting with a widely assorted group to frame some sort of vague "planning" measure about which nobody had any definite ideas. Similar developments were on foot in the Agricultural and Commerce Departments and in the office of Raymond Moley, then Assistant Secretary of State. In fact Mr. Moley had asked James Warburg, the well known banker, for advice on this matter and the latter had submitted a report in the form of a suggested presidential message maintaining that the time had come for the "regimentation" of business. It was during these days that Moley picked up General Hugh S. Johnson, who was wandering about in Washington, and asked him to get down to work on the same job. Before long, the Moley people joined the Wagner group and Johnson was ready with the draft of a bill, surprisingly brief, providing for an outright grant of power to the president to organize industry and to give the trade associations authority to regulate prices, production, trade practices, wages and hours but containing not a single word about collective bargaining for labor.

The NRA was now ready for final formulation. The act itself was prepared by the Wagner group, with Johnson in the forefront. In the second draft, a paragraph on labor was added upon the insistence of Miss Perkins and her deputies. As framed by Donald Richberg, this section was obviously calculated to establish the open shop by law, for it provided that: "No employee or no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any organization or refrain from joining a labor organization of his own choosing." Under pressure, this clause soon gave way, however, to the well-known Section 7A. And thus was the NRA born!

NRA As Embodiment of Program Of Big Business

The NRA came to Congress as the embodiment of the essential program of "self-government" of industry thru trade associations, advocated in various forms by the most authoritative spokesmen of big business. It came to Congress as a means of heading off the utterly unwelcome Black-Connelly 30-hours bill. After the NRA finally became law in June 1933, Mr. Harriman congratulated the directors of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce upon their great victory. As a matter of fact, the Chamber really got more than it had hoped for: the modification of the anti-trust laws, "self-rule" in industry, the defeat of the Black and Connelly bills and the regulation of hours and minimum wages by the trade associations under the NRA. As for Section 7A, it was confidently believed that it would serve as a means of fostering company unionism and keeping labor in check. I have presented this somewhat detailed account of the origin of the NRA—for which I am indebted primarily to the brilliant work of John T. Flynn—because, after all, we are most interested in the industrial and labor aspects of the New Deal. But a somewhat similar story could be told of most of its

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AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS seems to be keeping quiet about applying effective sanctions against Mussolini's onslaught on Ethiopia. Eden's maiden speech before the British parliament stood out as an eminent flop especially in this respect. More and more it is beginning to look as if the poorly clad and slightly armed Ethiopians will be called upon to apply their own sanctions against Il Duce's legions. Despite all boastful propaganda pouring out of Rome, we have a notion that Mussolini's efforts will bear only Dead Sea fruit.

In this connection, our conclusion is not one bit altered by the endorsement just given the Fascist imperialist drive by the Vatican. Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, has openly hailed Il Duce as "the restorer of imperial Rome." This is lavish blessing and unstinted support by the Holy See for Mussolini's imperialist drive against the Abyssinians.

Pacelli, addressing the conference held by the "Roman Society with Cultural Aims" opened up with a salute to Pope Pius XI, King Victor Emanuel III and Premier Mussolini. He followed in double quick time to put the Pope, as the first and foremost representative of the "Prince of Peace" on earth, definitely on record in favor of an Italian imperialist victory over Ethiopia. The Vatican's beau brummel said in part:

"Rome was ordained and prepared by Providence to be the capital of the world and the central seat of religion. The Rome of the emperors was a historical preparation of the spiritual and universal empire of Jesus Christ. . . . No city will wrest from Rome its destiny as the city of God, of wisdom incarnate enacted by Christ and the Holy See for Peter's successors."

Very well said, my cardinal, in behalf of Mussolini! With a bible in one hand, and a bayonet in the other, and a bomber above . . . and a tank ahead . . . and poison gas all over . . . Poor Coptic Christians! What a racket!

Fight the War!

(Delivered in Cleveland Federal Court, July, 1917, reproducing his speech delivered in the Public Square, May 27, 1917)

THIS IS NOT a war for freedom. It is not a war for the liberties of mankind. It is a war to secure the investments and profits of the ruling class of this country. . . .

The only reason we are in this war now is because it is to the interests of the ruling class, the capitalist class of this country, to have us in the war. . . . I am speaking to you as Karl Liebknecht spoke to the German nation, as he spoke in the Parliament of that country when he denounced the war as a war of the ruling class and stated his unalterable opposition to that war. And I say to you that if you are inspired by this ideal . . . if you are inspired with that which will bring about a better world than you must stand up and fight for that ideal. You must fight side by side with those who are fighting this war. . . .

We of the Socialist Party are carrying on this fight. We are here to carry on this fight. We are here to organize the workers of this country for this struggle. We are working towards this end, that out of the chaos of this war there may come a new society, a new world, which will end the cause of war by ending the private ownership of industry which brings war into existence.

brought to our doorsteps. The Republicans won't dare say things are really bad for the majority because that would give away their talk about rugged individualism. The Roosevelt party won't hesitate to boost and boast about the prosperity flowing out of the NRA.

Both contentions torpedo the truth. The volume of unemployment affords a different and dismal picture. Again, the very trends in the capital market reveal the depths of stagnation into which Wall Street economy has fallen. Here are some illuminating figures regarding the investment trend in 1935. During the whole year, new domestic corporate issues totaled \$403 millions of capital. In this same period, the Federal and local governments and their agencies borrowed about three billion dollars of new funds thru the security market. In other words, despite all loose and industrious talk about revival of private industry, corporate, or private, capitalist enterprise could consume only about one-seventh as much capital as did the government, as did state capitalist undertakings and operations.

How! as some big business men may against the Roosevelt program, shriek as some of them may for balancing the government budget, it is hourly more evident that were it not for the constant fabulous government expenditures, were it not for the consistent extension of state capitalism, the whole bourgeoisie order in the U. S. — so dear to the hearts and pocket-books of our topmost citizenry, would be much worse off.

In so far as Roosevelt goes, there are too many ingrates in Wall Street. The latter never had — in a fundamental class sense — a better friend and more effective champion than it now has in the White House.

Charles Emil Ruthenberg

Class Justice

(Continued from Page 3) the clash of social forces. From past history the inference is clear that such armed struggles do result from these class struggles. And the likelihood is that the present class struggle will have a similar result.

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

THE "BLACK CIRCULAR" of the Executive Council (February 7) proscribing the Committee for Industrial Organization has now been handled by many federal local union and by central labor bodies. To our knowledge most of the federal locals have just "moved to receive and file" but among the central labor bodies there is a considerable divergence in the action taken.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, otherwise known as a progressive body, showed itself to be die-hard craft unionist. We quote from the minutes of the February 16 meeting:

"Lengthy official communication from A.F.L. relative to Executive Boards decision as to organization policy was read and motion that same be published in full in the Federation News for the guidance of organizations mentioned therein, led to the offering of an amendment making discussion of the subject matter a special order at the next meeting. This amendment was ruled out of order on the grounds that the letter itself constituted a mandate unalterable by debate. Considerable discussion was finally terminated by adoption of original motion. . . ."

One might think that the majority placed itself on purely formal grounds in insisting that the letter be printed without discussion but that would be wrong. The issue of "Federation News" of February 22 carrying this document of the Executive Council is also "enriched" by the reprint of a cartoon from "Labor, The Railway Men's National Weekly" in which John L. Lewis is made to say: "That is the way to win labor's battles! Let's split the A. F. of L. wide open and put the workers to fighting each other!"

The behaviour of the "lefts" was scandalous, especially that the meeting was called to take up a most difficult economic situation, with unemployment widespread and the employers sharpening their teeth against the union. It is not yet too late to retreat from this impossible situation. If not the Progressive administration will have to take steps to defend the unity of the organization against a disruptive and irresponsible opposition.

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CPO Plenum Gets Letter from the International Communist Opposition

Dear Comrades: The Bureau of the International Communist Opposition (I.C.O.) extends to you its hearty and comradely greeting on the occasion of the plenary sessions of your National Committee.

We are glad to be able to present to your plenum the first issue of the international organ of the I.C.O. — "The International Class Struggle." This undoubtedly comes as a sign of progress of the I.C.O. as a whole and as a fitting answer to the attempts of the Communist International to disrupt our ranks by driving a wedge between the Communist Oppositions in Germany and the U. S. A. Your answer to these maneuvers was the same as ours — the intensification and strengthening of our work.

The Bureau of the I.C.O. thanks you heartily for your splendid cooperation with the I.C.O. and particularly for your solidarity with the German comrades in their struggle against the Hitler terror regime.

Trade Union Collaboration We have learned with great satisfaction of the trade union col-

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HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

In the International Labor Movement

CZECH COMMUNISTS IN CRISIS

The article below, written for Workers Age by our Czechoslovakian correspondent, is of great importance. Ever since the 7th Congress we have directed our criticism against opportunism as the very essence of the strategical line. We have insisted that the "People's Front" tactic universally applied, opens the floodgates to opportunism in the Comintern. We pointed out that with Dimitroff estimating the present situation as the choice between bourgeois democracy and fascist dictatorship nothing in the world could possibly deflect the Communist Parties from the road of loyal defense of the capitalist dictatorship in its democratic form; and that the logic would be the support of the war budget, as in Czechoslovakia, and the curbing of the class struggle for fear of undermining the stability of this same capitalist dictatorship (in its bourgeois democratic form) as in the Brest and Toulon strikes in France.

All this and more we analyzed and fought against as a travesty of Leninist tactics and fully as dangerous for the proletariat as was its twin-brother ultra-leftism.

This present half, or quarter turn in Czechoslovakia is most welcome, even the criticism against the line of the Central Committee is leveled against the crudest consequences of the 7th Congress line without touching the basic cause—the line of the 7th Congress itself. In the same sense we welcome the wavering and vacillation of the French communists before the logic of their own political line. We refer to their vote against the line extending the term of service in the army; their abstention during the vote on confidence in the newly established Sarraut government in France and their rejection of participation in a People's Front Government, at present. We welcome these developments in the hope that ultimately the rationalization of these quarter turns must lead to a complete turn, to a complete rejection of the deep and dangerous opportunism in which the parties of the Comintern have been immersed.

To the members of the Communist Party, here in the U. S. A., we would say: Comrades take heed! The leadership of the party has been pursuing a course fully as opportunistic as that of France and Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia must be a warning for you. Already the Communist International has spoken critically of the "deviations" in the American and other parties "which must be rectified as rapidly as possible." (See Communist International January 1936.) In the pre-convention discussion now going on, the party members must evaluate all the activity of the party, especially the most recent plumbings of the depths of opportunism in the case of the National Negro Congress, and must begin a struggle to purge the party of its right wing policies. That and the democratization of the regime in the party and the Comintern can bring health, vigour and unity into communist ranks—Editor.

THE C.P. of Czechoslovakia is undergoing a revolution "from above." Gottwald has just returned from Moscow, on the basis of the general amnesty proclaimed when the new president assumed office. In the name of the Communist International, Gottwald has opened fire on the worst opportunistic deviations of the C.P. In preparation for the Seventh Party convention of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia the Party press has published a four-page article in which Gottwald censures the Central Committee for its opportunist, social-patriotic policies.

Criticism Along I.C.O. Lines
The criticism of Gottwald is in its details identical with our criticism of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia. This, however, refers only to the consequences of the ultra-right course and not to its causes. It's a case of "Eat your cake and have it too." The basic line of the ultra-right course remains intact. In other words, it is a quarter turn. To draw a historical parallel one could compare this ECCI-Gottwald article to the Open Letter sent by the ECCI in 1925 against the Ruth Fischer leadership.

The hunt for scapegoats is on again. The chief editor of "Rude Pravo" has already been thrown out of the Party. This is to be followed by a number of changes in the personnel of the Party leadership. It is clear, however, that since the basic line of the 7th Congress will be retained, similar opportunistic errors, such as Gottwald criticizes today, will crop up again and again. The only difference will be that in the future Gottwald will be among the guilty. His innocence today is merely due to the fact that he has not had a chance to carry out the line of the 7th World Congress in practise because he was in Moscow.

Social-Democracy To The Rescue
The article has created quite a stir among the workers and in the Party. The most interesting comment is that of the Social Democratic press. It attacks Gottwald very sharply and defends the Central Committee which it states has been pursuing a very sensible and realistic policy.

The criticism of Gottwald has stunned the great mass of Party members. Those Party people who are acquainted with us as a group thru the inner-Party fight are very angry. They "curse" the opposition for being correct again. Since this criticism comes from "the leader of the Czech proletariat" and the representative of the ECCI, it is considered correct criticism. But there are other reactions as well. A considerable section of the Party membership doesn't know whether there is coming or going. The ultra-left course, they are told, was incorrect; the present course of the Central Committee is incorrect. What assurance is there that the line Gottwald defends now is the correct one? Such sentiments are quite widespread and indicate that the inner-Party regime of bureaucratic centralism makes for passivity on the part of the membership.

S.P. For War Budget
As far as the political parties are concerned, things are very quiet except that there is a possibility of the Social Democrats' having to quit the government if they cannot get together with the People's Party on the military budget. A lot of hot air is being let out right now on this question in the Riksdag and in political and military circles. What is it all about, anyway? Is it a question of a military budget or no military budget? Is it that the Social Democrats are against a military budget? Oh no, not at all! To them it is merely a question of dollars and cents (kronor and ore). They want to set the budget at 115 million kr., the Peoples Party and Agrarians at 148 million kr. and the Rights at somewhere around 160 millions. They all agree that the Fatherland must have ample defense. The Social Democrats have declared that they

are not against military appropriations in principle; to them it is merely a question of the amount, and if the bourgeoisie themselves will fill in the difference, then they have nothing against a budget of 160 million kr. or any other amount as long as the bourgeoisie will promise not to draw from appropriations for the social betterment of the people, sums for military purposes. It remains to be seen how or if the Social Democrats will weather this political storm. I notice that in the United States you have a very energetic movement against the Nazi Olympics. But here it is different. I am almost ashamed to admit that the Social-Democrats voted 300,000 kr. for Nazi Olympics expenses. With Communist Greetings, S. S.

Socialists Back War Budget

The following excerpts are taken from a letter of a member of the Communist Party (Opposition) now residing in Sweden. His remarks on the attitude of the Social-Democratic Party towards the military budget are very enlightening, especially that certain sections of the Socialist movement now claim to be extremely revolutionary and become very indignant at similar acts of Communist Parties—as in Czechoslovakia. Note the information on the Nazi Olympics.—Editor.

Gothenburg, Sweden.

Dear Comrades:
Times are relatively good in the shipping industry here. But that does not prevent the shipowners from wanting to cut our wages 5% and to strike out other clauses in our agreement that are in our favor. Precisely this upswing in the industry is the main reason for our union demanding a 10% wage increase and shortened working hours, etc. The shipowners have shown themselves to be hard and unyielding to pressure. We regard this attitude of theirs as a challenge to us and are prepared to accept this challenge. Our agreement ran out Jan. 31 and, as the negotiations have been broken, a strike seems inevitable. Both parties are waiting for the government (Cabinet) which meets today and most likely will intervene by appointing a conciliation committee. It now happens that the Norwegian seamen are in exactly the same situation and in case of a strike we are looking forward to a united Scandinavian Seamen's Strike.

This union, which was amalgamated three years ago, includes firemen, (or motormen), sailors and cooks, including women, also the workers on harbor and canal boats. At the time of amalgamation, the C.P. played a very reactionary role, being against amalgamation. As a result, all the leading C.P. members were expelled. The amalgamated union held its first convention last October, and there it was decided, among other things, to re-estimate those expelled if they would declare their loyalty to the union and its leadership and abide by its constitution and by-laws. This most of them have done, so that today most of them are back in the union. That they still have hopes of reviving the dual I.S.H. is proved by the fact that they have not publicly declared their disassociation from that organization.

The Emergency Passes—For Big Business
In the first place, the economic emergency, the desperate disease for which the New Deal was hailed as a desperate remedy, is beginning to pass away—as far as big business is concerned. Some sort of recovery has undoubtedly begun to set in. The New York Times business index, which fell to 62 in the spring of 1933, reached 96 in the summer of that year and now (December 1935) stands at about the same level. Industrial production, averaging 186 in 1929 and falling to an average of 100 in 1932, has now again reached over 150. It is important to note the curious structure of this upward movement. I refer not merely to the discrepancy in trend between the consumers goods and the capital goods industries, in the latter of which the recovery still bears a very dubious character. I refer more especially to the significant relation between business, production, employment, wages and earnings, hours of labor and profits. Production has risen, considerably in many cases, employment has increased in a much smaller proportion; wages and earnings have shown only the slightest changes for the better, if any at all; but profits have soared to unexpected heights. In the past year (1935), production increased 14%, making up half the loss in volume suffered between 1929 and 1932. In December 1935 alone, the Federal Reserve

Board index of industrial production jumped five points, being 103% of the 1923-25 level as compared with 98% in November. And how about employment? In the same month of December 1935, the manufacturing industries employed only 85% as many workers as in 1925! In the period of 1923 to 1925, the number of unemployed was about 2,000,000; today it stands at least at 11,000,000. In December 1935, the A. F. of L. reports, business activity was 21% above December 1934 but employment was only 4% higher. According to the Annalist index, business has already regained so much of its loss that an additional rise of 7% would bring it back to normal. Employment, however, is so far behind that it would take an increase of 28% to bring it back to the same level. Since the voiding of the NRA, moreover, hours of labor in 44 industries have been increased by 4 to 8 hours per week and the tendency towards the lengthened work-week has only just begun. The figures could be multiplied indefinitely if there were any need, but the fundamental disproportion between the movement of business and production, on the one hand, and employment, on the other, is already clear.

ROOSEVELT AND BIG BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 4)

other aspects. The AAA, for example, has been widely condemned by the Liberty League-Republican coalition as a scheme of "planned scarcity," the limitation of production to raise prices. And yet this virtuous pose falls somewhat flat when we recall that the 1932 Republican platform explicitly endorsed precisely the same principle: "We will support any plan which will help to balance production against demand and thereby raise agricultural prices." The gold policy of the administration was endorsed, as I have already pointed out, by none other than J. P. Morgan himself. And careful investigation could probably establish a similar connection for every important phase of the New Deal. Indeed, I believe it can be taken as an established fact that, when it was first inaugurated, the New Deal was not the utopian fantasy of a few academic cranks called the "brain trust" but was, in the full sense of the words, the realization in governmental policy of the plans vigorously urged by the leaders of big business and repeatedly endorsed by its most authoritative organizations. But today decisive sections of big business, including these same leading lights, are committed to a war to the death against the New Deal. What has happened to bring about such a radical change?

The fact is, of course, that technical progress and speed-up, both of which were greatly stimulated during the worst depression years, coupled with the actual increase in hours, have made it possible for capitalist industry to turn out increased production without anything like a proportionate increase in employment. Recent observers have called attention to the sharp rise in output per man per hour during 1932 and 1933. There has taken place a real structural change in American industry, not merely a recovery back to normal.

(Continued Next Week)

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BOOKS of the AGE

STEEL—DICTATOR, by Harvey O'Connor. Published by John Day Co. 383 pages. Reviewed by ECONOMIST

Steel—symbol of modern capitalism—is the cornerstone on which the industrial system rests. The steel industry is both foundation and framework of the entire industrial structure. The capital goods industry, upon which capitalism depends in a decisive economic fashion, leans heavily on the steel industry. Construction, manufacturing, and the railways rely upon steel commodities for their very back-bone. It is therefore obvious that any discussion of the steel industry involves a consideration of the very center of industrial and financial capitalism.

In writing his book, Harvey O'Connor has combined an understanding of the industry, in terms of its relationship to the capitalist system, with a lucid style, to produce a very readable study of the subject. Starting with the formation of the \$1,400,000,000 U. S. Steel Corporation (50% of the stock being watered), it traces the story of steel up to the present.

The multifarious practices engaged in by monopoly capitalists to extort profits and super-profits are very competently revealed. O'Connor indicates how this Morganized industry has committed almost everyone of the so-called unfair practices as exercised by the Federal Trade Commission. Restriction of production, control of prices, overcapitalization, financial control of the industry through J. P. Morgan and Co., the Pittsburgh Plus system which has fixed prices of steel for the industry on the basis of output, high cost machinery owned by U. S. Steel Corp. at Pittsburgh, and other well-known monopolistic practices.

The relationships of the Morgan-Schwab corporations to labor reveals an industrial oligarchy that will stop at nothing to crush labor unions. They have built company unions to compete with the trade unions and to drug the minds of the steel workers with anti-AFL sentiments. Where "peaceful" persuasion of the money power fails they very readily fall back upon the coercive powers of the "muffed fist": tear-gas, chemicals, riot guns, sub-machine guns, barbed wire fences around the plants, hired thugs and so-called "deputy sheriffs," conversion of the steel plants into veritable armed forts.

It is in his treatment of unionism, that the author reveals his greatest weakness, showing an undue regard for the dual unionist attempt of the Communist Party—the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union. There can be no doubt, however, that the future of the American labor movement will find the steel workers organized in a renovated AFL union and playing a leading role in the fight against finance capital.

The section dealing with the NRA and the steel industry contains some of the best parts of the book if not some of the finest statements on an estimation of the Nira. The author proves, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that the steel owners wrote and enforced the code through their Iron and Steel Institute. O'Connor describes the code in the steel industry as ". . . the delivery of government authority to the Iron and Steel Institute to sustain an artificially high price level aimed to protect swollen capital obligations. . ."

The conclusion of the book poses the maturing conflict between "Morganism and Socialism." To which the author gives the only possible answer for those who wish to go forward rather than backwards: "The price the finance cap-

LOSING THEIR CHAINS . . . by James Sand Big Bill Haywood

(Continued from previous issue)

Haywood took a leading part in every great strike the Wobblies waged. He was executive secretary of the I.W.W. throughout its significant history. At Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1912 the Wobblies carried on their first big eastern strike in the textile industry where the workers were fighting a cut in wages. Police brutality had already broken out when Big Bill arrived on the scene. He had been on a lucrative speaking tour for the S.P. On it he was earning \$1,000 a month. When he heard of the textile strike, he threw up the job and went to Lawrence with four hundred dollars in his pocket. When the strike was over he had used that up on himself and the strikers and was left broke. In 1918 when he was fighting for his life in the trial by the government for his agitation against the imperialist war, he was asked why he surrendered such a good job to court injury and sure poverty to aid in the Lawrence strike. He shot back:

"You might ask me why have I been mixed up in any of these strikes. . . . Because I have been very anxious to secure the condition, first of my own children and other people's children, and I have had a dream about seeing the conditions of all working men improved, and a good position or a lucrative job did not seem to cut much figure with that, or as opposed to that idea."

The next year, 1913, Haywood was working in the Paterson strike. By this time the Wobblies had become nation-wide. Starting as a western organization, it spread over the country because of its willingness to organize the unskilled and the semi-skilled in industrial unions. Its songs, including "Hall-lujah, I'm a bum" were on the lips of the nation, and it had amassed a great tradition of struggle. But basically the Wobblies remained Luddite in their struggles; their revolt was the primitive revolt of workers who have just begun to understand the causes for capitalist oppression.

According to Brissenden's figures, the peak of popularity and prestige of the I.W.W. was reached in 1912 when they had 100,000 members, among them some "two-carders," workers who belonged to the Wobblies and the A. F. of L. unions in their occupational field. But capitalists were out to get them, and they found their opportunity when we entered the imperialist war to make the world safe for plutocracy. In 1916 the I.W.W. had adopted a resolution against the war which had a common base with Lenin's Zimmerwald resolution. Finally, when America entered the war, Haywood was warned that the I.W.W. was going to be raided.

Headquarters of the organization were in Chicago. That office was raided on September 5th, 1917, and papers and files and desks were carted away. The Red Scare had begun in earnest. Haywood was arrested and finally tried in 1918. Beginning on August 9, 1918 he testified in his own defense in the Chicago Federal Court. The testimony runs to 312 pages. Kenesaw Mountain Landis, High Commissioner of baseball, was the presiding judge, and Haywood comments in his autobiography, "Our trial had been a great hardship on the judge, because during that season his time was much occupied and he could not go as many ball games as had previously been his custom."

Haywood got out of Leavenworth in July 1919, pending appeal. The rest of his time in America was spent under the threat of imprisonment while the appeals wended their way to the United States Supreme Court. Meanwhile Haywood addressed meetings all over the country and took a hand in fighting the Centralia frame-up. This last part of his life he has himself shrouded in obscurity seemingly because of the criticism to which he was subjected for his departure for Russia in 1921. He had joined in with the newly organized Communist Party where he found the resolution of the conflicts within his militancy.

While on bail, he collected tremendous sums for the defense of political prisoners and amassed a large fund for the I.W.W. for that purpose. But it all began to tell on him. He was very ill from diabetes, and he faced the possibility of twenty years in Leavenworth. Jail was nothing new to him, but he did not relish the prospect of spending his last days in pain and suffering within prison walls. He himself has made no apology and given no explanation as to why he went to Russia. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn says that the Wobblies were "pretty sore" at Big Bill for leaving. He was put aboard an outgoing freighter at Hoboken during the night. Others of the Wobblies felt that Haywood's name and the publicity which his incarceration would call forth would force his freedom as well as the freedom of the lesser known Wobblies who were railroaded. Art Stone has said that Haywood's presence in America would have resulted in leniency in punishment if not in complete exoneration, for all concerned. Although a friend and co-worker of Haywood has said that he "was welcomed by the Russian masses and by the leaders of the Communist Party as befitted an old fighter of labor's struggles," and that "he was received everywhere with eager acclaim and decorated as a Revolutionary Hero

and everybody who comes under a cloud of suspicion will be fingerprinted.

NEGROES NOT PRONE TO T. B. MEDICO SAYS
Blowing skyhigh the traditional medical theory that Negroes are more susceptible to tuberculosis than white people, Dr. Morton C. Kahn of Cornell University came out with the following statement: "There is less tuberculosis proportionately among the Negroes of Dutch Guiana than in New York as a whole."

"The high mortality through tuberculosis among Negroes in our country is apparently due entirely to an economic explanation. Give any people proper food and adequate housing and the incidence from tuberculosis will take a sharp drop."

with a medal which he wore with pride and which lay upon his breast when he at last reposed in death," it is nevertheless clear that Haywood had nothing to contribute to the Russian Revolution and that he himself was none too happy with the inactivity which Russian life presented to him. He married a factory worker and he was given comfortable living quarters. The best that can be said of this Russian venture is that it permitted a dying warrior of the working class to spend his last years in peace and comparative quiet. But he belonged to the international proletariat only as an American.

Haywood did not transfer to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union until shortly before his death which occurred in the Kremlin hospital on May 18, 1928. Half of his ashes were buried under the Kremlin wall "at a great demonstration in Red Square." The other half lies in Waldheim cemetery, Chicago, close by the graves of the victims of the Haymarket frame-up in Chicago in 1886.

The ultimate path that the I.W.W. would have to take, Haywood evinces that he saw by adhering to Communism. The difference between the I.W.W. and Communism is made clear by a reading of "The Third International Appeals to the I.W.W.," published in the Wobly paper, *Solidarity*, August 14, 1920, and reprinted in Gamba's *The Decline of the I.W.W.* That document appraises the tactics and strategy of the Wobblies. Its successes and failures are weighed, and Zinoviev, who at the time of writing (January 1920) was president of the Central Executive Committee, offers the solution of the dilemma. "The political party and the economic organization," concludes the appeal, "must go forward shoulder to shoulder, toward the common goal—the abolition of capitalism by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the formation of soviets, and the disappearance of classes and the State. The Communist International holds out to the I.W.W. the hand of brotherhood."

With the birth and growth of the international communist movement the peculiar influence of the Wobblies came to an end, although they still lead a nominal, hang-over existence. They had brought the message of industrial unionism to the American worker, aided the Negro in organizing, and had served to dramatize the protests of the semi-skilled and the unskilled. Their militancy was not the smallest stone in the laying of the foundation for revolutionary socialism today. But the nature of the Wobblies was anarchistic and they suffered from the errors of anarchism. They felt that political action was a means of sidetracking the struggles of the proletariat. But the only kind of unionism that can succeed without political action is Gompers' "business unionism"; ultimately industrial unionism leads to the struggle for political power by the working class. For a labor organization rooted in industrial unionism, and basing its strategy and tactics on the class struggle, opposition to political action leads to a short-range view of each critical situation which faces the workers, whether great or small. Each fight is fought without reference to any larger issues. But the reason for the Wobblies' objection to political action lies elsewhere than that of the philosophical anarchists. They were hard-boiled workers in the mines, the lumber camps, the heavy industries; their daily existence was a perpetual torture. They wanted to strike back without being impeded by what seemed to them extraneous purposes. Politics struck them as a long way around.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn who was known all over America as the fiery Irish girl who fought with the Wobblies as one of them has told why she was opposed to political action. "I felt that direct action was needed, not a concession won laboriously here and there, but a complete overthrow of the system under which the poor are exploited in the interest of the rich." Heywood Brown nicknamed Elizabeth Gurley Flynn "Labor's Joan of Arc." But she led a disorganized army, undisciplined in the art of labor warfare, unwilling to read the record of American economic development aright, suspicious of ideas. But it must be remembered that there was at the time no other place for them and no other way of attaining even partial and temporary victories. The Socialist Party sabotaged them for advocating sabotage; the S.L.P. was not to their liking; the Communist movement had not been politically born as yet. Haywood's going over to Communism was a logical step in the development of Wobly theory and practice. To be sure, his background in *Realpolitik* was, as a result of Wobly activity, wholly inadequate and he could contribute little to the movement. It is doubtful whether he would have grown into Marxism even had he remained in America; it is unquestionable that he did not grow while he was in the Soviet Union. But he remains a landmark of the correct formal development of militant proletarianism.

— In the Next Issue —
EUGENE VICTOR DEBS

LABOR PARTY vs. PEOPLE'S FRONT

(A Correction)
In the article entitled "Browder, Thomas and Mooney" by Bertram D. Wolfe in the Workers Age of February 29 (last week), either printer or proof reader seemed to be conspiring with Comrade Browder to take the main sting out of Wolfe's criticism by switching around the lines so that Wolfe's definition of the People's Front got tied to the Labor Party and his definition of the Labor Party got tied to the People's Front. What Wolfe really said, however, will stand repeating. The passage in question should have read:

"To confuse the labor party with the People's Front, to give it middle-class leadership, middle-class political figureheads as nominees, a middle-class program, and a leading committee of rabbis, ministers, liberals, petty-bourgeois politicians, with a sprinkling of labor leaders and maybe a Socialist and Communist leader or two in the background, would deal a possibly well-intentioned but inevitably fatal blow at the very essence and purpose of a labor party. He who peddles the People's Front, who represents a union of the working class and liberal bourgeoisie on a program acceptable to the latter, with a labor party which represents a separation of the working class from the liberal bourgeoisie on an elementary but unmistakably working class program, is sowing winds of confusion to reap whirlwinds of subsequent disaster."

Knitgoods 'Rank and File' Goes Haywire

The knitgoods workers of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union were treated to a taste of the worst third period, union-smashing, disruptive tactics as practised by the so-called Rank and File tendency. At a membership meeting of the Union on February 27th, attended by 1500 knitgoods Workers, called to discuss burning trade problems with which the knitgoods workers are confronted and to lay plans for the expiration of the agreement, these people chose to use this meeting as the time and place to put into practice the policies they advocated in a notorious letter which their executive issued early in February.

Charge of "Surrender"

At the membership meeting the minutes of the Council were read, including of course the action taken by the Council on the question of the letter. It was at this point that it became obvious to all that the so-called "Left Opposition" came to the meeting organized and determined to disrupt and smash the meeting. The leading lights of this group were given the opportunity of the floor first and they set the tone for the rest of their followers. Not only did they defend the contents of the letter but they elaborated on and emphasized the theme of the Union's "betrayal" to the bosses. When a member of the Union took the floor in defense of the Joint Council these disruptive elements in real dual unionist style organized booing and catcalling from all sections of the hall. Even though the membership at the meeting voted to limit speakers to five minutes the Progressive chairman of the Council, Brother Lipsky leniently permitted speakers of the opposition group additional time to present their case. After one of the opposition speakers had spoken for fifteen minutes he was instructed by the chairman to take one minute to conclude. The speaker refused to accept the ruling of the chair and declared his intentions of continuing to speak regardless of the chairman. This was evidently a prearranged signal for the renewal of their booing and catcalling. They even went so far as to throw open the doors of the meeting in a desperate attempt to stampede the membership from the Union hall. The Union membership refused to be stampeded by such irresponsible anti-Union elements and it was the indignation and disgust of the Union membership that compelled the disrupters to cease their provocation.

Nelson Exposes Disrupters

Nelson, Progressive Manager of the Union, in summing up the discussion completely exposed the false and distorted statements made by the so-called opposition. He proved that in shop after shop the Union by its militancy and aggressiveness won increases for the workers, and pointed out that not in a single shop were there any reductions or reorganizations granted by the Joint Council. With reference to the letter, Brother Nelson called upon any present, willing to take responsibility, to publicly state so. Despite the fact that the Rank and File group saw fit to disrupt the meeting in defense of the letter not one of their leaders had sufficient political honesty to stand up and publicly claim responsibility for this scurrilous document. Brother Nelson further pointed out that if no one present would accept responsibility for the letter then there could not be any honest objections to the resolution of the Council condemning those who issued the missive.

Nelson called upon the knitgoods workers present at the meeting to stand solidly behind the Council in condemning those who are consciously attempting to demoralize and to destroy the Union. The Union membership with the exception of the dishonest, disruptive

Rank and File elements voted enthusiastically to support the resolution of the Council.

Stand On Guard

The Progressive Administration of the Joint Council calls upon all Union members to stand united in this decisive period prior to the expiration of the agreement and to be on guard against those who by provocations, distortions, accusations and false statements are attempting to divide the ranks, thereby objectively serving the interests of the common enemy, the employer.

The Letter from the I. C. O.

(Continued from Page 4)

ultra-left line. This becomes evident when we examine the Communist movement in Europe.

C.I. Responsible for French Situation

France, the starting point of the ultra-right course and the model for the Comintern sections just as the German party used to be for the ultra-left tactics, is going thru a period of opportunism in record time. The most recent example of this policy was the abstention from voting when the Sarraut government was formed, altho the C.P. was well aware that this cabinet includes members of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Like the C.P.G. before Hitler's seizure of power, the leadership of the French party and a considerable section of the membership are fooled by the organizational successes which they have won as a result of the grain of correctness which even the ultra-right course contains. (The ultra-right as well as the ultra-left course have both resulted from an intensive exaggeration and distortion of a fundamentally correct idea and were aptly called "infantile diseases" by Lenin.) These organizational successes blind the membership of the C.P.F. to the fact that the alliance with the Radical Socialists has caused them to give up extra-parliamentary mass actions, to give up a real struggle against the offensive of capital, to give up the formation of extra-parliamentary mass organs; in other words, they have been forced to give up the decisive lever in their struggle against fascism. The ultra-right course is at the outset accompanied by the same phenomena as was the ultra-left; the Party gained in membership, it succeeded in getting hundreds of thousands of new votes in parliamentary elections but its influence in the trade unions and in other proletarian mass organizations was practically nil. When the time came to arouse the masses to extra-parliamentary actions, this truth was revealed. The Party, despite its victories at the polls, despite its membership lists, was incapable of rallying the masses.

At its recent Party convention in Villeurbane there was complete unanimity only because the delegates had not been elected on the basis of genuine discussions by the membership but had been appointed by the district leadership, and, furthermore, at the convention itself all opposition or critical speakers were prevented from speaking by the top leadership.

The representative of the E.C.C.I. fully approved this procedure and praised the C.P.F. as a model Party. There is no question, therefore, of the responsibility of the E.C.C.I. for the actions of the C.P.F.

Berlin Communists Against People's Front

In the columns of the Workers Age you have read how these false tactics were mechanically transferred, sometimes in grotesque fashion, to all countries of the globe, to fascist countries as well as to

democratic countries not seriously menaced by fascism, despite the warnings of the 7th Congress against "mechanical transference." You have learned specifically about the situation of the Communist Parties in Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Greece, and even China which undoubtedly can boast of the best developed C.P. outside the Soviet Union.

We can, however, bring you the encouraging news that a section of the C.P. membership in Berlin has openly rejected the People's Front policy, the bourgeois democratic slogans as well as the ridiculous slogan of building independent unions within the fascist unions. This had the effect of a cold shower on the Central Committee of the C.P.G. It is proof of the fact that our criticism of the opportunist course is taking effect.

I.C.O. Extends Its Work

We have succeeded in concluding a working agreement with the representatives of leftward moving Social-Democratic workers. As a result, these left wingers now reject the wrong trade union line of the Communist Party of Germany and are able to work in accord with us. In the ranks of the left-

The Japanese Volcano Erupts

(Continued from Page 4)

best opportunity has been passed up. Now Japan will, in every likelihood, wait with its war on the U.S.S.R. until Hitler Germany is ready to support it with a simultaneous offensive against the Soviet western frontiers.

We do not hesitate to say that we are glad that, for a while at least, the Japanese imperialist brigands have begun to turn their guns on each other instead of against others like the helpless Chinese and the peaceful U.S.S.R. Also, it is most gratifying to register the fact that the Tokio outbreak will tend to weaken Japanese credit with the international bankers. This is a real blow to the Nipponese war machine which realizes fully that it cannot wage a major conflict without the support of the warlords of world finance. The latter won't be so ready to extend credit to a regime in which the lives and power of its responsible spokesmen are so uncertain and worthless.

Finally, the accentuation, the sharpening, of the divisions within the Japanese ruling class will afford a more fertile soil and lend an impetus to the development of independent proletarian and peasant action, to the maturing of proletarian class consciousness. Just now the Japanese workers and farmers are a third and outwardly silent force, playing no active role in the combat. However, the conflict within the Nippon ruling classes cannot but help shake the myth of their invincibility and stability at home, cannot but serve as a factor objectively facilitating the revolutionization of Japan's downtrodden.

The volcanic eruptions in Japanese political life of today are but preludes to far more violent social, and political eruptions of tomorrow—a socioeconomic earthquake in the militarist and capitalist-ridden island empire. Here is the road of proletarian revolution in Japan—the road to genuine and lasting peace in the Far East. Here is a road which, once taken by the working classes of all countries, will lead to the end of all imperialist oppression and exploitation, to real peace.

ward moving Socialist workers there is developing a critical attitude towards the People's Front policy.

Small wonder therefore that the attempts made by the E.C.C.I. after the 7th Congress to disrupt the ranks of the I.C.O. have failed miserably. They failed just as miserably in Germany and Czechoslovakia as in the U.S.A. They failed in Alsace where our group has won a relatively strong position in the trade unions and in the cultural organizations.

A Danish Communist Opposition group has been formed from the ranks of the C.P. and the Young Communist League. It has been granted fraternal affiliation by the I.C.O. and is working closely with our previously existing group.

In England our forces are developing nicely. They have begun

to do systematic work in the trade unions and other working class organizations (something that the Independent Labor Party failed to do) and has won many important positions in the trade unions.

All these facts prove that the historical mission of the I.C.O. has not come to a close but that it has gained in importance, that the ground is particularly favorable for action and that we shall make progress if we work properly and energetically.

The Bureau of the I.C.O. thanks you once more for the keen interest and international solidarity which you have displayed in the work of the I.C.O. which in turn is based on your achievements in America. Good luck!

With Communist Greetings,
Bureau of the International
Communist Opposition
February 12, 1936.

The Workers Age

now enters its seventh year! Seven years of leadership in the fight for a unified labor movement, against union-splitting and dualism, and for the building of a broad united front of labor against reaction has won it many friends and followers in the labor movement.

There are many who look to **Workers Age** for analyses of economic and political developments at home and abroad, and many more follow carefully its keen prognostications of trade union trends and developments.

Today we again find **Workers Age** the banner bearer and champion of unity in its appeal to the Communist and Socialist Parties for **A United Revolutionary Party** and in the proposal for **A United Labor Ticket** for 1936 with **Tom Mooney** for President.

To follow these developments as well as the international correspondence in which **Workers Age** excels, no doubt requires the uninterrupted reading of **Workers Age**. We, therefore, appeal to you to take advantage of our **National Subscription Drive—March 1st to May 1st**—which will bring **Workers Age** to your home for 52 weeks at \$1.50. At the termination of the drive **Workers Age** rates will go back to \$2.00 per year.

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