

# WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

## At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

**T**HE 100 per cent. American economists and the over-erudite sociologists who have been denouncing Marx for his theory of increasing misery must feel pretty miserable themselves these days. Certainly their criticism and scientific conclusions have proved miserably else. We are reminded of this once again by a report just issued by the E.R.A. dealing with the trend in rural jobs.

This report indicates that the heads of rural households have been forced to grasp at every available opportunity for employment to provide the merest sustenance for their families. Two-thirds of these family heads who were on relief were partly employed; sometimes operating non-productive farms or seeking other employment, but always unable to provide a sufficient income for the support of their family. Typifying the situation nationally, the conditions found in the 47 counties of 19 States indicate the following: Twenty-nine out of every 100 employed heads of rural households have in recent years shifted from the occupations that they usually followed before the depression and that most of these shifts had been a few steps downward on the economic ladder. Men who had been farm owners were now renting them, or glad to get a chance to work on other men's farms as laborers. Others were performing unskilled work in non-agricultural industry.

Especially hard hit were the white-collar workers and skilled artisans who were trying their hand at farming mostly on rented property, or else tackling semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Sharecroppers and tenants who had lost their farms dropped all the way down to the level of farm-hands or unskilled industrial laborers.

Thus proceeds the declassing trend in American social and economic life. This is the road of the constant depression of the standards of more and more layers of the population in the U. S. Here is the increasing pile of social misery in the world's wealthiest land.

**T**HE International Labor Office has recently issued the findings of its survey of the world unemployment. These investigators conclude that there are in the world as a whole to-day nearly 20½ million unemployed. They find that no important changes, no success in cutting the number of unemployed, can be registered for the last year.

It is interesting to note the fact that the ILO declares that there are to-day in the U. S. at least 11½ million unemployed. This is quite at variance with the optimistic claims of the Roosevelt Administration. Judging by the trends in the relief field, by the rising number of individuals seeking relief, we feel warranted in concluding that the ILO report is far more accurate than the guess material and election campaign "boiler plate" now being peddled by the Administration.

What will hit one hardest in an examination of this report will be the following: The total inability of international capitalism to make any real headway in the field of unemployment, precisely in the field where a solution of some form of relief is most urgent. Conferences of all kinds on a world scale, attempts of sundry sorts for "unravelling" on a national scale have alike failed.

**A** few months ago a number of British and American liberals got a fit of moral indignation because they learned that the Church of England was amongst the heaviest owners of stock in the munition industry. These messengers of the Lord were making good as salesmen of hell, as merchants of death; they were combining heavenly prattle with profitable practice.

But it is not only in England where such holy people know that the first and last command of the present social order is: business is business. One of the biggest realty owners in New York City is the Trinity Church. The celestial landlord, known as the Trinity Church Corporation, owns a vast fortune in real estate on the lower west side. Here is a section that reeks with poverty, degradation, and what the church leaders call on Sunday, "sin." However, the Trinity Church Corporation, speaking for the Lord in a practical sense, knows that in these days of hard times, it dare not be finicky about tenants. Bootleggers, counterfeiters, managers of vice resorts, are the best payers these days. After all, the Lord can forgive only those who sin, and if the Trinity Church Corporation continues to do well as a landlord, the "sinners" will be forgiven and the church will prosper on earth as well as in heaven.

We would like to make one suggestion, however: let the New York City Govern-

(Continued on Page 4)

## THE COMINTERN IN DANGER OF DEGENERATION

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International is now in session in Moscow. It is premature to attempt an evaluation of its discussions and decisions on the basis of the meager documents so far before us. Yet the fantastic inventions of bourgeois correspondents like Denny of the Times, the buzz of questions and gossip in "intellectual" circles, the misrepresentations in the socialist press, the confusion in the columns of the Daily Worker, and the eager interest of the class conscious workers in the doings of the Communist International, all make it necessary to make certain observations, however tentative and provisional and incompletely documented they may be.

### ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE CONGRESS

First it must be recorded that the Congress of the Communist International is not entirely what its name implies. It is not the representative body of the communist movement of all lands. It is the Congress of a faction of the communist movement, the majority faction to be sure, but nevertheless a faction. Upon it devolves the duty of reuniting the divided ranks of communism, of healing the split arbitrarily created immediately after and in contravention of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of 1928.

That seven long years have elapsed between the Sixth Congress and the Seventh when the statutes of the International require a Congress every two years, is in itself sufficient indication of the fact that the Comintern has been going thru a profound organizational and political crisis. Those seven years have witnessed the arbitrary expulsion of many of the founders and builders and best leaders of the communist movement in many lands for advocating tactics which today are being acknowledged as correct by the Seventh Congress. Those seven years have witnessed the scrapping of Leninist tactics on the trade union question and the united front, a false attitude toward the socialist workers, the scrapping of revolutionary realism in the formulation of tactics, the abandonment of party democracy and collective leadership. They have witnessed great vic-

### Flashlights on the Seventh Congress of the Communist International

By Bertram D. Wolfe

tories in the Soviet Union but great defeats in many other lands, with Germany at the head, defeats which the Seventh Congress admits might have been avoided by sounder tactical methods. They have witnessed an actual decline in the total membership of the C.I. outside of the Soviet Union, a decline during crisis years so favorable to Communism and so unfavorable to the bourgeoisie and to reformism. They have witnessed the strangulation of inner party life, the development of paralyzing bureaucracy, of puppet leaderships, of mechanical blue print tactics transplanted from land to land without regard to their appropriateness, of an unwholesome monopoly of leadership by the Russian Party, of a shameful anti-communist hero cult built around a single individual at the expense of any effort to build up a collective leadership for the workers of the world.

The World Congress has much to do to set the house of the Communist International in order. But the absence of any genuine discussion prior to the Congress, the failure of the Executive even to honor the request of the International Communist Opposition to be represented by fraternal delegates, the shamefully dishonest way in which the tactics advocated by the Communist Opposition on a variety of questions have been suddenly accepted without acknowledgement, without an attempt to reeducate the bewildered membership, without its participation in the decisions, without understanding on the part of those who must execute the decisions, without even adequate understanding by the Executive of the International, without withdrawal of a single one of the slanderous terms of abuse directed against those only yesterday "counter revolutionary" tactics and their advocates, gives little promise that the Seventh World Congress will be able to tackle the most urgent tasks

with any likelihood of fruitful conclusions.

Despite negotiations between the C.I. and the I.C.O., despite the elimination of certain differences, despite a less slanderous tone in official documents and improved relations, even cooperation in certain lands and fields, the Seventh Congress will still leave the Communist movement divided, confused, paralyzed, unequal to its tasks.

### PARTIAL VICTORY IN SIGHT

It is already clear that the victory of one phase of the struggle of the International Communist Opposition is at least in sight. The official summary of Pieck's opening report for the Executive Committee of the Communist International as cabled to the Daily Worker of July 29, proves that though the International may wriggle and squirm, misunderstand and misapply, and fail in its duty of educating the membership and the masses thru an honest examination of its errors, and may fail thereby to clarify its new line, yet one thing is certain, it has been obliged to abandon its open rejection of Leninist tactics on mass work.

### SIX YEARS TOO LATE

In 1929 we were expelled and slandered for opposing the tactics of union-splitting. In 1935 (June) the members of the American Party were still being told that the union-splitting had been correct, but that "changed conditions," "the masses' going into the A. F. L.," etc. compel the C.P. to liquidate its dual unions and reenter the organized labor movement. But Pieck's report on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International abandons this sorry subterfuge. After tipping his hat to

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

## Polish Communists To Fight For Bourgeois Republic

It is well known that during the last crisis the Communist Party of France urged the formation of a "left" cabinet inclusive of the Radical Socialist Party and declared its readiness to support such a government inside and outside of parliament provided it carried out certain immediate demands of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. This policy has now been extended to Poland.

The Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party has just published a "declaration" called "the platform of struggle for the overthrow of the Sanacja clique government (the successors of Pilsudsky), of the oppressors of the people and war adventurers—for freedom, bread, work and peace." In this declaration the C.P. proposes to the Bund, the Social Democratic Party and the Executive Committee of the Left Peasant Party, the joint organization of mass struggles and strikes; the preparation of a general strike on a national scale including peasants and other petty bourgeois elements.

### PROPOSE TO SET UP A "PEOPLE'S FRONT"

The C.P. proposes the following as the basis for the joint struggle:

"An uncompromising struggle for the overthrow of the Sanacja regime, the jingoistic oppressors of the people, for the overthrow of the fascist constitution and electoral system; for freedom of the press, assembly; for the right to strike; for the liquidation of the concentration camp Beresa Kartuska; for the liberation of all political prisoners; elimination of national oppression; guarantee of all rights for oppressed nationalities; elimination of anti-Soviet alliances with Japan and Germany; for a mutual assistance pact (Eastern Pact) with the U.S.S.R.; restitution of social legislation—unemployment relief thru state funds and thru the building of public works and taxation of capitalists and big peasants for this purpose.

"The C.P. of Poland declares that in placing in the forefront the struggle to overthrow the regime of Sanacja, IT STANDS READY TO SUPPORT THE SLOGAN OF A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, i.e., a constitutional assembly elected on the basis of the five-fold electoral sys-

tem (general, equal, direct, secret and proportional) whose task it shall be to realize the above program. The C.P. of Poland, in fighting for a workers and peasants government, for proletarian, soviet democracy as the only genuine democracy for workers, is ready to support the democratic activities of any anti-fascist government which promises to carry out the above program. We are convinced that this platform serves the interests and the will of the broad masses and that this platform can serve as the basis for an agreement between all anti-fascist forces in Poland. We appeal to all workers organizations, to all peasant organizations to take a stand on the proposed platform." (July 1935).

### RECALLING THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

This policy is an almost literal transference of that proposed by the C.P. of France during the recent cabinet crises. France is still a bourgeois republic so that grave as the error of the C.P. may be it is much worse in Poland—a fascist dictatorship which supplanted the bourgeois democratic republic. The C.P. now proposes to replace the fascist dictatorship with a bourgeois parliamentary republic—the constituent assembly. In other words the reestablishment of the bourgeois republic.

How long ago is it that Trotsky proposed the struggle for the reestablishment of the Weimar Republic, as a means of uniting all anti-fascist forces? His proposal was then rejected by the C.P. (as also by us) as rank opportunism. Now the C.P. of Poland returns to precisely this proposal.

### C.P. TO SUPPORT CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Perhaps it will be said that the policy of the Polish Party is an application of Lenin's tactics in 1917. Did not Lenin and the Bolsheviks support the call for the Constituent Assembly in Russia? Do we need to point out that the Constituent Assembly was the slogan of the bourgeois democratic stage of the revolution and that the Bolsheviks pushed forward the slogan of "All Power To The Soviets." Do we need to point out

that in Poland the bourgeois democratic revolution is over and that not the former but the latter slogan applies?

Perhaps some one will ask: is it not possible to reestablish the bourgeois republic in Poland? That possibility exists with all fascist dictatorships. It will depend on whether Social Democracy regains its hold over the proletariat at the time of the break-up of the Fascist regime. If it does bourgeois democracy will result. If on the other hand the Communists were to win the masses then proletarian dictatorship would result. It is therefore the duty of the Communists not to play with such dangerous slogans as Constituent Assembly but at every stage of the struggle to advance the slogan of soviet power and proletarian dictatorship.

### NEW DEFEATS IF OPPORTUNISM CONTINUES

The policy of the Polish Party is in reality nothing but the extension of the reformist policies of bourgeois coalition and the theory of the "lesser evil" which have brought defeat upon the working class of Germany and Austria. These policies, proved bankrupt in Austria and Germany, are all the more dangerous now that they have found their way into the hands of the C.P.

The Communist Parties are committing these errors because they have never really assimilated the lessons of 1923 in Germany. One of the most important lessons to be drawn from 1923 is that the united front is not applicable in the struggle for power, that the united front tactics are applied only in struggles for partial demands or for revolutionary transition slogans and that beyond that the united front leads to opportunism and defeat.

The Polish Party may continue to speak of Soviet Power but it becomes merely a propaganda slogan pure and simple while the slogan of Constituent Assembly becomes the practical slogan for which the masses are being mobilized.

We of the C.P.O. must vigorously fight against this opportunist course which will surely lead to the victory of fascism in France. If transferred to countries where fascism is in power it will either strengthen fascism or play right into the hands of Social Democracy.

the unhappy "third period," after taking a try at a verbal salvage of the unfortunate interpretation of "class against class" by which was meant not proletariat against bourgeoisie but Communist Party against Socialist Party, Pieck declares:

"... the Strassburg Conference resolutions in 1929 for independent leadership 'in spite of and against the reformist unions' was incorrect." (Daily Worker, July 29).

The reader will note uneasily that not Lozovsky whose words are to be found in the single quotes, and not the Executive of the International which gave the union-splitting instructions and expulsion orders to all lands, are held responsible, but the Strassburg Conference is to blame!

"It was correct," continues Pieck, "to oppose the Brandler theory of 'compelling the Bonzes' (misprint for Bonzen, meaning bureaucrats—BDW) but it was incorrect to say that no influence could or should be brought to bear on the bureaucrats."

Of course, Brandler never advocated anything else, but apparently it is incorrect, even counter-revolutionary, if you say "Bonzen" in German but perfectly correct if you translate them into English as "bureaucrats"! Such are the sorry subterfuges with which the Seventh Congress comes around to an acknowledgement six years too late of the correctness of the struggle for Leninist trade union tactics which we took up in 1929 and for which struggle we were expelled!

### STALIN CAN DO NO WRONG!

Not the Executive Committee of the Communist International is at fault for forgetting the ABCs of sound tactics in trade union work and still less could the "great, good, wise" leader be at fault. Pieck puts the blame on those who unquestioningly carried out the line. Says Pieck:

"There was underestimation of the fact which Stalin emphasized in 1925—that the average worker saw his safety in the trade unions be they good or bad."

What miserable double bookkeeping with the party and the proletariat in this sycophantic discovery that Stalin knew what everybody in the International knew in 1925 (and what Stalin forgot and denied from 1928 to 1935)!

Not Stalin is to blame! Those who carried out orders in America are to blame! Pieck explains:

"In the United States for a long time Communists considered the American Federation of Labor as only a strike-breaking organization and saw only Green and such leaders and overlooked the average members."

How many comrades of little faith thought they would never live to see the day when such a statement would again be made from the rostrum of a Congress of the Communist International! Or that the reporter of the ECCI would ever say the following:

"While correctly fighting the mass expulsion policies of the bureaucrats (incorrectly, he should say since splitting tactics helped the bureaucrats in their expulsions—BDW) we still made mistakes in transforming the Red Union Opposition into new unions."

### ANOTHER VINDICATION

On fascism too there is a tardy recognition of the position of the International Communist Opposition. How our German comrades were abused in 1928, '29, '30 and '31 when they warned against vainglorious boasting, against an underestimation of the Hitler menace, against a deliberate abandonment of the united front struggle and against the habit of seeing fascism where it wasn't, in Von Papen, Von Schleicher, Bruening, the Social Democracy!

Now when it is painfully late, costly in its lateness, Pieck declares:

"A great mistake was underestimation of the fascist danger, but on the other hand fascism was seen where it did not exist."

No name was too vile for the German Opposition when it urged a united front of Socialists and Communist Parties and defense organizations in Germany before it should be too late. Now Pieck declares:

"In order to avoid the fascist catastrophe in Germany there was needed a broad united front and the Red Front organization should have formed a united fighting organization with the Reichsbanner." (Socialist Defense Corps—BDW).

Once more, in cowardly, uncommunist fashion, the ECCI puts its blame on other shoulders when Pieck adds:

"The majority of the workers (!!!) did not do this and instead blindly followed the Social Democratic leadership despite the Communists warnings."

Such are the tragic dying echoes of the fatal slogan of "social fascism" and

(Continued on Page 2)



COMINTERN IN DANGER OF DEGENERATION

(Continued from Page 1) "united front from below"!

"EXCEPTIONALISM" NO LONGER A CRIME The Daily Worker of August 3 carries the complete text of a resolution...

Most important is a recognition of the position of "exceptionalism" and our opposition to the mechanical transference of blue print tactics from land to land...

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructed the Executive Committee to proceed in deciding each question from the concrete situation and specific conditions...

It is indeed heartening to see such words as these after six years and more during which these first principles were forgotten...

NEW DANGERS THREATEN! Unfortunately, there is other news from the Seventh World Congress which shows that this is no time to celebrate...

From Democratic Socialism To The Democratic Party

Prince Hamlet, the big daggard-arsenic man from Denmark, has for centuries stood as the prime exponent of hesitation and general all-around flightiness...

Flashlights on the Seventh World Congress of Comintern

generously toward the slogan of "organicism" with Social Democracy. From the rejection of the united front (under the aegis of the "united front from below")...

From its slogan of "class against class," so interpreted that it prevented joint action with other working class parties and the trade unions, it has swung over to the People's Front...

"Non-aggression" leads to non-criticism; non-criticism to sycophyancy; sycophyancy leads to toleration; toleration leads to coalition. Error has its logic as well as truth!

We say to M. Herriot and the Radical leaders, if you will take over the leadership of a radical government which really pursues a radical policy, a policy in line with the demands of the majority of the people...

Slansky of Czechoslovakia to the Seventh Congress, made "amid great applause." It reads: "To maintain the Socialist participation in the government is not an obstacle to the united front provided..."

THE SHADOW OF 1914 I write this article on August 4, exactly 21 years after the fatal day when German, French and other socialist leaders...

SOME ABC'S 1. There is an identity of interest and unity of aim between the proletariat in power (the government) in the U.S.S.R. and the proletariat struggling for power...

When the Soviet Government recognizes the bourgeois government of Italy, Germany, France or enters into a trade pact, or military pact, or whatever, the Italian, French, German proletariat does not therefore "recognize" its government...

The Daily Worker explains Recent issues of the Daily Worker are full of explanations that do not explain, quotations that do not illuminate, apologies that have a fearfully reminiscent ring...

in danger of breaking with revolutionary principles. It is at a railway junction and has thrown the wrong switch. If it does not speedily, decisively reverse its path, it is headed for the gravest crisis in the history of the International...

When the Soviet Government recognizes the bourgeois government of Italy, Germany, France or enters into a trade pact, or military pact, or whatever, the Italian, French, German proletariat does not therefore "recognize" its government...

5. A leopard is still a carnivorous animal even if it is full and has a partially uncontented stomach resting under its paws and "peacefully" licks its chops. There is no difference in principle between satiated imperialisms and aggressive unsated ones...

CONCLUSIONS This is no-time for panic. We must not exaggerate the degree to which the Comintern has gotten off the rails. Its motives are those of unswerving loyalty to the proletariat and that is an asset to be counted on in fighting its incipient blunders...

controlled by the Comité des Forges. It is dangerous to denounce the appetite for colonies and conquests on the part of Germany and to keep silent about the conquests and tyrannies of France in Somaliland, Turkestan, Indo China, etc., and its preparations to hold on, even add to its share.

8. To talk of the differences in governmental structure in France and Germany on the one hand, and Germany on the other, without stressing that they are all, varying degrees of bourgeois dictatorialships, is to pave the way for votes of confidence in such capitalist dictatorialships. Hence the confusion on coalition government...

Heart Of Program 50,000,000 dollars is to be set aside for the National Youth Administration from the work-relief fund to carry out "four purposes": 1. To find employment in private industry for unemployed youth...

Private Programs "A number of industrial firms, and many collective bargaining agreements, have established apprentice plans which are most commendable. Nothing will be done to interfere with this work; on the contrary such plans will be encouraged and assisted by State committees."

Utilize diplomacy as a subordinate aid but don't forget that it is at best a precarious, secondary instrument during peace time, and insignificant in comparison with the only effective force for the defense of the United States: its own proletarian power and the power of the revolutionary workers in France, Germany and all lands. If we subordinate that to diplomacy then the Comintern and the Soviet Union are indeed in danger.

With the advent of the Federal Apprenticeship Act in June 1934, many lucrative avenues were opened for alert industrialists. They can now hire youngsters at rates below the prevailing code minimums, they could retain whatever apprentice racket they had retained from the pre-code days...

HELP WANTED - YOUTH LABOR ONLY

By SAUL HELD

With characteristic political acumen, the White House magician, Roosevelt, pulled another rabbit out of his political bag—the National Youth Administration. On June 27, the press plastered the news throughout the nation. The conservative press hailed the new venture in glowing terms, while here and there some misgivings were voiced...

Analyzing the Program of the National Youth Administration

Youth Under Codes Following the order of June 1934, the Workers Age was the first publication to sound the alarm and forecast the results of the fake apprentice program ("Youth Labor Under the Codes")...

Who determines the program? "A number of trade associations and code authorities are now preparing in cooperation with the Federal Committee detailed training programs which will be recommended to the members of the industry..."

Length of apprentice period. "The apprentice period shall be not less than 1 year." What wages for apprentices? "Apprentices are to be paid a starting wage of not less than 25% of the basic rate for journeymen, as determined by the State Committee upon recommendation of the trade advisory committee of the occupation..."

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Government's Hand Exposed In 1934 the Philco Shoe Company was located in Salem, Mass. Its workers were members of the United Shoe & Leather Workers Union. This condition was very unsatisfactory to the firm, so they went to Bangor, Maine, and with little persuasion induced that town's Educational Committee to appropriate \$30,000 for a "shoe school."

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reduced wage scale. And because a worker has learned a single operation at a machine and is qualified for a \$9-a-week job, the National Youth Administration, with the suggestion that it meets the approval of the United States government. In none of these Mississippi schools about which I have information has there been any other education...

The shoe industry tells an identical story: In October 1934, John Wilshear, G. K. Hamill and Joseph E. Brodinsky investigated the shoe industry of eastern Massachusetts, an area more unionized than any other sector of the industry, and found "That the apprentice clause had been violated by employing more apprentices than is provided in the Boot and Shoe Code..."

What actually did happen is their older workers, but they don't even bother with the disguise of "vocational education" although that can easily be had should the auto czar ever ask for it. Louis Adamic has recently written of the death of "safe" workers in Detroit with more of black anger than the companies starting a mass migration of youngsters from the South, hill-billies, into the Detroit auto factories...

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The Communist movement has from the first moment of its existence conducted a vigorous and justified campaign against International Social Democracy. The basis for this campaign was on the one hand the treacherous position of the majority of the Social Democratic parties at the outbreak of the world war, in refusing to work for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war...

The Stalin-Laval statement and the "Peoples Front" slogan as well as the overtures of Thorez for the formation of a coalition government in France indicate that the C.I. has broken with the traditional and correct Communist policies and is embarking on one, which many respects, at least after a superficial analysis, does not differ fundamentally from the traditional Social Democratic line of action.

Would it be correct on our part to take this position? Is it correct to classify the C.I. as the "old" party of the French and Czechoslovakian reaction, as "social-chauvinism"? In my opinion it is not only incorrect but also confusing and misleading.

The following additional meetings have been arranged: Bronx Unit, Wednesday August 7, 8 P.M. Reporter—B. Herman. Harlem Unit, Thursday, August 8, 8 P.M. Reporter—D. Benjamin. Down Town Unit No. 2, Thursday August 8, 8 P.M. Reporter—G. F. Miles.

Labor Threatened These facts expose the core of the plans of Roosevelt's Youth Administration. It can only mean "freedom" to either youth or adult workers in this plot against labor. The impotency, the cringing nature of the A. F. of L. leadership has in this case, too, been all too clearly revealed. Despite instructions of the last Convention to study the apprenticeship question and bring in recommendations nothing has been done.

Toy Workers Plan New Advances By H. HILL The readers of the Workers Age are well-informed by this time about the shameful and unprincipled block the C.P. made in the last elections of Local 22 in order to defeat the Progressive Administration...

Very truly yours, J. C. WRIGHT, Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education. Thus the buck was passed to the state director, but the indictment against the Bureau is strengthened by this admission of conniving for the sweatshops.

How Detroit Does It In some industries the bunk is dispensed with and youngsters are simply hired without the blessings of "vocational education," although that can easily be had should the auto czar ever ask for it. Louis Adamic has recently written of the death of "safe" workers in Detroit with more of black anger than the companies starting a mass migration of youngsters from the South, hill-billies, into the Detroit auto factories...

The Doll and Toy Workers proved in casting their votes that they were conscious of the fact that the Progressive State was not elected the Union would go to the dogs. Because of this consciousness the Progressive Group was elected three to one.

Now that the elections are over one would think that these big revolutionists would act like Union men by stopping the slanders against the Union—this is not the case. They are still spreading the same lies and slanders against the Administration under the excuse that the election was stolen...

The Union is facing many dangers, manufacturers are attacking the Union, many threaten to move out of town because they do not want to live up to the agreement. At this time no one could give better service to the manufacturer than the Rank & File by attacking the Progressive Administration, and therefore attacking the Union.

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Worked Stabbed By GARVETTE AT MEETING Louis Jordan, Negro worker, member of the Workers Unemployed Union and also of the Communist Party (Opposition) was brutally assaulted and stabbed four times by one of a group of Garvettes...

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BEWARE OF HASTY CONCLUSIONS

In The C.P.O. Pre-Convention Discussion

from the traditional Social Democratic line of action.

While our draft resolution correctly attacks the present false position of the C.I. it falls far short of exposing more sharply differentiating the present false position of the C.I. from the traditional policies of Social Democracy. Why is this differentiation essential? If the C.I. is guilty of abandoning Communist principles, the C.I. is guilty of social-chauvinism...

Would it be correct on our part to take this position? Is it correct to classify the C.I. as the "old" party of the French and Czechoslovakian reaction, as "social-chauvinism"? In my opinion it is not only incorrect but also confusing and misleading.

The following additional meetings have been arranged: Bronx Unit, Wednesday August 7, 8 P.M. Reporter—B. Herman. Harlem Unit, Thursday, August 8, 8 P.M. Reporter—D. Benjamin. Down Town Unit No. 2, Thursday August 8, 8 P.M. Reporter—G. F. Miles.

Much of the opportunism that characterized the early activities of the RPC may be traced to J. B. Matthews. As the Detroit Convention in 1934 he was the chief exponent of the compromising policy of trading principles for party jobs—a course which for a time threatened to make the RPC little more than a tail to the "Militant" caucus.

All this is of recent date. Even more recent is his return to the United States to a pro-C.P. position. He re-affiliated to the American League, noisily resigned from the Socialist Party and spoke at a hurrah meeting of the League at Madison Square Garden.

And now he is the candidate for the nominal leadership of the Democratic Party from Warren County, N. C. Prince Hamlet posed the immortal question, "To be or not to be." But Prince J. B. has answered it for himself pretty definitely. He has decided not to be.

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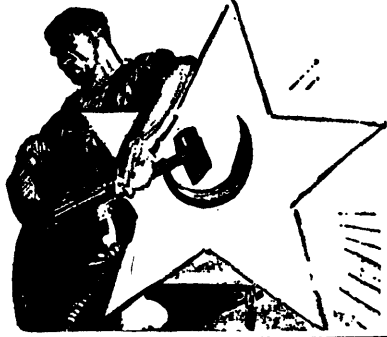
Today —one of the most important factors in world politics is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. What is the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.? What is its history, its background? What are the world forces for war and peace with which it deals? And what are its relations to the international revolutionary movement? Jay Lovestone —has discussed these questions in a series of eight exhaustive articles in the Workers Age. Now they appear as a 32 page pamphlet that is equally invaluable to a student of world politics and to fighters in the world labor movement. It is called SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY and the WORLD REVOLUTION —order it from WORKERS AGE P. O. Box 68, Station O, New York, N. Y.

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# WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee  
Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition)  
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Saturday, August 10, 1935.

## Olgin Takes Class Struggle Out of the United Front

How rapidly the Communist Party, which only yesterday was committed to the most fantastic ultra-leftism, is now sinking in the swamps of the rottenest opportunism, can be seen from the article by M. J. Olgin in the Freiheit of July 25, 1935. One need not be a prophet to foretell that this article will probably constitute an important landmark in the history of the opportunist degeneration of the C.P. now under way. In order, therefore, that its significance should not be missed, we want to call particular attention to some of its leading ideas.

It is well known that Olgin is now engaged in administering a stern rebuke to the "hot-headed young left wingers" whose training in the Madison Square Garden school led them to create a disturbance at the recent Jewish conference at the Pennsylvania Hotel. The article referred to is intended to serve as the theoretical foundation for the rebuke and it is therefore entitled: "The United Front—What It Is and What It Is Not." We are not concerned so much with the glib superficialities that in Olgin's writing always take the place of thought; we are concerned primarily with the very startling conception of the united front that emerges from this article.

The united front, Olgin assures us very learnedly, is not a "party"; it is not a "block"; it is not even a "political alliance." "The united front," he finally concludes, "is the coming together of various social groups in order to carry out a certain action at a certain time." Note carefully: "a coming together of various social groups. . . ." For Olgin, classes have already ceased to exist and class distinctions are of no account. His "united front" is composed simply of "social groups"—a term that covers anything and everything, patriotic societies, trade unions, churches, political parties, chambers of commerce and who knows what else! What has this in common with the united front in the Leninist sense? What has this in common with the conception of the united front as a united labor front, as a "coming together" of workers' organizations of various viewpoints for a common purpose? Olgin's formulation is not the result of more ignorance nor is it due to the confusion of the united front with alliances of the proletariat and non-proletarian sections of the toiling masses. No! It is deliberate repudiation of the class base of the united front in the interests of the opportunist adventurism of the "people's front!"

Olgin proceeds along the same line of argument:

"In the united front, it is not a question of parties. One can be a Republican, or a Democrat or a Socialist or a Communist—but if he is ready for a certain social action . . . he can be a partner in the united front."

Here we have the old ultra-leftist "united front from below" resurrected for the sake of bolstering up the opportunist "people's front!" Isn't it about time for Olgin to find out that a united front is not made up of individuals but of organizations, that only organizations can be "partners" in a united front? And, in any united front that is to serve the class interests of labor, organizations of an officially capitalist character, Republican and Democratic organizations, in particular, have no place! What is Olgin planning—a "people's front" in this country to include Republican and Democratic clubs, Representative Marcantonio, General Smedley Butler and "Father" Devine?

But Olgin does not keep on guessing. He blurts it right out:

"Let us imagine that Herbert Hoover would want to join the united front of protest against Nazi terror. Let us imagine that, in the united front, there would also be war veterans who would remember how Hoover ordered the bonus marchers to be shot. If the veterans should utilize the united front conference to demonstrate against Hoover for his brutal action against the bonus veterans, how would they look? They would be disrupters."

This is nothing short of monstrous. Our "Communist" strategist is already at the point where he can well imagine Herbert Hoover in his "united front!" He is already scolding the veterans for booing Hoover at such a united front meeting! What a miserable farce! Any united front in which Herbert Hoover, the representative of the most vicious enemies of the working class in this country, could participate, would be no place for any labor organization or for any decent, forward-looking man or woman, for that matter! This Olgin has the audacity to prate about "class collaboration" in the unions at the same time that he brazenly blesses the grossest form of class collaboration conceivable! Imagine a person of this type lecturing the veterans as "disrupters" for very properly demonstrating against Hoover on each and every occasion possible!

This is what the Communist Party has come to, in the words of the editor of its most influential paper, the Freiheit.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F MILES  
FAIRY TALES FOR INFANTILE COMMUNISTS

It was to have been expected that the Seventh Comintern Congress would be forced to take note of the gradual and piecemeal change which its own trade union line has undergone during the last period of time but we confess that the cynical and sycophantic manner in which this was done amazes even us who should by this time be pretty well hardened to the wiles of Comintern diplomacy.

Is there, anywhere in the Comintern, a Pioneer so naive as to believe that the break with the historical Leninist approach to the trade unions came about in 1929 without the knowledge of Stalin? Apparently Pieck would have us think so for he maintains just that in his speech at the Congress. For a period of six years, we are told, the Parties of the Comintern cheerfully continued to smash the reformist unions, painfully constructed model, brand new, revolutionary unions and ruefully watched these same unions disappear almost as fast as they were built.

All this time, mind you, Stalin was opposed to these goings-on but being very tender in his relations to his comrades in other parties he did not have the heart to call them to order for having forgotten the excellent advice which he supposedly gave them in 1925. This is of course in line with the very comradely treatment which Stalin is known to have meted out to all comrades in the Russian and other parties who disagreed with him from time to time. Such at least is the fairy tale for infantile communists which Wilhelm Pieck would have us believe. Here it is:

"There were cases of brilliant organizational work but there was underestimation of the fact which Stalin emphasized in 1925—that the average worker saw his safety in the Trade Unions, be they good or bad; in the United States for a long time Communists considered the American Federation of Labor as only a strike-breaking organization and saw only Green and such leaders and overlooked the average member." (Daily Worker, Monday, July 29, 1935).

Stalin, you see, was right all the time. It was only a few Communists here and there who made these mistakes. How Lozovsky must have smiled in his beard while this was being said!

### SOME C. P. GUTTER POLITICS

From day to day the Communist Party continues, to the amazement of all, to reach and surpass its stupidities of yesterday. In the recent election in the Doll and Toy Union in New York the C.P. people allied themselves with a group of disgruntled individuals who attempted to make of the union a racket for themselves and issued election material of such scandalous character as to challenge belief.

These great revolutionists did not hesitate to use the cry of Communists in their appeal to the Catholic workers in the union. Speaking of the leading members in the progressive administration this document says: "These five are members of the Lovestone Group 'Communist Party', so you see this progressive group is under the directions of Communist leaders. . . ."

If this be not enough they go on to make the most slanderous charges against one of the most active officials in the union. These sterling Communists proceed to say about him: "Also, we do not want to disclose or mention what kind of relation he had with the boys that were working with him, one thing we are sure, that he is not a normal man."

We could go on with other equally edifying excerpts were it not for our reverence against the slanders of these degenerate illiterates posing as Communists.

### SPLITTERS BID FOR POWER

Within the next several weeks the fur workers will be called upon to vote for officers. In the course of the last several weeks it has already become clear that Gold and his clique have learned very little. They have begun a campaign of extermination against all in the union who refuse to bend the knee to the will of King Gold. The old methods of "buying and selling" are being resorted to in the hectic drive of Gold to return to power.

It is up to the workers to put the disrupters like Gold in their proper place where they can no longer sow division and dissension.

MAERXISM, A Symposium by John MacMurray, John Middleton Murry, N. A. Holdaway, and G. D. H. Cole. Wiley. 245pp., \$2.00.

John Middleton Murry sets the tone for this symposium by contributing an introduction on "Marxism in General" and more than a third of the total work. This is unfortunate for his associates, especially for Professor MacMurray, since John Middleton Murry is a bit daft and his official omnipresence in the book causes an unmerited reflection on the company he keeps. Cole's revisionism is more subtle and restrained than usual, N. A. Holdaway offers what in the main is intended as an orthodox Marxian presentation of economics, and Professor MacMurray has contributed a really good article on materialism, but over the whole work hovers the puckish spirit of John Middleton Murry and his cretin opportunism dressed up in the giant's clothes of revolutionary Marxism.

Murry devotes his efforts to an attempt to demonstrate that Marxism is "true Christianity"; that price to the Marxist "is an illusion"; that Marxism in England will not be a working-class doctrine but a classless one to win the "elite of all classes," but probably never the labor movement or the unconscious masses; that "to be successful in this country a Marxian socialist movement will have to be, substantially, a movement of converted bourgeois"; that the Trade Unions are "bound to become increasingly conservative or bourgeois"; that Britain has nothing to learn from the Soviet Union because it already possesses modern industry; that "Marxism" in England requires a "gradual and democratic evolution into State-Capitalism" with the hope that it may eventually evolve into Socialism without the master class realizing it and using force against it!

Cole, like Murry, is obsessed by the importance of the middle-class in England and insists that "Marxism" must reject "Russian Communism" in England since Communism is predicated on "a

## Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

working class with nothing to lose but its chains." But as he is far less illiterate than Murry, Cole's contribution almost sounds Marxist by contrast.

Holdaway's chapters on the "Economic Basis of Marxism" obviously intend to present Marxian economics, but they suffer from too much a priori "demonstration" of economic phenomena because dialectics "requires" them to be so, are one-sided and inadequate, over-complicate certain simple things and over-simplify certain complicated ones. As a whole they would explain very little to one not understanding Marxian economics in advance, and would rather tend to instill doubt and confusion than understanding and conviction.

On the other hand, Professor John MacMurray's section on "Philosophical Presuppositions" is an excellent presentation of some of the implications of the dialectic materialist conception of the unity of thought and action, of theory and practice. It gives a brief and brilliant critique of idealism from the standpoint of its function as an unconscious maker or mismeaker of history and brake on social change; an original presentation from the same standpoint, of some of the defects of mechanism and pragmatism; a clarification of the Marxist use of the term ideology and of the social functions of ideologies. It is weak and trivial on the score of dialectics, but despite certain errors of formulation, strong and even original in its presentation and clarification of the points enumerated above. This section is well worth reading. It is unquestionably the best academic presentation of Marxist philosophy so far made in the Anglo-American world. It is unfortunately likely to be misjudged as a result of the "company it keeps." Even if that be company of Professor MacMurray's choosing and indicative of where he stands politically, this essay is worthy of a better fate. We hope that Wiley, or the English co-publisher, will arrange to reprint it as a separate pamphlet.

## Navy Threatens Intervention In Camden Shipyard Strike

The strikebreaking role of the government is nowhere so clearly exposed as in the strike of the shipworkers in the Camden yard. There where the Navy Department has placed an order for 7 warships, the workers have struck for a living wage.

The Navy Department, the government officially, has begun negotiations with the company to attempt to settle the strike. In plain words this means that the armed forces of the government may be called into play. This would not be a mere repetition of the calling out of the National Guard in recent strikes. In those situations the government posed as a defender of law and order, an impartial arbiter. Here the Navy is the government, the customer, the armed force, and the open strikebreaker. If this precedent is set, the War Department could insist on smashing a strike in the auto industry on the grounds that the delivery of army trucks was being held up.

The government, in its march towards super-militarization, is out to smash not merely anti-war sentiment, but the real basis of an anti-war struggle—the organized workers at the key points of war industry. No method will be left untried. Henry Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, said that so far there had been no requests for an investigation to determine whether "Reds" were behind the strike. "But," he said, "if the situation grows critical, the Navy will make such an investigation."

The attitude of a decisive group was clearly expressed by Rep. Fenerty of Pennsylvania, who said: "The Cramps shipyard has been too long ignored . . . there are no labor conditions at the yard of a kind to halt the progress of the construction."

No conditions for the workers, no union to fight for and hold conditions—this determines the government's labor policy. The military program of imperialist America not only in the long run spells disaster for the American workers, but in its immediate implications is a threat to unionism. Here is plainly written the opposition between the interests of the capitalist government and the workers.

One force can—if it will try its strength—stop this. The A. F. of L.

must raise its voice in vigorous protest at this most dangerous and reactionary step of the New Deal capitalists against the trade union movement.

## Seventh C.I. Congress

(Continued from Page 2)

Lines are changed, made wrong, corrected, made wrong in new directions, from above, mechanically, without consultation. Mechanical transference is condemned at last in words, but persists in deeds, transference from Soviet diplomacy to French revolutionary struggle, from France to all lands. Even if there were no new errors, there could be no health till that regime were altered.

But today there are new errors, errors involving fundamentals, not tactics, errors which if persisted in, systematized and carried out in action, will provoke the gravest crisis the working class has known since August 4, 1914.

Now it is the duty of every loyal Communist to take up the fight to prevent this danger. It overshadows all others. This struggle against the danger of opportunist and chauvinist degeneration should not take as long as the not yet completed six year struggle against sectarianism. It is easier to convince revolutionaries, and the loyalites are revolutionaries, on basic principles than on problems of strategy and tactics. It dare not last so long. But it must be much more intense. Time presses. History cries aloud for a sound stand on these questions. Every day's delay is dangerous. Tomorrow, the day after, there will, there must be unity on revolutionary principles, on healthy organization, on sound tactics. But today, now, every revolutionist, every loyal Communist must rally to the Communist Opposition for an uncompromising, irreconcilable, hard-hitting struggle against the poison of opportunism before it gets absorbed into the system of the International and destroys it as the organism of revolutionary struggle. That is the task set by the Seventh Congress deliberations as so far recorded. That is the road, the only road, to Communist unity and victory.

## WORKERS AGE SUMMER DRIVE ALMOST ENDS - ONE WEEK TO GO

August 1 finds the \$1500 summer sustaining fund uncompleted but within easy reach. The campaign committee has therefore decided to give our comrades in New York and out of town one more week in which to cash in on their pledges. We are certain that the approximately \$300 still to be raised can be secured within one week if our campaign committees in the various units get busy now. The same applies to work on collection lists. We are glad to see that a large number of workers in various trade unions have made contributions on collection lists. We believe that this field for funds to assure the uninterrupted appearance of Workers Age during the summer, has not yet been exhausted.

We urge all comrades and friends to speed the work and end the drive within a week.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED (As of August 1, 1935)	
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P. J.	5.00
Ray Michaels	5.00
S. Kass	5.00
George Weiss	1.00
Joe Farber	2.00
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H. Linn	5.00
L. J.	1.00
Joe Austin	1.00
A. R.	10.00

Anonymous (thru Ellen Ward)	10.00
Ellen Ward	5.00
Bert Wolfe	5.00
Sympathiser (List No. 142)	5.00
Dressmaker	1.50
Collection list (Frieda Zweibaum)	2.50
Pearl Halpern	5.00
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Schleiffer on List No. 103	1.00
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S. Senensky	5.00
Mary Lawrence	3.75
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Eva Schlachter on list 114	3.00
Jack Roberts	5.00
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Beatrice Evans	3.00
A. H. E.	10.00
M. Skoplyanac	5.00
F. and N. Vrataich.	5.00

GRAND TOTAL ..... \$1,230.45  
STILL TO GO ..... \$ 269.55

### AT FIRST GLANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

ment, which is so bankrupt, look into the proposition of taxing the Trinity Church and all other religious institutions in order to get more money for meeting the mounting relief bills and in order to end the pestiferous sales tax. We are not optimistic about the fate awaiting our suggestion.

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