

# WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

IN his vicious anti-Soviet article in the Hearst press, Rear Admiral Yates Stirling, Commandant Brooklyn Navy Yard, drops a couple of timely remarks that merit appreciation. Inadvertently, we suppose, the rear admiral grants that "Germany and the other nations of the world whose economic security is based upon capitalistic principles AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE . . . hate and fear the Soviet Union."

This is no news to class-conscious workers. But we do suggest to our readers to clip this item, paste it in their hats and fling it in the teeth of Stirling and other jingoes when the next war comes around and they ask us to go to war to save American democracy. At least we can be thankful for the official admission that the U. S. Government, that American democracy, is a "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

And to those who doubt the menace to the Soviet Union and the necessity of the U.S.S.R. seeking to avoid war, the former Commander of the U. S. Naval Base Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, says: "Will the full force of this universal desire for conflict be expended in a fratricidal war in Europe. Or may we not look for a united front against Communism? . . . Cannot one see the outlines of a daring plan, not only forever laying the ghost of Bolshevism but for opening up the fertile lands of Russia to a crowded and industrially hungry Europe?"

Admiral Stirling is as frank as the Gordian knot was hard. His conclusions are not merely dipped in malice but are made of duty as seen by the ruling classes of the world over. The working classes must fearlessly see their class duty and prepare for fulfilling the same.

RECENT remarks of Herriot and Mussolini may be neither new nor tender. However, they go a long way towards illuminating two of the world's most critical and complicated situations. Explaining the kaleidoscopic cabinet shifts in France, Herriot well said: "Ours is a democratic state with conservative creditors." Here is the key to the basic problems of French politics so often muddled by its participants and muddled by its "expert" observers.

And telling England where to get off at in its protests against Italian plans to devour Abyssinia, Mussolini told the hypocritical British imperialist spokesmen that he "would imitate the letter those who would now preach us a sermon but who have demonstrated that, when they were creating an empire and defending it, never took into consideration world opinion."

These words must be razors to the "delicate" hearts of Baldwin, Eden, and Chamberlain! This is precisely the foundation of Japanese imperialist policy today. It is nothing new. It is simply an attempt on the part of such latecomers, as Italian and Japanese imperialism, to share in the loot, to join in the rape of the weaker countries. But better late than never is not so easy a game to play in the imperialist world arena. It implies a challenge to those powers already satiated, or first on the scene. This involves wars for the redistribution of the loot.

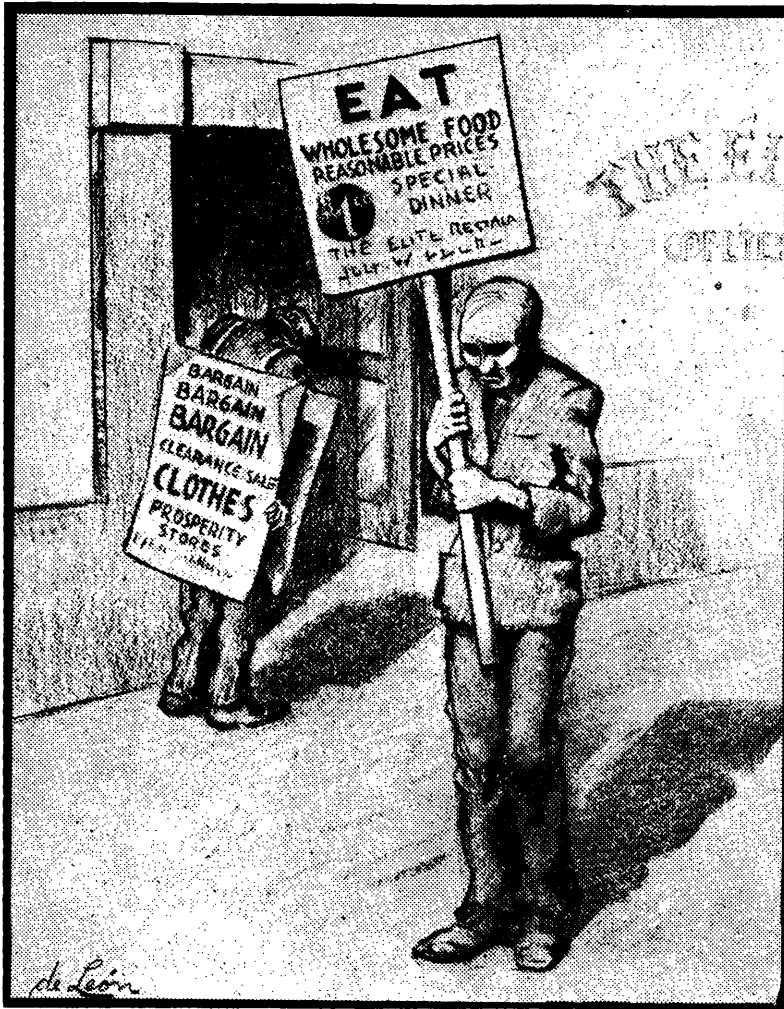
Here is the composite picture of five-sixths of the world.

IN the first twenty-seven months of his administration Roosevelt has spent over 15 billion dollars and incurred a budgetary deficit of about 8 billion dollars. Surface observers spinning yarns in behalf of Wall Street will undoubtedly shed tears over these figures. These will be but crocodile tears, as an examination of the above will reveal.

Despite all the poise that has been made by Roosevelt over huge relief expenditures, direct relief and civil works activities have taken only about 2 billion dollars. The RFC alone—helping big corporations and banks—used up more than \$2,500,000,000. Such New Deal projects as credit extension, TVA, public works, etc. have sucked in many more millions.

Furthermore, to meet these mounting bills, the government has resorted to borrowing. This means piling up more burdens on those already overburdened. The Roosevelt administration hasn't dared touch the biggest income-receivers thru raising their taxes and thus avoiding the budget deficit. Obviously, all this crying about the government being in the red is just a lot of cheap and fraudulent hokum. More than that. If Roosevelt were so anxious to avoid constitutional difficulties in his legislation, there are ways open to him. Notably the road of taxing heavily the big shots in finance and industry.

But only the politically purblind would seriously propose such roads to an ad-



## EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer

### GERMANY TALKS AIR PACT

The proposals of Hitler-Germany for an air pact are intended to drive a wedge between England and France and to foil the Franco-Soviet and Czecho-Soviet treaties. It is announced that perhaps Baldwin will become Foreign Minister. This would mean a most vigorous and active British foreign policy in the near future. Baldwin's policy is for close collaboration with France and the "education" of public opinion in England that England must actively and directly participate in European collective agreements. The attempt of Hitler-Germany to prove that the Franco-Soviet pact is in violation of the Locarno pact is futile. The Franco-Soviet pact was signed with the approval of the British government.

The negotiations on naval forces with Hitler-Germany are being utilized by England to obtain further official information on the German naval plans and to exploit this information in order to create public sentiment in favor of increased English naval forces. It is obvious that this will also lead to an increased American and Japanese fleet.

### CABINET CRISES IN FRANCE

The onslaught on the franc began exactly on May 13th—one day after the

municipal elections which had indicated a leftward swing amongst the population and in which the Communists had scored successes. This, then, was the extra-parliamentary answer of the bourgeoisie to the parliamentary victories of the working class. The Flandin regime fell victim to this situation. Its successor, the Bouisson regime, which lasted only 24 hours, was also a regime of "National Union" but with a much more left character due to the pressure of mass sentiment. The cabinet of Bouisson numbered 4 Radical Socialists, a member of the S. P. of France who had resigned from the Party. Frossard, as well as Ernest Lafont from the Socialists de France. It included two generals, a marshal and 3 ex-Communists: Laval, Frossard, Ernest Lafont.

The program of this cabinet was at first the same as that of the Flandin regime: defense of the franc, deflation, i.e. new burdens for the working class. It was overthrown on the eve of June 4th by 264 votes against 262. What was the cause of this sudden fall? The attitude of the Radical Socialists proved to be decisive. They split into 3 sections, 65 voted for the government, about 50 against it and 40 abstained. The Radical Socialist party which had promised Bouisson to vote for granting full power split under the pressure of the left. (Continued on Page 4)

## Protest Against Martial Law in Omaha Strike

### Lumber Strike In Crucial Period

### Workers Ask A. F. L. Council To Remove Their Leaders— Militancy In Ranks Rises

By EARL LANE  
PORTLAND, Oregon.—Close of the fifth week of the Northwest lumber strike finds the rank and file engaged in a bitter struggle to win the leadership of the union and bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. Over 40,000 men are still out and with one exception every large mill that went out at the beginning of the strike is now closed.

From the outset Muir, Brown, Lumm, & Co., tried every trick in the repertoire of the labor faker, from arbitrarily lowering the strike demands and sending some mills back to work under separate agreements to raising the red scare, in order to break the back of the strike.

As reported in the June 8th issue of the Workers Age, Muir announced in the name of the Northwest Council that the strike demands had been reduced and that the union was ready to return to work on these terms. This sell-out "agreement" was not even taken up on the floor of the Northwest Convention of the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union. Considerable sentiment was manifested at the convention for taking the leadership of the strike out of the hands of Muir & Co. A resolution was introduced to make the Northwest Council into a general strike committee after it had been conclusively proven that the Council cannot take any action binding on its representation. This was defeated by a parliamentary trick and the convention adjourned without any decisive action being taken in regard to the conduct of the strike.

Muir announced that the Weyerhaeuser and Long-Bell companies of Longview, the key mills of the Northwest, had agreed to the terms of the "Muir agreement" and ordered the Longview local to return to work which it did.

But sentiment for rank and file control had been maturing rapidly. On Tuesday the Olympic local wired William Green demanding that Muir be removed as vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners with which the S. & T.W.U. is affiliated. On Wednesday morning the Longview local of the Shingleweavers Union which had previously rejected the Muir sell-out, sent pickets to the Weyerhaeuser and Long-Bell mills and pulled the crews out to a man. At a mass meeting held that night the men voted to reject the Muir agreement and remain on strike until their original demands were won. On Thursday a general strike committee was set up at Aberdeen, Wash., which will endeavor by the use of militant strike tactics to win the original strike demands.

Immediately it became evident that Muir had lost control of the strike, at least in the key cities, Governor Clar-

### Unions Must Support Strikers Co. Hides Behind National Guard Bayonets

Trade unionists and trade unions must register their strongest protest against the martial law which now rules Omaha Nebraska, restricting and wiping out the right to strike and picket.

Since April 20 the car strikers of Omaha have fought bitterly for wage increases and shortening of hours of labor without any signs of willingness to negotiate the differences on the part of the company. But when the strike became most effective, when the mass of the workers in the city began to show active signs of support, the company immediately made use of provocateurs and stool pigeons to provoke a situation calling for the interference of the armed forces of the state.

The company has now declared its willingness to negotiate, apparently feeling safe behind the bayonets of the National Guard. All trade unions should lose no time in expressing their resentment at the use of armed forces. Moral and financial support to the car strikers will help stiffen their resistance and win their full demands.

## Coal Operators Arm for Strike

(From a letter by a miner)

Our local has received the strike call from President Lewis of the U.M.W.A. From the looks of things here nothing can stop the strike except the granting of an increase in wages by the operators.

The coal companies are feverishly preparing for the strike. In the case of the company I work for, 35,000,000 tons of coal is being accumulated—a 30-day reserve. In the case of the Capitol Coal Company the U.M.W.A. has a real fight on its hands since the miners are organized also in a company union. The mine will attempt to operate on the basis of the present agreement thus wiping out the U.M.W.A. There are many workers here extremely backward. They feel doubtful about the strike. Whatever conditions they have now they attribute not to the strength of their organization but to the NRA.

There is practically no preparations for the strike at all. Nor is there a progressive group to put forward a program of militant action. Whatever progressive movement we had among the soft coal miners was smashed by the stupid policies of the Communist Party some two years ago. Up to now we have not succeeded in rebuilding the progressive movement.

### MINE STRIKE POSTPONED AGAIN

Again the strike of soft coal miners has been postponed until the middle of July. It is almost a certainty now that the strike will not be called. The operators will be in a good position to meet any strike threat.

## Stalin and the Crisis in French Communism

### THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS THE POSITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

#### STATEMENT WAS A MISTAKE

We, the Communist Party (Opposition), fully endorse this statement insofar as it is a statement of the Soviet Union and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has concluded a pact with the French government which provides for military cooperation of both parties in peace and in the eventuality of war. If this is permissible—and we think it is—then it is also permissible to express this action in words. On the other hand, however, such a statement made by the C.I. or any of its sections, excepting that of the Soviet Union, is absolutely impermissible. No one would have linked up this statement with the Communist International had it been issued solely in the name of the Soviet government, had it appeared simply as just another diplomatic act. Due to the fact, however, that Stalin's name was mentioned in the statement does it become easier for the bourgeois press to ascribe the statement to the Communist International. What is still worse, certain Communist parties look upon this statement not simply as an act of diplomacy but as a guide of action for the Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union.

We are, therefore, of the opinion that it was wrong to issue the communique in the name of Stalin.

As was to be expected, the bourgeois and even the Social Democratic press of France described the statement as being not only in the name of the Soviet Union but also in the name of the C.I. and demanded that the Socialist Party make a fundamental change in its position on the question of national defense in accordance with Stalin's declaration.

#### FRENCH BOURGEOIS PRESS IS ELATED

The Temps, organ of the French Foreign Office, wrote in its editorial columns on May 17th as follows:

" . . . at last we have the official communique on the conclusion of the Moscow negotiations pledging not only the Soviet Union but the Russian Communist Party and the Third International in the person of Mr. Stalin. The political apparatus of the Soviet regime places the question in its true light."

Their comment on the Stalin communique follows:

"This statement which in all respects pledges the leader of the Russian Communist Party and of the Third Interna-

tional is naturally of tremendous significance. It includes the categorical denunciation of all anti-military and revolutionary activities aimed at the weakening of the armed forces of France."

The well-known Pertinax wrote in Matin:

"What a grand achievement—this communique brought by Pierre Laval from Moscow! The French government is enabled thru the Soviets to defend the French army against the Blums and Cachins."

The entire bourgeois press of France wrote along the above lines.

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN BITTER ATTACK

Leon Blum, the leader of the French S. P. wrote the following in Populaire on May 17th under the heading, "Unity in Spite of All."

"If Stalin endorses this policy he repudiates those who have refused to support it. He repudiates those who refused to vote for the two-year period of military service, those who refused to vote for extraordinary credits going towards an increased French air force, those who have carried on a campaign against the retention of soldiers in the barracks . . . he therefore repudiates the campaign carried on indefatigably by us for many years for security thru the collective organization of arbitration courts, of mutual aid, of disarmament and control. . . . By 'us' (Continued on Page 3)

ministration like Roosevelt's that is dedicated to fortifying capitalism. In short, the Roosevelt social security program may glitter like gold in its advertising, it taste like tin in its substance.



# DEBUNKING SOME CRITICS OF THE SOVIETS

This is the third in a series of articles by Comrade Lovestone on "Soviet Foreign Policy and the World Revolution." The following article Lovestone continues to discuss a number of other criticisms leveled at the Soviet Union.—Editor.

By JAY LOVESTONE

So far we have examined the fundamental features characterizing the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. from the days when Lenin was its best head. Trotsky, its most articulate mouth, through the present day when Stalin is its firmest hand. Now, let us turn to an examination of the case made against Soviet foreign policy by its opponents. This indictment essentially runs along the following lines:

## THE INDICTMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

1. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is engaged in an economic drive at home to build socialism in the U.S.S.R. This policy of building "socialism in one country" is the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy and spells disinterest in foreign aid and neglect of the world revolution.

2. In its desperate efforts to achieve this goal the USSR has been driven to resort to speed-up in production, the stimulation of competition among individuals, and the fostering of inequalities in Soviet industry. Worse than that, cry these critics, the Soviets are therefore bent on developing and intensifying commercial relations with capitalist powers. In the same breath these calculators of the motives of Soviet foreign policy find the Soviets guilty of what appears to them an abhorrent crime—the crime of seeking to become self-sufficient. On this basis they argue, the USSR is bound to be entering from a weak-kneed policy in foreign affairs and from a too great anxiety for peace even at the expense of the world revolution.

3. This foreign policy "forced on the Soviet Union by the CPSU, headed by Stalin," the self-confessed ultra-revolutionists maintain, means giving up the Comintern, presupposes adamant refusal to render armed aid to the proletariat and colonial masses inhabiting five-sixths of the earth. The interests of the Soviet Union are in conflict and incompatible with the interests of the international proletariat, according to these critics.

## BROCKWAY SPEES SOVIET AS COMPROMISED

The perpetrators of such masterpieces of confusion and calumny must naturally come to but one conclusion: The U.S.S.R. and its foreign policy are "past hope, past cure, past help." Hence, Fenner Brockway, the leader of the Independent Labor Party in England, has declared his Soviet foreign policy in this fashion: "Russia does not want war. That, one understands. But international opposition to imperialism must not be sacrificed even to the interests of Russia." (New Leader, London, June 19, 1934.) Brockway, to concretize his complaint, chides the Soviet government for "acquiescence in Japanese imperialism in the East."

"The danger is that in the immediate strengthening of the ties between the Soviet government and the capitalist governments the ties of international working class struggle and solidarity may be weakened."

"Mr. Eden was welcomed as though he were in a capitalist country rather than in a world state. The Workers State which has overthrown Monarchy, Capitalism and Imperialism flouted the symbols of Monarchy, Capitalism and Imperialism on every hand. Union Jacks were displayed at every turn; Mr. Eden, the straggler of the National Anthem wherever he went. If this violation of the whole spirit of Soviet Russia really impressed Mr. Eden, it can only have been because he felt that it signified a modification of the Russian attitude." (New Leader, London, April 5, 1935.) (Emphasis ours.)

To have completed his horrible picture of betrayal, Fenner Brockway should not have forgotten to mention that Mr. Eden also was compelled to listen to the strains of the "International" and other revolutionary songs of the Red Army and the world proletariat. Incidentally, it might be further added that while Litvinov, under instructions of the CP U.S., was toasting King George V, Politkovsky, under instructions of the CP U.S., was roasting the same King George and organizing demonstrations against the Silver Jubilee of this over-aged monarch.

## THE WEAKER THE U.S.S.R. THE BETTER—TROTSKY

Trotsky, chief of these prosecutors of the "guilty" leadership of the CPSU has from his false premise, logically concluded that: "The more the U.S.S.R. strengthens its international position, the deeper becomes the rift between the Soviet government and the international struggle" (New Republic, November 1, 1933.) In other words, in line with Trotsky's reasoning, the weaker the international position of the USSR, the less rift there is between the Soviet government and the international revolutionary movement. What tasks such a policy would set for the international labor movement are obvious: outright anti-Soviet operations.

It is necessary to clear the ground and take the discussion out of the at-

## As Trotsky's Bitterness Rises His Memory Grows Shorter

mosphere of factional policy in which the Trotskyites have placed it. Let us face conditions as they are—in their historical light, as they developed over years for the Russian and the entire international proletariat.

The world revolution which the Soviet proletariat in 1917 expected to come has not come yet. The Russian proletarian revolution is the first chapter of the international revolution but only one chapter at that. The bourgeoisie succeeded in inflicting a number of serious defeats on the international revolution and in stabilizing its rule. Who of us has forgotten the defeat of the Red Army at the gates of Warsaw, the gates of Western Europe, when the Soviet proletariat made a heroic but unsuccessful attempt to start a world revolution beyond its own borders. And let no one forget our defeats in Bavaria, Hungary, and Germany. Bolsheviks must never hesitate to admit defeat. Denying them doesn't overcome them.

By the way, Trotsky and Co. should be the last ones to organize a slander chorus against the present CPSU leadership for not rushing armed aid to the world proletariat at all times. Such armed aid can't be rendered indiscriminately, regardless of the conditions at hand, without regard to the class relations in the country to be assisted. Even in Lenin's days, in an international situation which was far more revolutionary than today, the Bolshevik Party limited its armed aid to the proletariat in revolt in the regions of the former Czarist empire. And not in every case was such aid appropriate, as could be seen from the reactions of the Polish workers to the Red drive in 1920.

For the last few months these very same pure, untouchable revolutionists and their cohorts within the A. F. of L. have become the champion "unity" howlers. At every meeting, regardless of the question under discussion, these people shout for a "growth" of the industrial union with the A. F. of L. "company union." It is important that all progressives and class conscious workers understand this apparent change of tune.

By A PROGRESSIVE

## UNITY IN THE KNITGOODS INDUSTRY

For years the dual "industrial" union in the knitgoods industry and its avowed leader, the Communist Party, have chanted a refrain of the glories of "revolutionary unionism." They never lost a single opportunity to cry "company unionism" every time the American Federation of Labor was mentioned. For the last few months these very same pure, untouchable revolutionists and their cohorts within the A. F. of L. have become the champion "unity" howlers. At every meeting, regardless of the question under discussion, these people shout for a "growth" of the industrial union with the A. F. of L. "company union." It is important that all progressives and class conscious workers understand this apparent change of tune.

## Stages of Dual Union Policy

The policies of the dual unionists within and without the A. F. of L. can roughly be divided into three stages.

The first stage, flowing from the theory that the A. F. of L. unions were company unions and part of the capitalist system, was a clear and unadulterated policy of splitting the A. F. of L. unions and building dual Red unions. The realization that complete severance of the dual unions from the A. F. of L. resulted in absolute isolation, forced the dual union theoreticians to send some of their adherents scurrying back to the A. F. of L. in order to use the membership of the A. F. of L. unions as a recruiting ground for their new dual unions.

After a number of turns and re-turns, came the period that climaxed the confusion and bankruptcy of the entire dualist position—the still born Independent Federation of Labor. Communist party members and other supporters of dual unionism were running in circles, dizzy from the instruction on the new line. They were instructed to build the trio, T.U.U.L. unions, the "class independent unions" and the "opposition" within the A. F. of L. The party leadership looked eagerly for a "growth" of independent unions outside the A.F. of L., hoping to be able to gracefully bury the dead T.U.U.L. unions under cover of unity with the independent unions.

Fortunately the independent union movement did not materialize to any extent. When the T.U.U.L. champions were compelled to retreat under the slogan of saving the Independent Federation of Labor for a more "appropriate" moment. Every twist, turn, and maneuver of the dual unionists was defeated by the deeper becomes the rift between the Soviet government and the international struggle" (New Republic, November 1, 1933.) In other words, in line with Trotsky's reasoning, the weaker the international position of the USSR, the less rift there is between the Soviet government and the international revolutionary movement. What tasks such a policy would set for the international labor movement are obvious: outright anti-Soviet operations.

bility—the position that it was wrong to carry revolution into country from the outside. For this reason, he opposed the Warsaw offensive in 1920; very properly he eloquently implored the Moscow proletariat not to lose its head clamoring to rush armed forces to aid the German workers in their February 1931 Trotsky went to unwarranted lengths and even opposed the Red Army helping the revolutionists in Georgia, now one of the Soviet Republics. This question of armed aid by the Russian proletariat to the workers of other countries should never be handled in a factional manner. Lenin focused the proper light on this all-important problem when he declared:

"But we have not pledged ourselves to start a world revolution without taking into account how far it is possible to wage such a war at any particular moment." (Lenin: Thesis on the Question of the Immediate Conclusion of a Separate and Annexationist Peace.)

## TROTSKY'S MEMORY GROWS SHORTER

Evidently, Trotsky, embittered by the treatment he received at the hands of the Stalin leadership, is now seeking to perform an upside down operation. Such operations in revolutionary politics are unprincipled and ruinous. They are dictated only by factional considerations and merit only unmerciful condemnation by every class conscious worker.

The argument that the Soviet Government is betraying the world proletariat because it has relations with capitalist countries is not new. It is as old as such foreign relations are. It saw the light of day long before Stalin was primus in the world. The Comintern suffered by the proletariat of Western Europe during 1919 and 1921 influenced the policies of the first pro-

## WELCOME CHANGE

Progressives should welcome this change in policy, but it is our duty to point out that it is impossible to effectively bring about any basic change unless there is absolute clarity on the issues involved. It is fantastic to expect workers, who have been told for five years that the A. F. of L. unions are fascist, to change their attitude and approach, without a thorough discussion and a frank admission of errors.

If they are sincere about building the A. F. of L. it is logical to expect that the next step should be the liquidation of the existing dual unions, and the entrance of the membership into the A. F. of L. union in the industry. But not these fellows—they are still in the throes of dualism.

## Facing Boss Offensive

At the present moment in the knitgoods industry the employers are launching a vicious attack against the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union attempting to invalidate the existing agreement and smash the Union. They have leveled the brunt of their attack against the progressive administration of the Union. They charge the administration with "unduly agitating the workers," making "strikes an institution" and not making for "harmony" between the workers and the bosses. To quote one of the officers of the employers association: "We wanted to get away from the Red Union and we got this, we would much rather deal with the Industrial Union than the Joint Council under the leadership of Nelson."

Simultaneously with this attack of the employers the dual "Industrial" joins hands with the bosses in launching an equally vicious attack on the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union. They have leveled the brunt of their attack against the progressive administration of the Union. They charge the administration with "unduly agitating the workers," making "strikes an institution" and not making for "harmony" between the workers and the bosses. To quote one of the officers of the employers association: "We wanted to get away from the Red Union and we got this, we would much rather deal with the Industrial Union than the Joint Council under the leadership of Nelson."

1. All knitgoods workers are eligible for membership in the Joint Council. 2. No discrimination against any knitgoods worker, because of his opinions, principles or party affiliation. 3. We have already given and will continue to give consideration on industrial union fees to former industrial union members.

## Words And Deeds

The "Industrial" union leadership, desperate at the disintegration of their union and dismayed at the steady growth of the Joint Council, is forced to resort to unity manouvres in an attempt

to stem the growing sentiment within their ranks for affiliation to the Joint Council. They place "demands" to the Joint Council that are insincere, impossible to realize, and serve as an obstacle to unity. Their actions completely contradict even their verbal pretence for unity.

While speaking of "unity" (which means under any circumstance the liquidation of their organization) they proceeded to tax their membership as high as \$7.00 per member for "organizational interest" and "dues." They speak of uniting and holding meetings to discuss arrangements for a new agreement after Aug. 1st the expiration date of their present agreement. Their entire policy is to mouth phrases about unity, but in action to keep the membership divided and in the interest of the maintenance of their dual organization. The first pre-requisite for unity would be the liquidation of the so-called "Industrial" union. As long as they maintain the dual union they still wear the odious label of dual unionists.

Progressives, stand firmly behind the stand of the Joint Council. Any official negotiations with the dual organization would result in harm for the entire labor movement. Such negotiations would in effect be recognition of the dual union as movement and would render justification for its prior existence. It is absolutely necessary for progressives to completely expose the danger and bankruptcy of dualism, thereby removing one element of such similar secession movements of the future.

## LUMBERMEN FACE TURN IN STRIKE COURSE

(Continued from Page 1) Once D. Martin of Washington issued a long statement in which he called upon the county authorities to use their full resources to smash the strike.

"I serve notice that such Communist activities, professional agitation, coercion and intimidation must not be tolerated in Washington, and that, while there must be no curtailment of the right of collective bargaining and peaceful picketing, the right of men to work must be re-asserted. . . . I direct the Washington state patrol to co-operate fully with local authorities for the prompt arrest of the leaders and members of any groups which resort to threats and intimidation to prevent men from working and prevent resumption of operations in the lumber industry of Washington."

In the face of the probable impending red scare, the lumber workers must be prepared for a long and bitter struggle and must spare no effort to attempt to rally to their support the entire labor movement of the Northwest. Remember the marine strike of last summer and how your ranks were split by the raising of the red scare.

The San Francisco local of the Sailors Union of the Pacific has voted unanimously to recall Paul Scharenberg as delegate to the Central Labor Council.

letarian state and slowed down the process in Russia. It is a two-fold process. The difficulties of the Russian Soviet government had their effects on all other parties; the general fight for emancipation of the working class likewise influences our policies.

"This is the sense of the position taken by the Third International, as well as in the theses on the united front in relation to Soviet Russia. This, however, by no means signifies that the Russian Party which is the leading party in the Comintern, will utilize these for its own egoistic purposes. To maintain this is to side with the Comintern. It is impossible to conceive that the interests of a proletarian power are not identical with the interests of the entire proletariat. The Russian Revolution, as well as the struggles of the German, English and French workers effect the new situation; the Russian revolution more so because within the last few years the struggle of the Russian proletariat has been of greater significance than that of other countries. But one cannot maintain that the Comintern is missing any policy in the interest of the workers government. To maintain this means to argue from the point of view of the Second and the T-and-a-half International and is to fail to understand that the deeper historical interests of the first victorious proletarian state are identical with those of the entire working class."

And Trotsky followed in the same vein by saying: "Comrades, the interests of the Soviet Republic can be none other than the interests of the international revolutionary movement. And if you believe that we have become so absorbed and so hypnotized by our tasks and our work that we are no longer capable of correctly estimating the interests of the labor movement, then it would be in place to add a paragraph in the statutes of our International according to which every Party, unfortunate enough to have seized state power, is expelled from the International." (Laughter).

The Trotsky of 1922 talked quite a different language from the Trotsky of 1931! No one should be tempted to ask why the sharp swerve by this erstwhile member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU.

"Yesterday I read the following words written by Stalin. (Follows the text of the communist manifesto.) I am in a hurry to comment on this rather clear text. Believe me, comrades, this will long form the subject of discussions."

## STALIN THROWS C.P. INTO COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of France took a position while this mighty chorus of bourgeois and Socialist propaganda was having its effect. The general municipal elections in the Seine department (Paris and vicinity) took place immediately after the publication of the manifesto. A veritable propaganda war broke out with every party attempting to use Stalin's declaration to best advantage. The bourgeois parties used it in order to buffet the Communist candidates.

Stalin's statement was like a bolt from the sky as far as the C.P. was concerned. Many months before the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet pact and the Stalin communique the C.P.O. had discussed and clarified the question of the position of a communist party in a country where its bourgeois government had made an alliance with the Soviet Union. The C.P. as well as the C.I. had simply evaded the question. Small wonder that Stalin's statement should have caused such great confusion in the C. P.

## DEMOCRATIC REFORM OF THE ARMY

We are quoting below the various viewpoints which have been expressed in Humanite, the central organ of the Communist Party, successively and simultaneously without any attempt to clarify these contradictory statements. On May 16th Magnien was the first to write on the declaration of Stalin.

"The organization and growth of the M.E.S.A. in the early, formative period must be primarily due to two factors: the failure of the A. F. of L. to enter the auto field, and the strong tendencies for separatism and "independence" from the general labor movement still prevalent among the highly skilled workers. The single the building of the M.E.S.A. was not a forward step in the direction of progressive militant unionism, but was rather a serious obstacle in building an industrial auto workers union which alone could improve the conditions of the production workers as well as the tool and die makers."

The M.E.S.A., which started out with a radical coloring, is now definitely on the decline as a factor among the auto workers. It has lost most of the production workers. It is out of existence in Detroit. It has been reduced to a mere handful of workers wherever it still maintains control in some plants it does so only by pursuing a policy of class collaboration with the employers and the avoiding of strike action. The control of the organization is definitely drifting into the hands of the highest skilled strata of the auto workers (gang bosses and those who "succeed" in maintaining almost steady employment.)

To make up for its loss in the auto field, the M.E.S.A. has branched out to other cities in the west and south-east. It has become a dual union of the worst type, and in the last strike of the auto workers in Detroit it actually played the role of a scab organization. Not only did the M.E.S.A. members scab on the maintenance men in the strike of the

Confusion worst confounded is a generous estimate of such "deep reasoning!"

# STALIN AND CRISIS IN FRENCH COMMUNISM

## Question of National Defense Causes Chaos in C. P.

(Continued from Page 1)

I mean the Socialists. I do not find it even necessary to tell you the implications of Stalin's declaration for the policy of the C.P. . . . As far as we, the French C.P., is concerned, our line of action will remain unchanged. The U.S.S.R. negotiates with bourgeois governments because it is surrounded by bourgeois governments but the workers know full well that they can have no confidence in their own bourgeoisie carrying out a peaceful policy. French communists, French workers, can have no confidence in the policy of the French bourgeoisie army. Among the officers of the French army there are many neutral French army, at present a tool of oppression for the working class and the colonial people, into a Red army—a true army of the people. A Red army and the proletarian state power alone can defend the U.S.S.R. and the C.P. . . . 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## States Rights - False Issue

AS the 1936 election campaign is getting under way, a battle royal seems to be developing over the question of "state rights." This is not the first time that this issue has come to the fore in the country. However, never was the issue handled so artificially, never was it used more as a red-herring drawn across the campaign trails. And the irony of it all is that the traditional party of government centralization, the Republican, is now for state rights—with the Democratic Party now resisting its traditional position of decentralization in government!

We do not believe Labor should waste much time over this issue. Especially do we warn against facing such issues as abstract problems divorced from the actual class relations at hand. With the victory of the North in the Civil War, the bourgeoisie established definite hegemony and speeded the way towards increasing the powers of the Federal government as against the state governments. The amendments to the Constitution written on the fields of battle were to guarantee some civil rights to Negroes thru placing at their disposal the resources of the strengthened Federal authority. Nevertheless, the forces of reaction were well able to undermine these amendments, this new trend in government, as was clearly indicated in the reasoning of the highest court in its verdict in the Louisiana Slaughterhouse cases.

Under the plea of being against too much centralization of power, the Supreme court in a whole series of decisions put at the disposal of the most reactionary interests in a number of states the full power of the Federal authority.

Let no one for a moment think that either state rights or increased federal powers (as procedure in government) are in themselves a guarantee for progressive legislation or a defense against reactionary measures. Just now, too many, especially so-called "Militant" Socialists, seem to think that if only the Federal government were given the power to enact social legislation (via a Constitutional amendment), all would be well on the way to the good. This is plain idiocy. Centralization of government power can very well be used for the most reactionary ends. Supreme Court decisions are not born in a vacuum; they are only a reflection of class relations and dominant class interests at a particular moment; they are not dependent on the particular form of the government structure yesterday or today.

Thus we can't see why so many "liberals" are so excited over the vote of Brandeis and Cardozo in the NRA cases. Feeling the pressure of monopoly capital, which was strengthened so much by the NRA, and blindly worshipping formal features of government without regard for substance and reality, the Liberal judges on the Supreme bench were very consistent in their vote. In fact they drew their inspiration from none other than the best mind that ever was a Supreme Court judge—the greatest liberal of them all, Justice Holmes. The latter was an ardent advocate of "state rights" as against increased powers for the Federal government. On May 26, 1930, in the case of the Farmers Loan and Trust Co. vs. Minnesota, Judge Holmes said: "I have not yet adequately expressed the MORE THAN ANXIETY that I feel at . . . cutting down what I believe to be the Constitutional rights of states. As the decisions now stand, I see hardly any limit but the sky to the invalidating of these rights if they happen to strike a majority of this court as for any reason desirable."

"As for any reason desirable" gives away all. Here the cat is let out of the bag. Here is the key to Supreme Court decisions. This Liberal fear of a reactionary trend toward centralization of government can very well be used by the blackest reactionaries against all Federal legislation bearing even the faintest progressive hue. This was the technique employed by the most reactionary judges in recent Supreme Court decisions striking against the very inadequate beginnings of social legislation in the U. S. The Constitution as such has long ago ceased to be a measure of Constitutionality. The line of division in the Supreme Court and in all other sections of the American judiciary system is rooted in economic and political considerations and interests and not in parliamentary forms that are atrophying as a result of the changed socio-economic conditions.

Approaching the "hot" issue of state rights in this manner we refer our readers to the Supreme Court's verdict invalidating the Railway Pension Act. Likewise, in this light it is not difficult to comprehend what Root meant, in arguing against a Federal Income Tax, when he said that the Supreme Court's "part in our government is the greatest contribution that America has made to political science." Supplement this with the declaration of the present Chief Justice Hughes that: "We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the Judges say it is" and you have the why and wherefore of the efficacy of the Supreme Court as a weapon in American capitalist rule. More than that. No one could seek more decisive proof of the fact that the American government structure, the present U. S. state form, is organically most suited for bourgeois dictatorship and organically unsuited for serving as an instrument of working class liberation. This is the tone regardless of how many patches (Constitutional amendments) may be plastered on it by Roosevelt, Thomas, Waldman or Green.

## EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 1)

Ramette, a Communist, pointed to the new victories of the Communists at the general council elections of the Paris District and a section of the Radical Socialists did not dare vote for the Bouisson proposals.

The franc fell further as a result of the new cabinet crisis. Whether the franc will fall or rise depends primarily upon big finance being willing to grant new credits in order to prevent a further leftward movement in the country.

The course of the future however, also depends upon the extra-parliamentary action of the masses. The serious danger here is that the Communist Party will continue on the dangerous path of coalition. Already during the crisis in the Flandin regime the leadership of the C.P.F. promised, at an open meeting of the Chamber, to support a Radical government in and out of parliament, if it

carries out its radical program (dissolution of the fascist leagues, increased progressive taxation of capital). The Secretary of the C.P., Thorez, is ready to support a radical government which includes people like Bonnevay. Bonnevay is a right winger who, as chairman of the investigation committee of February 6th, demonstrated that he is against fascist patches. This proposal was repeated by the C.P. after the overthrow of the Bouisson cabinet. The leaders of the C.P. asked the S.P. during both cabinet crises to approach the Radical Socialists and the rest of the lefts on the question of the formation of a cabinet. The leaders of the S.P. are now ready to participate in a left government under certain conditions.

The tactics of the C.P.F. represent a serious parliamentary opportunist falsification of united front tactics. It is the continuation of opportunist deviations which were already contained in

## Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

WAR IS A RACKET, by General Smedley D. Butler. Round Table Press. 52 pp., \$1.00.

"War is a racket", says General Butler. And as an officer who spent 33 years at the game, commanded innumerable "racketeering" expeditions into Latin America and waited till he was safely returned from his post as commanding officer of the marine corps with a major-general's pension before he breathed a word about it, he ought to know.

"Racket" isn't a very good word for it, but he does prove very easily that it is a very painful business for the masses and the rank and file of the army, and a pretty good business for industrialists and bankers. The statistics as to killed, wounded, mentally unhinged, money costs, fantastic war profits that he adduces to make his case, are the commonplaces of anti-war literature, but each time you hear them afresh they make a staggering, anger-provoking picture just the same.

But when Butler comes to "remedies" he shows that even in retirement a major-general is not to be boasted (as he recently was!) by the American

League Against War and Fascism and its Godfather, the Communist Party.

Butler's measures to "smash the racket" are:

1. To take the profit out of war.  
2. To let those who are to bear arms vote on a declaration of war.

3. To limit the navy to 200 miles from the shore so that it can defend the coast but not attack an enemy. "Our nation cannot start an offensive war if its ships can't go further than 200 miles from the coastline". Simple isn't it

4. Let's all say: "To Hell With War!"

There is much in the book about the profits of bankers and munition-makers in war time. But about the connection between war and capitalism—not a word! Strong denunciation of surface evils, no attention to fundamentals, "simple remedies" that don't go to the heart of the matter—these are the characteristics of fascist demogogy everywhere. The fact that Butler turned down a premature bid for a march on Washington doesn't prove him disqualified for the job. Given the right turn of affairs and the major-general will still make a good candidate for the post of man on horseback. That's why its criminal and dangerous for the Party to play with him even if he does say with intimate knowledge that "War Is a Racket."

## The ECONOMIC WEEK

THE Federal Reserve reports that for the month of April industrial production continued its decline—to an index of 86. This means that industrial production is exactly where it was a year ago.

National City Bank in its June report writes that "bank reserves in the United States (rose) continually higher and higher to new record levels." This is the famous excess capital of capitalist crisis. The total monetary gold stock has reached a new high total of \$8,762,000,000. And member bank reserves have skyrocketed to \$4,821,000,000 in contrast to required reserves of about two and a half billion dollars. National City Bank goes on to state: "Were it possible for the banks to employ these excess reserves in loans and investments the total volume of memberbank credit would be in the neighborhood of \$50,000,000,000 or 50% above the maximum reached during the 1928-29 boom."

The business index for the past week increased slightly. This, however, does not reverse the general trend which has been downward in recent weeks and for practically most of the first half of the year.

Consumers' Guide (May 20, 1935) presents some very interesting and revealing figures on the rise of food prices for the first half of 1935. The report states that "there was a sharp rise in food prices during January and February followed by a slight drop in prices during March. The April increase carried the index number of food prices to 125.2 of the 1913 level. At the low point in December 1934 the index stood at 114.3 percent. Present prices are somewhat less than 9 percent above the December level."

—Economist

the original united front pact, namely—the defense of bourgeois-democratic freedom at all costs.

Thus there is the danger that the leftward movement of the working class and of the petty bourgeoisie will not be translated into extra-parliamentary actions. The organization of extra-parliamentary activities alone can create the pre-requisites for the formation of an anti-fascist government. Moreover, the above policy of the C.P. will bring about the disillusionment of the masses and thus make the advance of fascism possible.

In Switzerland there was recently held a referendum on the solution of the crisis as formulated by Social Democracy. This proposal aimed to put into effect an economic plan modeled on the De Man plan. The referendum was lost. The minority voting for the plan was very strong, lacking only 100,000 votes to equal the opposing camp. 88% of the population voted. A considerable section of the peasants also voted for the plan. The results of the referendum indicated a similar trend to that in France—a strong leftward movement among the masses.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO BUSINESS CYCLE TRACED—by Wilbert G. Fritz. Published by Edwards Brothers, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich.

(Reviewed by J. L.)

As a piece of research work this effort is fairly commendable. It contains a collection of excerpts from the writings of economists dealing with the occurrence of crises in various economic systems.

The book suffers from several shortcomings. First, the general approach of the author. This is clearly indicated in his historical sketch which has as its keynote the following: "Economics has had a piece-meal development which partially explains its present-day condition. At different times, one phase or another was extolled to the neglect of other phases and of possible inter-relationships."

Obviously, the author confuses the contributions of all economists and places them on the same level. He fails to distinguish between vulgar and the scientific school of Marxism, which is not a "piece-meal" school.

From this flows the author's mechanical, artificial division of periods of economic development by arbitrary dates without differentiating between various economic systems. Therefore, Mr. Fritz entertains the idea of a sort of automatic occurrence of business cycles regardless of variations of economic system. The author treats the business cycle as if it always was and always will be, and as if the consequences were uniformly and solely bad.

Here is Mr. Fritz' pattern. First period: Beginning of civilization to 1801. The fallacy of such artificial and arbitrary lines of demarcation is patent. It becomes all the more plain when the author says: "From the beginning of the nineteenth century, fluctuations in economic well-being were associated with crop output, disease, conflicts, or experiments with the symbols of exchange. Agricultural productivity was the most important factor, owing to the fact that man was rigidly harnessed to the soil." Note that the author assumes no differentiation in the economic systems prevailing thru this very long period of history. Note that the author does not attempt to trace consequences growing out of the very organic nature of such different economic systems as slavery, feudalism, and capitalism.

We may also add that the excerpts chosen from Marx's writings on the problems of crises under capitalism are not the most enlightening and representative of his contributions to this problem of political economy. The author, however, indicates some appreciation of the significance of Marx when he says: Karl Marx in the 1850's and 1860's unflinchingly traced crises and depression to the operation of the capitalist system. He sought to prove by long and laborious formulae that stability was impossible in capitalism. Whether or not Marx's solution is accepted, one can hardly deny the depth of conviction and unselfish devotion to his cause."

To students of economics some of the quotations in this collection are of value. Here its worthwhileness stops.

REBEL SONG BOOK, edited by Samuel H. Friedman. Rand School Press. 92 pp., board. 50c.

Eighty-eight workers' songs, well selected, and reproduced with their musical scores. The editor is to be commended for the scope of his selection. Old favorites like Shelley's "Men of England" and Ernest Jone's "Song of the Lower Classes" rub shoulders with Hans Eisler's "Comintern (the music at least) and the "Song of the Red Air Fleet" with its refrain "defending the U.S.S.R." There is a fairly large representation of indigenous American revolutionary songs; and many new translations of foreign songs have been made by the editor.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

The Communist Party press reports the liquidation of two more of that thinning line of industrial unions—the Classroom Teachers Group and the Fur Workers Industrial Union. The former is of slight significance in that practically all of its members were in the American Federation of Teachers anyway. In the case of the furriers it is quite different.

Who Is The Labor Movement?

Here is where dual unionism rode high. Was it not the decisive force in the industry? Was not the Joint Council a dual union? If there was to be unity it would be on the basis of the Industrial union. So they talked and argued until they had almost convinced even themselves.

But these questions are not decided on the basis of who is stronger in this shop or craft, in this local or industry. Once you have answered for yourself which is THE labor movement the rest falls logically into place. Once the Communist Party, engineering a right about face, began to call for affiliation with the A. F. of L. there could be no exception even in the case of the furriers. It was only a matter of time when it also would succumb to the new policy of the party.

The belief that the furriers union could be maintained independent of the A. F. of L. was a serious mistake of the Party. That mistake was also true of the Trotskyites who argued, and still do so, against the liquidation of these unions.

Congratulations Are In Order

We suppose that we ought to be very happy, that we ought to congratulate the rank and file furriers of both organization for having at last overcome a condition of division lasting several years, for at last achieving a situation which will make a concerted drive for the improvement of conditions possible, for at last ending the bosses' holiday! This we do with all our heart. But our joy and happiness is not unmarred.

We are happy, in the same sense as one greets the mending of a broken arm or leg. But was it absolutely essential that one's arm or leg be broken? Would it not have been much better if unity had never been shattered or at best re-established years ago when it became possible to do so. We look at an enormous accumulation of leaflets, issued by the Industrial Union—leaflets reeking with spilled spleen and breathing black hatred. The "scab Joint", the "gangsters", the "social-fascist bands", the "irresponsible scoundrels of the Joint Council", a "gang of traitors", the "Joint Council . . . a scab underworld agency", these are samples of Ben Gold's colorful vocabulary. And now Gold and his followers have joined the same "scab joint" and "underworld agency." Do you not see that these methods delayed and hampered the achievement of unity. The worst diatribes, more than that, frequent sluggings were visited particularly upon those—the Lovestonites—who fought for unity and urged you to do two years ago what your leaders have finally done.

Unity Must Be Guarded

Again, our heart would be lighter and our joy greater at this increasing measure of proletarian unity were we not plagued by doubts on the recurrence of the curse of dual unionism. Comrades, workers, have your leaders learned? Are they calling upon you to go back to what was but yesterday, the "scab Joint" because of some cheap maneuver, in order to strengthen their base, to create a new base for dual unionism or are they honestly convinced that dual unionism has brought untold harm and have therefore broken with the whole theory, the philosophy of dual unionism.

The leadership of the Industrial Union, is the leadership of the Communist Party in that field. We must state quite frankly that the Communist Party has given up dual unionism, for the time being, in form only but not in content. Time and again C.P. leaders have stated, in private conversations, in public meetings and in the press, that it was not a mistake to have split the workers ranks by organizing the dual unions. That if the same situation recurs they will return to the disastrous policy.

Then again there is the question of how your leaders will conduct themselves within the A. F. of L. For several years they have been propagating irrational ideas in an intemperate and irresponsible manner. They have resorted to methods of bureaucratic control and physical suppression of opponents. If they continue their attitude inside the united union very little improvement will have been achieved.

So, while greeting the reconstitution of unity in the fur field we cannot help but call upon the workers to be on guard, to make this a lasting and permanent unity so that the fur workers can begin to regain in wages and conditions what they lost thru years of division.

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