

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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STRIKE WAVES SWEEP EUROPE

France, Belgium, Spain Find Workers Unrest At High Tension

While it appears that many sections of the striking French workers have been coaxed into returning to work, with victories "guaranteed" by the People's Front government, the bourgeoisie have already hinted at their intention of struggling against the agreement. The forty-hour week was termed an "excellent idea" but the employers thought that it forced the cost of production too high. Especially are the wage increases in danger, for they are yet to be tested in the shops. These increases are said to be "impossible" practically impoverishing the French capitalists.

Maurice Thorez, fully supporting the actions of the Blum government, disclosed the amazement and panic of the Communist Party in the face of this wide-spread strike movement, when he devoted most of his speeches to urging that "Strikers must know when to end their strikes. They must even know how to consent to a compromise so as not to lose any of their force and especially so as not to facilitate a campaign of reaction." Salengro, the Socialist minister of the interior, has been filling the "Red Ring" around Paris with armed troops, sections of the garde mobile.

The strike wave, the rising discontent of the workers, is spreading over the "national borders" of France, and has hit Belgium with fury. Here, the Van Zeeland government, based upon the support and participation of Vandervelde's Socialists, has been conducting a policy of bloody massacre, of brutal suppression of the striking

MURRAY HEADS STEEL DRIVE

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee met in Pittsburgh this week to lay the basis for the forthcoming drive to unionize the steel industry, base of open-shopism in America. The committee arose out of an agreement between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers.

To head the drive, Phillip Murray of the mine workers, has been selected. Leaders of various industrial unions also participate. It was agreed that no initiation fee would be asked of the steel workers, but that \$1 per month dues would be collected. Previous enrollment efforts struck a snag in the exorbitant demands of the craft unions for initiation fees. About 200 organizers are being sent out.

The steel industry has begun to tremble at the thought of unionization, and has been making "concessions" under pressure of the growing unrest. A week with pay was granted by the U. S. Steel, and

Communist Party Draft Resolution Mile-Post of Opportunist Course

War Question Omitted Political Analysis Hits New Low

The draft resolution on Earl Browder's report to the coming convention of the Communist Party, published in the Daily Worker of June 16, is a document of great political significance; it is the most authoritative declaration of the official party position since the great change ushered in by the seventh world congress of the Communist International a year ago. As such, it deserves very careful and serious consideration, more perhaps than might, at first glance, seem warranted by its own merits.

The International Background of the Resolution

In all important respects the resolution reflects strikingly the deep political crisis in which the whole movement finds itself today. The C.I. is in the grip of an opportunism more gross and more flagrant than anything hitherto experienced in the communist movement. Perhaps the already famous Dimitroff article on "The United Front and the Struggle for Peace" (International Press Correspondence, May 16, 1936) may serve to emphasize the incredible lengths to which the Comintern has already gone in its wild swing to the right. In just so many words, the present secretary of the C.I. deliberately turns his back on the great revolutionary traditions of the movement and comes out in open ad-

miners. 200,000 miners have been forced to armed defense against the troops sent into the areas to shoot them and beat them into submission.

Strikes continue to spread in Spain, resulting in an ever-sharpening situation which finds no leadership. Since the Communists and Socialists support the government, since the government does not and cannot relieve the misery of the workers and peasants, the star of the Anarcho-Syndicalists has begun to rise once more. Today the civil war is being conducted by the C.P. and S.P. against the Syndicalists, many workers being killed.

recently all steel companies promised a 10% wage increase. The latter occurred on June 16th. It is interesting to note the advice of "Business Week" given to the steel magnates, in its issue of June 10th. After pointing out that this drive being on industrial basis is really dangerous they go on to say: "The best protection of all industry is to make its workers as contented as possible. . . . Labor should be employed as fully and evenly as can be, and at the highest practical wages. There is no stronger defense than fair dealing."

Contact has been made by the organizing committee with the rebellious company unions. These broke with the very basis of company unionism when they held a convention from various plants and presented demands for wage increases.

Cachin Urges 'Law and Order'

By MARCEL CACHIN

"The press sounds the alarm throughout the country because the Parisian workers, applying a new and peaceful method, go on strike in mass in order to defeat the bad will and the illegal attitude of their masters of the rue Lauriston. That is the whole secret of the present tactics. No violence! No movement in the streets! Order, admirable discipline, no plundering in the factory! The tricolor fraternizes in the factory with the red flag. The workers are unanimous in the fight for their general demands: Croix de Feu, Christians, white Russians, foreigners, socialists, communists, all fraternally united for the defense of bread and respect for the law! Le Temps speaks of 'the attack on order and property'. It is evident that it is greatly distorting the truth."

L'Humanite, May 30th, Page 1, Column 1.

vocacy of the notorious policy of national defense and support of military budgets for virtually every country of the world except Germany, Italy and Japan. In just so many words, he proclaims the working class as "the outstanding supporter of the active defense of its own people and country," with the mission of "hindering the capitulation of the bourgeois governments" to the foreign enemy! In just so many words, he urges the abandonment of Leninist teachings on war on the hollow pretext that "now the situation is different!"

As in theory, so in practise. In Spain the Communist Party supports a bourgeois liberal government whose main task has hitherto

been the liquidation of agrarian uprisings and the "pacification" of the workers, a government that is now closing down trade union headquarters and arresting syndicalist leaders. In France, the Communist Party supports a socialist-bourgeois coalition in whose program a leading place is given to the reorganization of the Council of National Defense (the military establishment) along the lines advocated by the general staff, with Marshal Petain, the avowed champion of the Croix de Feu, assigned as its head, a government that is already raising a Red scare about "foreign agitators" and is persecuting those workers groups, such as the Trot-

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KNITGOODS WORKERS RATIFY DEMANDS AT LARGE MEETING

Despite the rain, despite the slack season, despite the daily campaign of the bosses, 5,000 knitgoods workers packed the large hall of Copper Union to overflowing, to mobilize for a general strike in the industry. The greatest enthusiasm and militant solidarity was displayed thruout the entire meeting by the members of the Joint Council of Knitgoods Workers.

Nelson Hails Unity

Speaking for the union, Manager Louis Nelson hailed the new unity in the ranks of the union, stating that "the bosses far underestimate our strength. They think they are dealing with the knitgoods workers of years ago—weak, disorganized, fighting among themselves.

The bosses will learn that the union is here to stay!" He pointed out that despite the deep crisis in the industry, and resulting unemployment, true for the open shop areas as well as unionized sections, the unemployed workers had pledged themselves to stand by the union and fight with it on the picket line, if necessary. Additional organizers have been placed in the field and a strike committee set up. For New York a special organizer, Joseph Rapaport, was appointed—a fact which Nelson pointed to as a symbol of the new unity within the union.

Both International Unions, the I.L.G.W.U. and the U.T.W., parents of the Knitgoods Local 155, had representatives present, pledging complete and unqualified support of the knitgoods workers in their struggle against the manufactures. For the United Textile Workers, President Thomas MacMahon spoke, for the ILGWU President Dubinsky, and Vice-Presidents Hochmann, Antonini and Zimmerman spoke. In introducing Antonini, manager of the Italian dressmakers local, Nelson pointed out that the employers were attempting to split the Italian and Jewish workers, but that they would not succeed. The reception given to Antonini emphasized the repudiation of racial antagonisms.

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WORKERS!
What Happened at the Conventions of the Republican and Democratic Parties?
Find out from
JAY LOVESTONE
reporting on Monday June 29
8:00 P. M.
at Rivera Hall, 51 W. 14 St.
Attend this Important Meeting!

LEMKE TO LEAD "UNION PARTY"

Coughlin-Townsend-Long Merger Backs New Party Oppose Landon, FDR

Lemke, Republican representative from North Dakota, has announced that he will run for President on a third ticket to be known as the "Union Party," a ticket which will have the full support of Coughlin, red-baiting and company union aiding priest, Townsend, leader of the old-age pension movement on the basis of a sales-tax, and Gerald Smith, inheritor of Huey Long's "Share-the-Wealth" movement.

Coughlin had announced earlier in the week that he was opposed to both Landon and Roosevelt, that "we must really drive the money-changers from the temple"—while, of course, preserving capitalism. Townsend has been wavering, hoping for a bid from the Republicans, but having received none, immediately fell into line with the new party movement.

Smith has been on record for a new party for some time, for very good reasons. The Long movement, originally a revolt against the Democratic Party, was "sold out". Burdick, a colleague of Lemke, read into the Congressional Record a long statement, showing that Farley had made a deal with the Long machine, a fact which was suspected for some time. The remnants of the movement, however, will be swung into this merger.

In a very wordy statement of the "populist" variety, Lemke, an agrarian inflationist, outlined the following policy:

National self-sufficiency, no alliance of any kind; old age, minimum wage and farm legislation; adequate national defense, but in war, wealth as well as men must be conscripted; against monopolies; for more equitable distribution of wealth; for freer money-printing.

The concentration of these forces into one party marks what is potentially the beginnings of a real fascist movement—alho its political role in the present elections (which probably will be the span of its existence) will be limited to gathering its forces. Alho Landon sees a help in this move as taking votes away from Roosevelt, it must be remembered that the base of Lemke's strength—the northwest agrarian regions—are Republican.

BOARD FORCED TO RENAME SCHAPPES

On recommendation of the City College Administrative Committee the Board of Higher Education re-appointed Morris Schappes, an instructor in English at City College.

This action ends a long period of student demonstrations against the authorities in City College for their efforts to oust Schappes under the excuse of incompetency. The real reason for the attempt to oust him was his active participation in the movement against fascism on the college campus.

The decision of the Administrative Committee snubbed the reactionary President Robinson who roused the whole student body by his bitter opposition to progressive thought.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S DRAFT RESOLUTION

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skyytes, which refuse to bow before the regime. All this under the sacred banner of the People's Front and the People's Government!

But even this is not the worst! In Chile, we learn (Daily Worker, June 11), a People's Front has been formed consisting of the Radical Party, the Radical Socialist Party, the Democratic Party and the Communist Party. In this block the hegemony lies admittedly with the Radicals, and "strongest of the oppositional parties." And what is this Radical Party? It "represents considerable sections of the mining, industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie. . ." Here the mask is off at last; the People's Front no longer hides behind the fiction of an "alliance with the petty bourgeoisie." It now appears open and unashamed as a political coalition of the workers parties with the parties of the bourgeoisie! This is how far things have gone in a movement that once prided itself upon its revolutionary class independence!

Why No Word on the War Question?

If, with these developments in mind, we turn to the draft resolution, we are immediately struck by the strange absence of any word on the all-important question of war. Can it be that Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, is not going to report on the war question at all? Or will there be a special war resolution made public on the very day of the convention? Or perhaps the convention is going to be so excessively "practical" and "American" that it will not find it necessary to deal with the question in any form? For our part we can merely emphasize that the war issue remains a life-and-death question for the C.P., not only in the maintenance of its communist principles but also from the viewpoint of immediate, practical policy. On the basis of Dimitroff's pronouncements, would it be rash to forecast that the time is not far off when the Communist Party here will support, perhaps even advocate, "adequate" appropriations to strengthen the military

defenses of the Philippines, Guam and Hawaii against Japan?

In quite usual fashion the resolution opens with a polite bow to the seventh congress of the C.I.: "The ninth national convention of the C.P.U.S.A. declares that the analysis of the world situation given by the seventh world congress of the Communist International has proven correct." But what, exactly, did the seventh congress say about the world situation except that "the main contradiction in the camp of the imperialists is the Anglo-American antagonism"—which is about as far as anything could possibly be from the actual state of affairs in the world today. But, such as it is, the "analysis" of the seventh congress is endorsed.

Apparently, the economic section of the resolution finds a place in the document simply and solely because it is customary to have such a section. For surely it is no more than a meaningless compilation of statistical odds and ends, of disconnected facts and interpretations, without any real relation to important political conclusions. It would hardly be worth while to undertake a critical examination of this part of the document.

Class-Political Relations and Fascism in America

The heart of the resolution is undoubtedly the analysis of class-political relations in the United States, especially in connection with the development of fascism. Of course, the chief point made here is that the Republican party constitutes the main concentration towards fascism in America today. "With a Republican victory, it will only remain to make Hearst the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the fascist setup in the United States will be complete," declared Earl Browder in an official press interview lately (Sunday Worker, June 14, 1936) and the same theme runs thru the draft resolution, tho not in so crude a form. Every fact in the political situation refutes so false and arbitrary an estimate, which in itself is only a latter-day echo of the Daily Worker fulminations in 1930 against Hoover's

conferences with business men as "the Grand Council of American Fascism!"

To bolster up its fundamental thesis, the resolution presents us with a set of ten points, allegedly the "real" platform of the Republicans; the only thing that can be said about it is that it is largely a figment of the imagination, without any relation to political realities. The actual Republican program, well described by Hugh Johnson as a "counterfeit New Deal platform," is dismissed with the assurance that "its deceptive liberal phrases are but the American counterpart of Hitler's fraudulent 'socialism'." A remark of this sort betrays a shocking ignorance not only of American political relations but also of the very nature of fascism. Imagine a real fascist movement proclaiming its love for liberal, individualistic institutions; the whole point in the pseudo-"radical" demagoguery of fascism is to pour contempt upon liberalism and parliamentary democracy as "reactionary" and to vaunt the superior merits of its own variety of fake "socialism." Of course the Republican platform is demagoguery, but it is not fascist demagoguery. It is the ordinary threadbare "liberal" demagoguery with which reactionary bourgeois parties in America are wont to trick themselves out, somewhat modified so as to be able to meet the competition of the New Deal.

To declare, as does the resolution, that "the convention moved the Republican party further along the road towards fascist development" is really the last word in political wrong-headedness. Even more unfortunate is the attempt to prove the fascist character of the Republican party by pointing to the alleged support given to it by avowed fascist elements, formerly identified with the Democrats. But even in a resolution facts should be held of some account! Talmadge, the spokesman of about as genuine a fascist movement as there is in this country, has come out for Roosevelt and Coughlin has made clear his opposition to Landon. Whatever else this may or may not prove, it certainly lends no color to the utterly fantastic conclusions about Republican party fascism.

No Serious Analysis of the Political Forces in America Today

Such extraordinary political

lapses are made possible by the complete absence of any serious analysis of the fundamental character of either the Republican-Liberty League coalition or the New Deal. Around the Republican party, we are told, are rallying the "most reactionary and fascist-minded monopolies," while Roosevelt stands for "big business and the Southern landowners." If this means anything at all (which is by no means certain), it must mean that "big business" is neither "reactionary" nor "monopolistic" nor "fascist-minded"! At any rate, such a description can hardly lay claim to being an analysis in any sense of the term. But beyond this there is nothing. Not a word as to what the New Deal represents in itself in the way of state capitalism, government control of labor, armaments, foreign policy and the rest! Not a word as to what the reactionary anti-Roosevelt concentration in the ranks of big business really stands for. The ideological poverty of the draft resolution is nowhere so painfully obvious as in this most important section.

The perverted political orientation of the resolution inevitably leads to a dangerous failure to detect the seeds of fascism where they are actually beginning to sprout and to an even more dangerous attempt to deny or ignore the fascist character of some of these manifestations. With its gaze fixed upon the self-created illusion of fascism in the Republican party, the C.P. leadership simply refuses to see incipient American fascism where it really is to be found, particularly in the panacea-mongering movements of the type of the Coughlin, Long, Talmadge and Townsend outfits. It is here, and not in the Republican platform, that you meet with the pseudo-"radical" demagoguery corresponding to Hitler's fraudulent "socialism." To overlook such a very vital aspect of the matter is serious enough but what shall we say of the persistent attempts of the Communist Party leadership to whitewash some of these tendencies, especially the Townsend and Epic groups, and to present them as progressive movements with great positive potentialities!

The Old "Third Period" Line Standing On Its Head

A careful examination of the tactical-political sections of the resolution leaves us with the in-

ters, and flogs partisan social workers.

"The reactionary monopolies" are back of Landon and Knox. We'd like to know, does support of Roosevelt make paragons of progress of such reactionary monopolists as Chrysler, Giannini of the Bank of America and Owen Young of General Electric?

"Roosevelt has proven to be no barrier to reaction and fascism. . . He defends primarily the interests of big business and the southern landowners." But party members ask nonchalantly: Will we (the C.P.) come out for Roosevelt if Landon develops great strength? Incidentally will the party professors get on the job and tell us the difference between reactionary monopolies and big business?

"Several factors are militating against the more rapid progress of the united front with the Socialist Party and its further leftward development."

The present opportunism of the C.P.—a most important factor—is not mentioned.

"It is the central task of the Communists to overcome these obstacles and to bring about the separation of the working class from the capitalist parties without delay."

capable impression that the present tactical line of the C.P. is essentially the old "third period" line turned on its head. In both there is basically the same fundamental shortcoming—the inability to make a clear demarcation along class lines in policy and tactics. The sectarian course of the "third period" tended to narrow down the working class to the C.P. and its immediate followers and from this conception sprang the misleading slogan of "class against class" and the vicious doctrine of "social-fascism". The decisive line was drawn between the communists (and only the official communists at that), on the one side, and the rest of the world, on the other; real class lines were completely ignored. Today, the opportunist course tends to dissolve the working class into an amorphous "people" and from this conception spring the disastrous tactics of the People's Front. The decisive line is now drawn between an all-class conglomeration of the "people," on the one side, and the "two hundred families," the "aristocrats," the "fascist-minded reactionaries," on the other; again real class lines are completely ignored. In its directives to the party membership, for instance, the draft resolution calls for "work in the existing mass organizations (trade unions, fraternal, farmer, middle class, Townsend clubs, Coughlin groups, Negro, women, youth, etc.)." It seems well-nigh incredible that a communist party should find it possible to place on the same level as "mass organizations" the trade unions and . . . the Coughlin groups. Of course, both include "masses" but does not the class character of the movement mean anything at all?

Based upon this non-class or all-class, but certainly non-Marxist conception, the main tactical orientation of the draft resolution seems to be directed towards the panacea cults, especially the Townsend, Epic and Coughlin movements, with the objective of converting them into a mass base for a farmer-labor party! To call this opportunism would, perhaps, be stretching the meaning of that term beyond all bounds. It is reckless and irresponsible adventurism, fraught with the most dangerous consequences. To a varying degree, these groups all bear within themselves the fatal seeds of fascism and can certainly claim no part in an independent class movement of the workers. The kind of "farmer-labor party" that they could conceivably go to make up, would only be a peculiarly degenerate form of the "People's Front" Unfortunately, that is just about what the C.P. leadership seems to have in mind. For them, a labor party is the "organization of the People's Front in America." It is easy to see that such a "labor party" would not be a labor party at all but essentially its opposite, that it would lead not to the political separation of the working class from the bourgeoisie but actually to the perpetuation of the political influence of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie over the masses of the workers.

The corrupting influence of the People's Front ideology is already beginning to invade the field of program. A big issue in the campaign, we are told, is "to break the stranglehold of the monopolies upon the economic life of the country." How is so noble an aim to be accomplished under capitalism, we should like to know. By "busting the trusts" perhaps? Apparently, for the resolution solemnly proclaims that "the Communist Party does not at all take a negative position on the issue of immediate struggle to weaken the domination of the monopolies in such spheres as credit, prices,

and flogs partisan social workers.

The people's front concept of the Labor Party will not accomplish the job. The People's Front everywhere leads to a rapprochement of the working class parties with those of the bourgeoisie. In Chile for instance the C.P. hails the entry into the People's Front of the Radical Party which "represents considerable sections of the mining, industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie. . ." (Daily Worker June 11).

Of course, the theses provides for a merciless struggle "against every manifestation of Right opportunism". Especially must membership be "enlightened" (what, again?) "on the reformist, opportunist nature of Lovestonism."

We are happy to learn that our fight against the People's Front, the People's Front perversion of the Labor Party question, the self-determination policy for the Black Belt (The C.P. is afraid to call it by that name—so discredited has it become) and the war question, has borne sufficient fruit inside the party to call for "enlightenment." If the term "enlightenment" means today what it meant in 1929 then we are due for a period of expulsions and political terrorism against those communists who revolt against the base opportunism of the Comintern leadership.

By WILL HERBERG

Fascism is a monster of varied aspect and to its formation contribute many currents flowing from the most diverse sources. Until they are finally merged into one movement, these constituent elements tend to develop as independent forces, without any apparent connection among themselves, finding their embodiment in distinct organizations frequently hostile to each other.

The Black Legion, as I pointed out in the previous article, represents American fascism in its racialistic and terroristic aspects. For the panacea-mongering and pseudo-"radical" demagoguery so characteristic of fascism, we should look elsewhere—to Father Coughlin and his National Union for Social Justice, to Gerald K. Smith and the remains of the Huey Long "share-the-wealth" movement, to Dr. Townsend and his Plan. The essential identity of these groups in their fundamental character is especially emphasized today by the efforts now under way to merge them into one common political front.

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FASCISM ON THE AMERICAN HORIZON

On June 17, the New York Times carried the news of a possible Third Party candidate announced by Father Coughlin. The same article also informs us in the form of a caption that "G. L. K. Smith in Chicago says United Front of Lemke, Social Justice, and Townsend Groups Has Been Formed." This announcement coming after Comrade Herberg's article was written, emphasizes and bears out the main theses of the article.—Editor.

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Blind Rebellion Leading to Fascism

The three movements are all thoroughly peblan in composition; they are made up primarily of lower middle class people, of backward and demoralized workers. The "share-the-wealth" clubs have always been largely confined to the Southern hinterland, with the bulk of their membership coming from among destitute farmers and artisans of the villages and towns. Dr. Townsend's disciples are almost all elderly people of the middle classes, many of whom have seen "better days." The Coughlin following is somewhat more working class in character, perhaps, but it is significant that the radio priest's influence in this field is most marked among the newer and less assimilated recruits in labor's ranks. In short, they are all movements that not only look to the lower middle classes for their support but also betray the bottomless confusion of the lower middle class mind in all their works.

Driven out of their traditional apathy by the torment of the crisis, the "little people" become blindly rebellious. They arise against the "old order," against things as they are; they want change, some sort of change, any sort of change. They are wanderers in the void, stumbling along in search of the road to salvation, the way to security. If the proletarian movement is united and possessed of the necessary revolutionary clarity and striking power, it becomes possible for it to inspire the petty bourgeois masses with confidence in the working class and to lead them in militant struggle against capitalism. But, if, for any reason, such proletarian leadership is not forthcoming, they must necessarily turn elsewhere, reserving for labor only a half contemptuous, half frightened distrust and hostility. Out of the aimless misery of petty bourgeois existence, out of the futile strivings of the petty bourgeois soul, out of the blind confusion of the petty bourgeois mind, an ideology and a movement are created—the ideology and movement of fascism!

Our Panacea-Mongers and the Workers

All of our American panacea-mongers "attack" the "evils of modern capitalism" very vociferously, as did Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy; but, like them too, they staunchly uphold capitalist private property, assailing socialism and communism in every form and execrate the class struggle. Father Coughlin's anti-Red diatribes are well known; indeed, he claims it as the special virtue of his doctrine that it will wipe out communism "scientifically." Huey Long, and his successor, Gerald K. Smith, have always emphasized their hostility to socialism; the latter, in fact, was a leading figure at the Talmadge "grass roots" conference last January at which private property and the profit system were proclaimed as "natural and divine laws. . . grounded in the Constitution and the Bible." In the Townsendite literature, we are constantly as-

The Ideology of Fascism

The ideology of fascism, especially as embodied in its program, is at bottom an unwholesome mess of outworn, often pernicious, petty bourgeois superstitions, held together by a characteristic form of pseudo-"radical" demagoguery. In this fascism finds its ideological expression and upon this it depends for its mass power. The particular type of demagoguery found appropriate for this purpose depends largely upon the specific national conditions of petty bourgeois life. In Italy, it was the national-"syndicalism" of Mussolini; in Germany, the national-"socialism" of Hitler. And in America, it is the national-"populism" of Huey Long, Father Coughlin and Dr. Townsend. Here as elsewhere, odds and ends of long discredited panaceas are compounded into a grotesque jumble and sanctified into a universal cure-all, a magic nostrum for all the ills which the petty bourgeois flesh is heir to under capitalism. Coughlin's "money reform" and the Long-Smith "share-the-wealth" plan are, of course, nothing new in American petty bourgeois politics, while the fantastic pension scheme of Dr. Townsend is but a latter-day version of the same mouldy tradition.

As a movement, fascism claims to be an "independent" political effort of the "little men" in society, independent alike of "greedy" capital and of "self-seeking" labor. Of labor it is independent indeed for it denies and repudiates the leadership of the working class in the struggle for social security and freedom. At the same time, however, the exaltation of private property so inherent in the petty bourgeois outlook, creates a blood-bond with big capital which, at the crucial moment, turns into an active alliance along the lines so familiar in European experience. In present-day society any petty bourgeois movement that turns its back upon labor and claims to be independent of it, is necessarily pro-capitalist and anti-socialist in essence and is therefore bound to fall under the dread shadow of fascism.

This hostility to socialism finds expression also in an implacable aversion to class struggle. Pretending to stand above the two great classes of modern society, fascism brands the class struggle between them as responsible for all manner of social ills and strives to smother it in an hysterical jingoistic nationalism, usually along racial lines. To class solidarity based on real social interests it counterposes a fictitious national solidarity that turns out to mean essentially the sacrifice of the interests of the great masses of the people to those of big business.

The Political Aspect of the Cult Movements

Politically, fascism is an oppositional tendency, hostile to all of the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie. It is essentially a "new" party, entering the lists against all others. In this country, it would necessarily arise and develop as a third party movement, emerging out of the breakup of the two-party system. As things stand today, this stage has not yet been reached, although the indications are unmistakable. We well remember Huey Long's repeated threats to bolt the Democratic Party and set up one of his own; indeed, before his death he had already gone a long way in that direction. In the confused councils of the Townsendsites, the proposal to break away from the existing parties and form one for

themselves has been raised a number of times, hitherto with little effect. But it is Father Coughlin who has laid most emphasis on the "new" party idea. In a press statement on April 19, 1936, he charged that the Republican-Democratic struggle was a "gigantic sham battle" and predicted the imminent collapse of both parties. A few weeks later, at a rally in Cleveland on May 10, he announced that, by 1940 his organization would "wreck" the Democratic and Republican parties and "establish our own." By means of such a party of their own, the cult leaders aim at nothing less than to "take over the government," in Gerald K. Smith's words. They play upon the growing feeling of disgust among certain sections of the people with the futilities of parliamentary institutions, a sentiment constantly reinforced by disillusionment with the New Deal and resentment against the legalistic despotism of the Supreme Court. They preach, directly or by implication, the superior merits of a "popular dictatorship" exercised by the Great Leader. That's the way to get things done—we are told—just look at what Huey Long accomplished in Louisiana just because he had the guts to cut thru the red-tape! The Coughlinites, of course, envision the millennium as the benevolent rule of Father Coughlin and the Townsendsites hope for salvation from Dr. Townsend in control of the potent forces of government. In this way does the hero cult become the cornerstone of the fascist dictatorship.

The Hero Cult in the Fascist System

All of these movements are organized along the lines of the so-called "leadership principle" with the hero cult running wild. Each is dominated by some Great Leader—Father Coughlin, Dr. Townsend or Huey Long, when he was alive—of whose genius the movement is regarded as the essential expression, whose every word is proclaimed as the gospel and the law, whose person is venerated and worshipped as a veritable wonder-working savior. In such a situation any form of internal democracy is ruled out both in theory and in practice; indeed, democracy is inconceivable in the relation between the infallible leader and his adoring, worshipful followers. The hero cult plays a vital role in these petty bourgeois movements headed for fascism. Thru it, the insignificant individual is able to achieve compensation for his own utter helplessness and the petty bourgeoisie as a class for its own social inconsequence; what the "little man" cannot do himself, he can accomplish thru the great and all-powerful leader. Thru the hero cult, too, it becomes possible to effect a happy reconciliation of all the gross absurdities and hopeless contradictions in ideology and program. The leader is the universal solvent, the universal binding force of all the mutually incompatible elements of the movement.

Significance of Merger of Movements

In view of the underlying identity of the three movements, it is hardly surprising that an effort is now under way to merge and unite them. According to the New York Times of June 2, 1936:

"Dr. Francis E. Townsend and the Rev. Gerald K. Smith, head of the late Senator Long's 'share-the-wealth' organization, conferred here yesterday at the Hotel Warwick, after which they issued a joint statement

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In a certain immediate sense, this tendency to get together is a sign of the decline of these movements, each hoping to stave off collapse by pooling forces with the rest. But, from a broader angle, it is part of the process whereby the various strands of fascism will slowly and imperceptibly be woven together into a hangman's rope for the American people unless the working class awakens to the menace and unites to crush it before it is too late!

of the Foreign Committee of the C.P.G.-O informs us that Eduard Karras, a member in long standing of the C.P.G.-O, died in Prague on Wednesday, May 27th. He was in the prime of his life—36 years old. His death is a great surprise to us since he never complained about any illness. We were informed only recently that he was unemployed since his expulsion from Germany, that he and his wife and two children were having a difficult time making ends meet.

Eduard Karras was the son of a glass worker who had immigrated from Czechoslovakia. In 1914 he learned the plumbing business. Towards the end of 1917 he served in the Austrian army until the end of the war. To him as to many other proletarian youths the world war represented an experience which moulded him into a conscious fighter for the proletarian revolution. Aware of the tremendous gulf between the Russian revolution and the German revolution of 1918 so shamefully betrayed by the Social Democracy he immediately joined the left wing movement on his return home. His study of the Junius pamphlet of Rosa Luxemburg, of the Spartacus program and of Lenin's polemic against Kautsky convinced him of communism. He joined the Independents and in conjunction with other young workers attempted to consolidate its left wing. When

telling how their combined forces intended to encompass the defeat of President Roosevelt in November.

"They declared that their groups would meet together at what was originally to have been the Townsend convention in Cleveland on July 14-18 and that representatives of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin would also participate in the convention. . . . At Philadelphia last night, Mr. Smith said, he and Dr. Townsend stood under the historic arch in Valley Forge and vowed to take over the government. . . ."

But the implications of such a merger goes beyond the groups directly involved. We should not forget that Gerald K. Smith was one of the sponsors of the recent Talmadge "grass roots" conference at Macon, Georgia, a gathering completely fascist in character and thoroughly dominated by the anti-foreign, anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, anti-Catholic and anti-labor hatreds of the Black Legion. It is characteristic of the paradoxical form in which fascism develops, especially in this country, that Townsendism, allegedly anathema to big business, is thus linked up with the Talmadge outfit, which received the blessings and financial support of the Liberty League; that representatives of the Catholic Coughlin organization should participate in a unity conference with Gerald K. Smith, who whopped it up for "native white Protestantism" at Macon a few months ago! From the Black Legion to Talmadge, from Talmadge to Smith, from Smith to Father Coughlin and Dr. Townsend!

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the Spartacus League held its first meeting in his home town he became an enthusiastic member of the Communist Party.

In 1923 he led the workers on the Anti-Fascist Day and in the Cuno strike and took over the political leadership of his district when the Party was declared illegal and the district leadership was arrested. In the controversy raging around the October (1923) events he energetically supported the Brandlerites and was instrumental in the fact that his district conducted a vigorous fight against the ultra-left line. Altho the police persecuted him almost daily, he carried out his duties up to the very last moment. Following a prolonged period of underground work he became the representative of the Red Aid of Germany in Moscow. He was expelled from the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International after the Sixth World Congress because of his differences on the tactical course. Completely without funds he tried to find work in his home town. When the Hitlerites came to power they exiled our comrade Karras. He went back to his "fatherland" with his wife and children, where he was faced with unemployment and misery. And thus he whose every thought centered on the life and struggle of the German revolutionary movement died in misery.

Marginal Comments

By G.F.M.

Believe it or not, but the recently published resolution (June 16) for the Communist Party convention, has not a word to say on the C.P. position on war. Brevity can hardly be the answer, with the resolution spread over 15 newspaper columns. Was it omitted perhaps on the theory that the less said the better?

"Make the Ninth Party Convention," says a little box in the same issue of the Daily Worker, "a clarion call for the People's Front of America".

And the same comrades who wrote it swear by the resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International which frowns upon the mechanical carrying over of issues and slogans from one party to another.

"Under cover of democracy . . . the offensive of capitalist reaction in the United States is advancing," says the theses. And a lot of good communists cheered themselves hoarse in a demonstration in Yorkville (Sat. June 13) while carrying the banner "DEFEND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY."

"Epic" and "Townsend" are the products of "bourgeois radicalism and social reformism" and "it is therefore the task of the Communists to establish firm contacts

with the masses in these movements. . . . Long, Coughlin and Talmadge are "on the other hand, fascist and semi-fascist adventurers. . . ."

Comes the New York Times of June 17, apparently oblivious of what the Daily Worker had written the day before, and captions an article as follows: "Coughlin Says Third Party Is Near; Hints at Support of Candidate, Priest, Here, Refuses to Identify Man to Head Ticket—G. L. K. Smith in Chicago Says United Front of Lemke, Social Justice, and TOWNSEND GROUPS Has Been Formed." (our emphasis and the C.P.'s embarrassment).

"Coughlin's concentration on the Congressional elections serves the ends of capitalist reaction". And now that he has announced the possibility of his Presidential ticket, does he serve the aims of proletarian progress?

"The Morgan-du Pont clique . . . seeks . . . to rally all reactionary forces in the country for a systematic assault upon the democratic liberties of the toiling people." So they do. But Roosevelt's solid South is not exactly in the van of progress nor is its chief virtue the defense of the "democratic rights and liberties of the toiling people." Senator Robinson's Arkansas kills sharecroppers, kidnaps liberal minis-

ters, and flogs partisan social workers.

SOVIETS REVISE CONSTITUTION

Soviet Advances Create Basis For Extension Of Democracy

Strengthened by the completion of the first Five Year Plan and the operation of the second plan, the Soviet Union now proceeds to democratize the regime. A new constitution has been drawn up which provides for a wide extension of the democratic rights of the toiling masses, gives additional guarantees for the rights of the individual and abolishes the distinction in voting rights between peasant and proletarian communities.

This act, more perhaps than any other, evidences the growth and maturity of the Soviets as well as their feeling of confidence in their ability to meet new problems. The new constitution is attracting widespread attention also because it is placed before the world in a period in which the democratic rights of the workers have been whittled down even in the so-called traditionally democratic countries.

The following are among the most important features of the new constitution: (1) A "Congress" composed of two houses. The All Union Soviet elected by equal, direct and secret suffrage on the basis of 1 per 300,000 population; and the Soviet of Nationalities consisting of a fixed number of deputies from each federal republic, autonomous republic or autonomous district. Both chambers have equal power. (2) Universal, direct, equal ballot from the age of 18. (3) The individual is endowed with a bill of rights. (4) Abolition of all special privileges because of race or nationality. Race hatred punishable by law.

"RACE"

The summer issue of the quarterly magazine RACE was placed on the newsstands on June 15th with an unusual combination of articles and contributions.

Dr. Alain Locke of Howard University writes an article on **Poetry?—Propaganda?** in which he deals with the adequacy of the poetry being written by class conscious Negro poets. Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, foreign secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, has contributed a vivid first hand account of the persecution of Jews in Germany. Langston Hughes, in a short story, portrays the shoddiness of a nationally known race leader of the Negroes. Ralph Bunche of Howard University praises the National Negro Congress and George Streater criticizes it. Richard Wright of Chicago, in an open letter to the President, proposes that we eat the Negroes and the Jews and in this way solve the race problem. Mark Graubard of Columbia discusses genetics and race and concludes with an argument for self determination in the Black Belt and for the conception of the Negro as a nation. Bertram D. Wolfe, in a review of Graubard's book, disagrees with Graubard's formulations.

There are other articles and letters from Jack Dempsey, Angelo Herndon, Rebecca Pitts and others.

Maxim Gorki 1868 - 1936



Maxim Gorky is dead. The great proletarian writer died at the age of sixty-eight, after a short illness.

Having spent his youth at various trades and hoboing thru Russia, Gorki devoted his writings to a study of the Russian peasantry and newly created proletariat, oppressed under Czarism. Always in touch with the revolutionary movement, he remained outside the Bolshevik tendency until after the revolution. For the past years he devoted himself to problems of proletarian literature and its creation.

(5) Guarantees the right of asylum for citizens of other countries persecuted because of revolutionary activities. (6) Provides for recall of deputies by majority vote.

The Supreme Soviet, chosen by both houses, is selected for four years. It chooses a praesidium and picks the Council of People's Commissars. Judges of the people's courts are elected by popular vote.

Pioneer Youth Praised

Professor William H. Kilpatrick has this to say of Pioneer Youth camp:

"Most camps too much reflect the conventional educational outlook. Pioneer Youth Camp is more fortunate. It is an outgrowth of the labor movement and, accordingly, has had the labor interest in bringing a better world into being. From the beginning it has been eager for new and better ideas. It has built itself unconsciously and critically upon the best education it could find. . . . Seldom has a group of American youth confronted a situation where need, thought, effort and results were more obviously or inherently related."

Pioneer Youth Camp, 219 West 29th Street, Telephone, Penn. 6-3055, was founded by Pioneer Youth of America. It is a non-sectarian, interracial, non-factional organization sponsored by labor people, educators, parents and other adult members.

NEXT WEEK
JAY LOVESTONE

Writes on the
Democratic Convention
Get your copy of the Workers Age!

C.P. Draft Resolution

(Continued from Page 2)

money circulation and distribution." Now, there are only three ways in which the economic domination of big business can conceivably be challenged, short of a socialist revolution—thru cooperatives, thru reformistic plans of the "gradual supersession" of capitalism or thru petty bourgeois "anti-monopoly" panaceas (anti-trust laws, anti-chain store measures, "money reforms," etc.). In this context, it is obviously not a question of cooperatives, altho they too have proved completely futile against trust capital. Nor, we are certain, does the C.P. intend to espouse any variety of gradualism at this late date. We are therefore left with the third way, which is obviously what is meant. In other words, in order to "capture" the "masses" in the panacea cults, the Communist Party leadership is ready to take a "positive" attitude towards their threadbare and reactionary panaceas, the dregs of over a century of petty bourgeois politics. Such are the fruits of the People's Front—the corruption of communist program and policy with the absurd and often pernicious utopianism of the lower middle classes!

On The Trade Union And Other Questions

For the rest, the draft resolution is not of much significance. The paragraphs devoted to trade union questions are sketchy and superficial, again with no attempt at analysis. We may be somewhat surprised that Green and Hutcheson are treated as politically identical, both as exponents of "Hearst-Landon policies." What does it matter that Green is an avowed Democrat and supporter of the New Deal, while Hutcheson is a stand-pat, reactionary Republican, against Roosevelt and all his works? It is, however, interesting to note the outcropping of the old, "third period" tone of irresponsible abuse in dealing with reactionary labor leaders. Green and his clique, we are told, are "servants of the Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce, agents of the Morgan-DuPont gang. . . ." Does this kind of "argument" become any more palatable or constructive today than it was five years ago, just because at present John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman and some other union leaders are spared?

The section on work among the Negroes is significant not so much because it endorses the all-class People's Front policy of the National Negro Congress, which was to be expected, but because, for the first time in many years, there is no mention in a convention resolution of the famous slogan of "self-determination for the Black Belt"; in fact, the Black Belt itself is not even referred to! The unofficial scrapping of this ill-starred theory of the Negro people as a "nation within a nation" is certainly to be welcomed, but why, may we ask, are the Lovestoneites attacked, in the very same resolution, for denying the "national aspects of the struggle for Negro rights?"

We cannot refrain from saying

a word on the new passion for Americanism that seems to be an integral part of the whole opportunist course. "Communism," we are proudly told, "is the Americanism of the twentieth century. . . ." But may we note that there are today, as there always have been, two kinds of Americanism, in direct political opposition to each other: reactionary Americanism and progressive Americanism, if that term must be used. Communism may be the twentieth century version of the Americanism of Tom Paine, Daniel Shays, Thomas Jefferson, John Brown or Wendell Phillips but certainly not of the Americanism of Washington, Hamilton, Daniel Webster or even Abraham Lincoln. It is one thing for French communists to claim kinship with Marat and Babeuf but quite another to make a hero of the corrupt monarchist Mirabeau, or to hail Joan of Arc, the patron saint of French fascism, as the "daughter of the people, heroine of national independence," as does the French Young Communist League (Avant-Garde, May 9, 1936). Even in such matters, there should be at least some class discrimination!

No more than four or five paragraphs of the long resolution are devoted to the condition of the party itself, and even these paragraphs are filled with some unimportant remarks of a relatively secondary character. Not a word is said of the deadly inner regime, of the virtual abolition of the very institution of inner-party discussion of fundamental questions, of the degradation of party democracy to mean "the leadership decides and then explains to the rank and file." And yet, it should be clear that these problems touch the very heart of the present crisis in the world communist movement.

"Enlightenment" and Genuine Discussion

One sentence in the resolution is devoted to the C.P.O. but that sentence raises a number of interesting points. "The party should enlighten the membership on the reformist character of Lovestoneism (the attacks on the People's Front, on the policies of the Communist Party in building the farmer-labor party and on the national aspects of the struggle for Negro rights)" —so runs the passage. But why "reformist" and "opportunist"? According to the draft resolution itself, opportunism manifests itself in "tendencies to become dispersed in the mass movement and to submerge the independent role of the party." Is this a crime with which any one can plausibly charge us, least of all those who are converting the C.P. into the tailend of the bourgeois coalition of the People's Front? Is it opportunism to insist on a proletarian class base for a labor party? Is it reformism to reject the "self-determination" nonsense which the C.P. itself is just about ready to drop (see introduction to James Allen's recent book)? May we suggest that these epithets, fit for the "third period" perhaps, are being retained today because the C.P. leadership is unwilling to dramatize its own complete right-about-face by changing the direction of its attack upon the C.P.O.?

Upon first glance, there is something in the passage quoted above

KNITWEAR UNION LISTS DEMANDS

(Continued from Page 1)

Fight Is Against Sweatshops
Zimmerman, speaking for the dressmakers, pledged not only financial support, but pointed out that "In the dressmakers' market there exist many knitgoods shops. And the dressmakers will make it their special business to see to it that in no building in this area are knitgoods made in the strike period!"

Dubinsky stressed the fight against the chiselling attitude of the employers who "failed thirty years ago to maintain sweatshops conditions in the industry and are stupid enough to think that now, in 1936 they can succeed where they failed 30 years ago." He told the workers that, despite the leaflets issued daily by the employers, "the bosses are bluffing—and this bluff will be called by the union and will result in a speedy victory." Full approval of the actions of Local 155 was given by the I.L.G.W.U. and the U.T.W.

Nineteen demands were formulated by the Joint Council and submitted to the assembled workers, together with a resolution on the present situation, both of which were passed unanimously by the meeting.

The demands include: Unemployment insurance—the manufacturer to pay 5% of the total amount of wages paid to the workers, the fund to be supervised by the union; 20% increase in wages; night shifts to receive double pay; one week trial period for security of the job (instead of two as at present); jobbers to be responsible for conditions in the contracting shops; a Labor Bureau to be established in the Union, employers to hire only thru this bureau; a shop chairman and price committee to be selected by workers under the supervision of the union to be established in every shop; overtime, now paying time and one-third, to pay time and a half; ten legal holidays with pay.

Next week a conference will be held with the employers, if possible, to discuss these demands. Many shops, it is estimated, are already willing to settle on an individual basis.

that stirs up uneasy memories. Surely the word "enlighten" is not to be taken in the sense of that shameful "enlightenment campaign" of 1929-1930, in the course of which hundreds of the best members were expelled from the party? Of course not; we are ready to assume that the unfortunate similarity in terms is purely accidental and that the "enlightenment" will take place in a thorough comradely and constructive spirit, thru an objective discussion of the problems involved. Then why not go a step further and accept the proposal repeatedly made by the C.P.O. for our participation in this very necessary task of "enlightenment" thru joint discussion in the press, joint meetings, and the like? Would not the true strength of the party line manifest itself all the more convincingly by being confronted face to face with the "reformist, opportunist" policies of the Lovestoneites? We, for our part, are ready for the test and for its consequences!

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