

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE Roosevelt administration seems to have it all over the Hoover outfit when it comes to lending a false color to the economic picture thru manipulation of statistics. Take the case of the Securities and Exchange Commission which has just reported a total of 665 million dollars new securities issued in the first six months of this year. This is officially hailed as the "breaking of the financial log jam," as the long hoped for resumption of new capital investments in this country.

An examination of the facts and figures reveals a different trend and picture. Only \$22 million of this sum went for actual plant investment. This is but 4.1% of the total proceeds of the six months financing this year in comparison with 7.3% in the corresponding period of last year. Certainly we do not have here any indication that capitalists are now expanding their old factories or putting up new ones. There is an entirely different reason for the current high volume of financing. Big corporations are now taking advantage of the prevailing low interest rates (due to the huge pile of unused and unusable capital) to replace their callable and maturing high coupon securities with lower ones.

Here we have more evidence of stagnation rather than revival of confidence or resumption of widespread investing. In fact, 73% of the six months of heavy financing went into refunding operations. Organization expenses alone absorbed \$29 million—a sum exceeding plant investments by more than a third. But obviously it is impossible to teach our "experts" that low interest rate themselves are not necessarily a sign of economic revival. Often they reflect the very opposite. In the present stage of American capitalist development "easy money" is a sign of hard times for the great mass of the people, of fundamental economic stagnation and extensive unemployment.

ANY socio-economic system is in decay when its virtues of yesterday, of its first and best days, become its defects and vices of today. An analysis of capitalism discloses this to be its present condition. But yesterday, productivity was the great historical contribution of capitalism; today, this has become its worst curse. In its pristine days capitalism boasted of the virtue of "free labor," of the laborer having a right to choose his own hirer. In reality, this "freedom" began to vanish as capitalism speeded up its development of corporations, trusts and cartels.

In the U. S. this fiction of "free labor" has been disappearing with particular rapidity in recent months. Acutely glaring evidence of the disappearance of "free labor" in the U. S. was offered the other day when certain government authorities arbitrarily took men off the relief rolls in order to force them to accept jobs as harvest hands at wage rates determined by wealthy farmers. This is the real meaning of the ultimatum "no work, no food" handed down by certain relief officials in South Dakota and elsewhere. Such orders naturally can never be handed down against the sons of bankers. The latter are among those who are always free from the necessity of laboring.

WE reckon it was but a couple of fortnights ago when that unvenerated organ of reformist socialism, the New Leader, hailed the Scandinavian countries as a "Red peninsula"—a la "red Vienna" of old. Norway, Sweden and Denmark now have "Socialist" governments of a sort—of the same sort as Germany and Austria once had, or as Bridgeport and Milwaukee now have.

What such "socialism" really means was further made plain a few days ago when more than fifty thousand peasants marched on the King's palace ("Comrade" King Christian X) to demand farm relief. The Social-Democratic Premier Stauning hastened to quiet these toiling folks with promises that his cabinet will soon consider their plight. We are tempted to ask what's it all about? We were told, time and again, that in the Scandinavian countries there was no economic crisis. And mouthpieces of reform socialism thruout the world repeatedly proclaimed that, thanks to Social-Democratic administrations, these Scandinavian kingdoms did not know what an economic depression was while the rest of the world was in the depths of economic crisis.

Due to a number of historical factors, (Continued on Page 3)

Mass. Labor For Vertical Unionism

Labor Party Defeated—Green Promises Fight for New Recovery Act

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—The 50th convention of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor came to an end here with the adoption of only one resolution which might be considered as progressive. That is the resolution on vertical or industrial unionism. After a four hour discussion a favorable decision was secured after a roll call vote was resorted to.

A number of other resolutions of a progressive nature fared but poorly. A resolution calling for non-support of any unemployment insurance scheme which calls for payments by workers was voted down. An interesting discussion took place over a resolution for a Labor Party. One delegate arose to charge that the Labor Party was the creature of the Republican Party in an effort to destroy the Democratic Party. On the other hand the argument was used that the Labor Party is a part of a Communist conspiracy to capture the labor movement. In the face of such brilliant analysis the resolution went down to defeat.

A telegram from William Green informed the delegates that it was still the hope of the A. F. of L. "to secure enactment of a new national recovery act." He also called upon the State Convention to endorse the Black-Connerly 30-hour measure and the Guffey Coal Bill. The State Convention endorsed all of Green's proposals.

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

NAZI NEO-PAGANISM WARS ON CHRISTIANITY

The entire world has been paying close attention to the dispute raging between the Nazi government on the one hand and the Catholic Church and the opposition in the Protestant Church on the other. Communists and Social-Democrats outside of Germany have adopted views on this question which are not altogether tenable. Social-Democracy has created the impression that Socialism is identical with "true" Christianity. The Communist Party has recently issued a statement announcing that church members would be admitted into the Party provided they participate in the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship. This, of course, is shooting beyond the mark. Marxism is based on dialectical materialism. Marxists, therefore, need make no concessions whatsoever to religious idealism in order to wage an effective struggle against fascism. The fundamental principles of a correct Marxist position on this problem were worked out theoretically and applied in practice by Social-Democracy, under the leadership of Bebel, during the "Kulturkampf" waged

FURRIERS INSTALL NEW LEADERSHIP

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The newly elected administration of the International Fur Workers Union was installed on August 15 and the work of the organization is about to begin. Judging by the intolerant boozing, whistling and jeering which punctuated the speeches of the Progressive Business Agent Baraz it becomes clear that the C.P. supporters of Ben Gold have in no way changed their methods of work since reaffiliation with the A. F. of L. All that was lacking was the spitting committees which plagued the fur market for years.

Among the furriers the discussions still revolve around the surprise victory of the Progressives. The Jewish Day expresses this sentiment when it says:

"The most surprising event of the elections, was the victory of the Lovestoneites, around whom the whole campaign centered, who elected 5 Joint Council members, and the Sechter Group which also elected one of its members (Antonov) to the Joint Council.

"The Lovestoneites have therefore 6 representatives in the present Administration and their leader Baraz as a Business Agent."

The Progressives must consider their election as a vote of confidence by the furriers in their policies of constructive militant unionism. These policies they must continue to defend with as much vigor as ever they did before.

LABOR LEADERS THROTTLE WPA STRIKE

Dep't of Commerce Lies In Wealth Distribution Figures

Labor's Share Has Declined—Government Gets Larger Figure By Including Salaries of High-Priced Executives—Green Says Figures Lie

A short lesson in how to deal with the non-essentials of economics was given by the Bureau of Economic Research of the Dep't of Commerce, when it announced that labor's share of the national income had increased to 67.5% from 65% in 1929.

There are three points that the Bureau, thru its chief, Robert Nathan, "overlooks." First, is the glaringly obvious fact that, while labor's share has increased 2.5% (according to his figures), the share is of an income (money paid out) which has decreased 37% from 1929. Thus, labor's income in dollars was 51,088 millions in 1929, and 33,109 millions in 1934. Thus, measured even in dollars, it has absolutely decreased. The table prepared by the Bureau subsumes everything not in paycheck form as non-labor income, and thus can include the salaries of executives, etc. in the category of "labor income." Actual wages, the earnings of the working class, decreased from \$17,197 millions in 1929 to \$8,944 millions in 1935, a decrease of 50%.

Secondly, according to the Bureau of

Internal Revenue, there was a tremendous shift in the categories of incomes and sections of the population in 1934. There, it was announced, while 26 new millionaires had been created, millions had been shifted to a lower wage level, especially those who already were below the 25 thousand dollar level. So that the increase of 2.5% in labor's share completely ignores the fact that good-sized sections of the population have been pushed under the heading of "labor income." And, altho this amount is as yet uncalculated, it is probable that it may amount to 5 or 10% of the population, hardly to be compensated for by a 2.5% increase in their share of the national income.

Thirdly, Mr. Nathan thinks as follows: "Indices of prices shed considerable light on the effect of price movements on fluctuations of national income, but they are not sufficiently representative to warrant their use in deflating income figures in order to determine the drop in real income. . . . The substantially greater decline of income payments as

(Continued on Page 4)

Try To Choke Off Spreading Of Strike — Unions Are Protesting FD's Order

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Apparently under severe pressure from Washington the leaders in the WPA strike are doing everything possible to extinguish the flames of revolt against the starvation scales on the relief projects. At the same time, as if in concert, the capitalist press has not only moved the strike off the front pages but has even stopped reporting on it altogether. Under such circumstances the much talked of extension of the strike threatened by Meany and other leaders of the A. F. of L. was just empty talk, nothing whatever having been done to realize this threat.

LA GUARDIA AGREES

The threat of Roosevelt that those who strike will starve has met the tacit approval of Mayor La Guardia. Despite rumors to the contrary the Mayor made it quite clear in the press that the President's advice would be followed here in the administration of home relief. Bitter resentment against this order has come even from the staff of the Home Relief Bureau workers.

At a recent meeting of one of the locals of the Home Relief Bureau Administration a motion to send telegrams of protest to President Roosevelt, Mayor La Guardia and Charlotte Carr (Director of Home Relief) against the discriminatory attitude to the WPA strikers, was unanimously carried. However, neither the Western Union nor the Postal Telegraph would accept these messages for transmission.

UNIONS PROTEST

A number of trade unions have protested against the strike-breaking role of Roosevelt and La Guardia. Under the signatures of Louis Nelson, Manager and Harry Spindel, President, the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers sent the following resolution to the Mayor:

"The attempt of the Federal Government to break down the prevailing wage rates by instituting the system of so-called 'security wage' has been vigorously protested by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions.

"The present strike of WPA workers is a fight to maintain an hourly wage that has been established after years of endeavor. Your reported policy of discriminating against these strikers by refusing them relief is nothing more than a weapon to break this just strike. This policy places you on the side of those who are using all means to reduce the standards of living of the American workers.

"The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union speaks for its ten thousand members in protesting this discriminatory policy and demands that the WPA strikers who are in need be granted relief."

5,000 IN PROTEST AGAINST JOHNSON

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The strike-breaking and starvation program of the National Administration and its local administrator Hugh Johnson, was roundly condemned by all speakers at a demonstration of unemployed workers in Union Square on Saturday, August 17.

After a mass meeting in the Square attended by over 5,000 workers the crowd organized itself in marching array and proceeded to the offices of Hugh Johnson where the demands of the unemployed and WPA workers were to be placed by a delegation consisting of M. Gross, Noah Walters, Fried, Lapham, David Lasser, J. Marsky and L. Bright. However neither Johnson nor his assistant were there to receive the delegation.

Speakers at the demonstration included Lasser, Persky of the Bricklayers, B. Baron of the Suit Case Makers, Lapham of the Electrical Workers and Bright of the Bookkeepers.

The demonstration had been supported by a number of organizations of the American Federation of Labor. Organizations like Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. went to the extent of issuing special leaflets to the workers in their local calling upon them to support the demonstration in Union Square.

against the Catholic Church by Bismarck.

NO CONCESSIONS TO RELIGION

Bebel never made a secret of the fact that he himself was a materialist and an atheist and that the world outlook (Weltanschauung) of Social-Democracy was the same. Bebel was a vigorous and consistent fighter against religion in any form. His numerous popular writings and speeches prove as much. At the same time, Social Democracy under Bebel's leadership vigorously opposed any attempt on the part of the state to intervene in matters of religion and the inner life of the church. It is entirely sufficient to follow the same policy today. Marxists must be for religious freedom and against the intervention of the fascist state in the inner life of the church. To make concessions to religion as such cannot but have harmful consequences.

This is especially significant since the question revolves not only around the fighting Christian churches but also around so-called neo-paganism, an anti-Christian religious movement led by the Leipzig Professor Hauer and officially protected by the leaders of the National Socialist Party. Opponents of fascism have either completely ignored this movement or else simply ridiculed it. It is true that this movement—ideologically a mixture of vulgar pantheism, National Socialist race theory and old Germanic nonsense—invites and justifies ridicule. But Marxists cannot confine their opposition to such a superficial attitude.

ROLE OF "NEO-PAGANISM"

"Neo-paganism" plays a very definite role in the arsenal of National Socialism. It is above all the youth and members of the SA and SS, armed sections of the Nazi Party, to whom this movement appeals. It received special impetus after the Bartholomew night of June 30th, after the smashing and disarming of the SA, which has lost its political and military importance. Even the SS has lost its significance. The Nazis realized, however, that it was not sufficient simply to smash the SA and to do away with the "Second Revolution." It became necessary to provide the Nazi youth with some field of activity which would utilize their revolutionary instincts for the benefit of the fascist state and the ruling classes. The "Second Revolution" was replaced by "revolutionary activity" on the religious field. An attempt was made to satisfy the healthy anti-religious instinct of the petty bourgeoisie and proletarian youth thru neo-paganism. The Nazis thus transferred their economic and political tactics to religion. In place of true Socialism the Nazis introduced the bogus "German" (national) socialism; in place of national unity achieved thru a classless society the fascists put thru a Peoples Community based on increased exploitation by the capitalist class. In the same manner, they have tried to mislead a section of the youth thru neo-paganism, a sort of substitute-atheism.

However, these substitutes are developing their own logic. Fundamentally, all these attempts of the Nazis at falsification (Continued on Page 3)

Knitgoods Progressives Win Poll

A complete victory for the progressives, the supporters of the administration was the result of the voting held Thursday, August 15th, at the local membership meetings of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union to elect an election and objections committee to supervise the coming Union elections. In the locals where progressives were nominated, the complete slate was elected by overwhelming majorities.

Opposed to the supporters of the progressive administration, was the slate supported by the so-called "Rank and File." Their complete bankruptcy was proven by the manner in which they conducted their campaign for the election and objections committee. So completely discredited are their policies and tactics that they were compelled to invoke the subterfuge of supporting an "impartial" slate. They did not dare appeal to the membership for direct support. The

final vote proved the contempt of the workers for this unprincipled trickery.

The large number of workers that turned out is significant of their interest in the elections and the voting proved their determination to give full support to the present progressive administration. The many workers that responded to the call to choose an election and objections committee is an endorsement of the progressive policy of involving the mass of the membership in union activity and to educate the workers to an understanding of the issues confronting the knitgoods workers.

In a very short time the elections for Manager, Business Agents and Executive Boards will take place. On the basis of the results of the August 15th, voting there seems to be little question that the progressive forces of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union will score a decisive victory.

Build the Weekly "Workers Age"

OPPORTUNISM OF THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS

Its Significance For The International Revolutionary Movement

The following article, reprinted from *Gegen Den Stroom*, the official underground organ of the Communist Party of America (Opposition), brilliantly analyzes the present scope of opportunism in the French Communist Party as the forerunner of the same tentacles recently interlarded by the Soviet Congress of the Communist International.

The detailed treatment of the basis, characteristics and dangerous consequences of this opportunism in France will help materially in an understanding of the present Communist course as charted by the Seventh Congress. The length of the article makes necessary its publication in several installments. It is our opinion that for the few days of deep confusion in the revolutionary movement, clarity is far more important than brevity.

I. SIGNIFICANCE OF TACTICS OF FRENCH C.P.
Prior to the victory of fascism in Germany in January 1933, the tactical course pursued by the Communist Party of Germany was held up as a model and determined the course of the Communist sections outside the Soviet Union. The CPG was second only to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. What was the basis for the esteem in which the CPG was held? First of all, the CPG was numerically the strongest as well as the best organized Party outside the Soviet Union. Secondly, the class struggle assumed its sharpest form in Germany and consequently a decisive revolutionary struggle seemed to be on the order of the day. It did not only seem so, for such was actually the case. For years Germany had been facing the problem: either victory of the fascist counter-revolution or of the proletarian revolution, swastika or Soviet star.

II. BASIC QUESTIONS
Before the victory of fascism Social-Democracy exerted greater influence on organizations than did the Communist Parties in both Germany and Austria. The victory of fascism in Germany and Austria pronounced the historical doom of reformism in its German and Austrian variety, while, at the same time, it permitted the Communist Parties to issue revolutionary transition slogans. We do not maintain that the CP would have won if it had pursued a correct tactical course but we do maintain that without such a course it could not win.

NEW PROBLEMS AND TASKS
What are the special problems and tasks that faced the German workers and the CP before the victory of fascism and are again facing France and other countries today?
The special task facing the working class is the initiation of the struggle for proletarian dictatorship under a bourgeois democracy. "Bourgeois democracy" does not rest on a firm basis, it changes in and during the struggle. It must be undermined step by step. No working class has ever solved this problem. Not even the Russian, because the problem never existed there. The Kerensky regime, which was characterized by Lenin until July 1917 as the most liberal bourgeois regime, transformed itself by

the necessities of war where it can. But along with guns from Germany it is not necessary to import the Hitler cult or the Nazi ideology; along with munitions from Japan, it is not necessary to import the evangel of Japan as the liberator of the darker races. Yet that is exactly what is happening in the present. The newspaper reports, Hitler's picture is being hawked about everywhere on the streets in the Ethiopian capital and is being displayed only second in prominence to that of the Emperor Hirohito. Japan is being hailed by the patriotic societies under the control of the priesthood as the inspiration and brother-in-arms of the Ethiopian people. Under the influence of Japanese demagoguery and racial prejudices, the struggle against Italian imperialism is being preached as a racial war against the whites. It is necessary for the Ethiopians to realize that their natural ally is not the murder regime in Berlin or the militarist clique in Tokyo, neither of which has any interest except to utilize the situation for its own imperialistic aims. The natural ally of the Ethiopian people is to be found among the masses of the workers, farmers and progressive elements generally throughout the world. In this direction must the Ethiopian people look and in this quarter as well as elsewhere indicate, they will find a ready response!

EXPLANATION vs. JUSTIFICATION
The CP can easily explain the position of the One but it cannot be justified. As soon as the CP left the field of abstract propaganda for Communism in order to tackle concrete political problems, without a correct application of the united front it was unable to go beyond bourgeois democracy. The bourgeois democratic traditions of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie are much stronger in France than they were in Germany under the Weimar Republic because, for one thing, these rights were really revolutionary struggles during nearly 80 years (1789-1871) and because the economic crisis has not been as severe in France as it is in Germany. Nevertheless, there is no doubt but that the bur-

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IN THE C.P.O. PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

Defeating Mussolini By Prayer

By JAMES A. MACARTHUR
The CP having failed utterly during the past years to involve non-Communist workers and organizations in its united front activities, is now working over-time to end the isolation resulting from the past united-front-from-below line. But from ultra-leftism the CP has somersaulted to ultra-opportunism—so that the present line can be described as a chancy combination of right-opportunist deviations resulting from the still remaining sectarian approach. A recent CP controlled Baltimore Conference of the Defense of Ethiopia as a clear example of the present line, in a snap-shot form.

ULTRA-LEFTISM PERSISTIS
In the main, the line of the CP was the old ultra-left one—the only line which naturally given them no conception of an can apply. For example, despite the fact that the representation (considering the narrowness of the issue) was obviously narrow—the CP forces being a numerical majority, with the People's Unemployment League and the CPO the only other organizations represented—the Conference rejected a CPO motion that it consider itself a preliminary conference, a provisional committee, and constructively take up the question of arranging a broad conference. Instead, the program the CP has previously worked out was adopted, officers were elected, etc.—and the CP expressed the opinion that a broad united front had been established. (In which opinion they were probably sincere, since the past sectarian line has naturally given them no conception of what a broad united front is like.)

Another example of the "old" line was the decision of the Conference to call a demonstration against war on August 17th—the same day that the People's Unemployment League had announced such a day for an unemployed demonstration. The CPO delegates made an amendment that the demonstration be at least one week later, since the forces of the P.U.L. (which could bring more organized workers than the rest of the Conference put together) in preparing the Ethiopian demonstration; that dual demonstrations meant a division of demonstrators, and so on. But the CP, still affected in practice by the old line of

FRANCE BECOMES PROBING GROUND
With the victory of fascism, Germany lost its leading role in determining tactics. After February 6, 1934, especially after the anti-fascist united front pact between the CP and the SP of France in July 1934, this role fell to France.

This fact is irrefutable and, incidentally, disproves the official reasons which state that the tactics applied in Germany prior to January 1933 were "absolutely correct."

The CP is numerically the strongest Party and wields the greatest Communist influence in Central and Western Europe. This has not been taken into account for the fact that the tactics of the CP have become the international model. The real reason for this is the problem of preventing the victory of

regarding the P.U.L. as "an enemy organization," etc., defeated the CPO amendment—attacking the CPO delegates as disrupters, an opposition to Communism, and so forth.

An hour after the CPO amendment was defeated the 70 representatives of the 30-odd unemployed locals that compose the central body of the P.U.L. received a report from the P.U.L. delegates to the Conference. The report stated that the Conference had selected the 17th as a demonstration day, the P.U.L. (the largest labor organization in the Conference) withdrew from the conference in outraged indignation. The conference was well as Communism was discredited, the anti-war movement in Baltimore was disrupted—but not by the CPO amendment. Incidentally, the CPO conducted the campaign to have the demonstration date changed, so that the CP, at the next meeting of the Conference, adopted the original CPO amendment.

NOSE-DIVING INTO OPPORTUNISM
The above three examples indicate that the main line of the CP is still the old sectarian one of completely controlling united fronts instead of striving to make them so broad that the forces of an advanced political party are a small minority. Instead of a united front of various labor organizations, the CP still works to establish "united fronts" that are in practice another name for the CP, operating behind the fig-leaf of one or two non-Communist individuals. But not content with these three leftist errors, the CP has now announced its present turn, did a nose-dive into the swamp of opportunism.

REVOLUTION BY PRAYER
The CP strategy was that the main base of the Ethiopian anti-war struggle

should be the churches, instead of the labor movement, from which the past line has isolated them. Consequently, at the Conference the CP sponsored a motion that the Ethiopian Defense Committee call upon the masses of workers to go to church on August 18th to pray for the defense of Ethiopia!

Prayer a form of "protest" that Communists advocate? Patterson had professed it. It seems that some issue of the Daily Worker, when the Italian masses were protesting war by going to church and praying! Can any member of the CPO want better proof?

This motion could have been understood by the CPO delegates had it been sponsored by a large number of sky-pilots, anxious to capitalize upon the resentment of the Negro masses by coralling them into church these summer months—churches not being air-cooled, yet. In such a case the CP forces might be neutral. Certainly, it is not the job of the CP to sponsor such motions, to be agents of the church. The job of the CP is to give a different orientation, not to support backward tendencies, not to kneel at the altar in order to overcome isolation.

And any reader think this prayer-is-a-form-of-protest is derived from Patterson's personal notions, it should be recorded that all the other CP delegates to the Conference concurred in this opinion. Mary Timof, one of the delegates and a former National Bureau member of the YCL, announced at the August 1st meeting to the assembled people before the City Hall, on behalf of the Ethiopian Defense Committee, that the Committee was supporting August 18th as a day of prayer!

geois parliamentary regime of France is declining, and that criticism is being levelled against it not only by the big bourgeoisie but also by the petty bourgeoisie and the working class. Furthermore, France faces the same alternative that Germany faced; the problems raised by the economic crisis will be solved either by the establishment of a fascist dictatorship or by the proletarian dictatorship.

If, however, the defense of bourgeois democracy is made the starting point, defeat is inevitable since no economic problem can be solved in this way; moreover, it is impossible to initiate the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship by defending bourgeois democracy as such.

III. THE CABINET CRISIS AND THE C.P.F.

The main stages which led to the position taken by the CPF during the last cabinet crisis are the following:

1. The omissions, errors and weaknesses of the anti-fascist pact. The CPF reached an agreement which is based on the defense of "democratic rights," on the defense of bourgeois democracy instead of insisting that the basis of the pact be the defense of the democratic rights of the working class, and if necessary, forcing the SP to discuss the policy of defending the democratic rights of the owning classes, before the masses. Later developments and the attempt of the Party to justify this position proved at any rate, that there is no incidental error involved here. Not only did the leaders of the CPF defend this position: Ercoli representing the CP of Italy even tried to prove that the defense of bourgeois democracy itself would lead to the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. How this miracle was to be accomplished was not explained, and cannot be explained.

C.P. DISARMED ITSELF

A third weakness was the non-aggression pact, the failure of the CP to constantly criticize the principles and tactics of reformism before the masses which participated in the united front. This failure prevented the CP from winning Social-Democratic workers for Communism in the course of the united front struggle. The winning of Social-Democratic workers for Communism is the essential and indispensable aspect of the united front. Without it a transition to revolutionary struggles is impossible.

The fact that the tactical turn of the CPF was ordered by the Party leadership and never discussed and worked out by the Party membership has added to the chaos. The ultra-left line, which was abandoned in great haste because of the pressure of the spontaneous activities of the masses, was false and proved to be a complete failure but it was at least firm and consistent. With the new tactical line ordered by the Party leadership (not even by the leadership itself) the leadership of the Party lost its firm ground and launched itself on a policy of continuous improvisations.

The fundamental errors made at the start had fatal organizational effects. The anti-fascist cartels of the Communist and Socialist Party organizations were the organizational starting points of the united front. The anti-fascist pact provided for a central anti-fascist cartel between the CP and the SP and served as the basis of a central coordinating committee composed of representatives of the Central Committees of the two parties. In other words, these bodies were combined Party organs, Party cartels, locally and centrally. They were not broad mass organs.

However, in order to raise the united front to a higher level, in order to make the transition to revolutionary strategy, it became necessary to reject the narrow

got up and called upon a preacher to deliver a benediction. All the delegates in rose and bowed their heads while the Rev. White intoned: "O God, who of the Cross of Calvary said," etc. Could personal hypocrisy or political illiteracy go further?

It might be a proper choice to quote from the Bible: "Father forgive them for they know not what they do." However, we hope the Party members reject prayer as a form of protest, and see that some ideological and organizational house cleaning is begun.

Soviet Foreign Policy And The World Revolution

By JAY LOVETSON
A discussion of the diplomatic policies of the proletarian state and their relation to the policies of the Communist International and its sections.

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SOME NOTES ON THE ETHIOPIAN SITUATION

Successful Defense Requires Reorganization of Social Life

By WILL HERBERG
The brazenly imperialistic character of the war Italian Fascism is planning to launch against Ethiopia is too obvious to require argument. Mussolini indeed makes little attempt to disguise his aims as the one in a while he does refer to the "civilization" and "European culture" which Italian arms are destined to bring to "darkest Africa." Stripped of these threadbare trappings, the whole adventure is revealed as no more than a desperate effort to seize the resources of Ethiopia and enslave its people in order to create a new colonial reserve for hard-pressed Italian capitalism. So much is clear enough. In resisting Mussolini's armies, the Ethiopians will be defending their independence, their right to self-determination, their very future as a people, against one of the most rapacious and reactionary regimes in the world. In other words, they will be fighting a just and progressive war, well deserving the support not only of all class conscious workers but also of all forward-looking people who hate oppression and prize freedom and true democracy. For Ethiopia such a war would be a genuinely defensive war because, for that country, it would be the "continuation of other means" of an essentially anti-imperialistic policy of national defense against the threat of colonial subjugation.

One would have to be a hopelessly doctrinaire pacifist, utterly lost to all sense of reality to condemn the Ethiopian people for resisting their enslavement under the iron heel of Italian Fascism, with arms in hand. Norman Thomas may well believe that "the doctrine of a good war is bad socialism," but surely he will not hesitate to extend his whole-hearted support to the Ethiopian people in the coming days which participate in a quiet and elementary action became the dominant element which mass activity was subordinated. Furthermore, the trade unions as such were not part of the united front. This implied the constant threat that the reformist unions would at any moment turn against the united front.

ROLE OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS
The last few months have shown plainly enough that the League of Nations, (Continued from previous column)

SEEING ETHIOPIA AS IT IS
For Ethiopia, the war against Italian Fascism would be a genuinely defensive war, a just war, a progressive war. But that does not exhaust the whole matter in any means. Ethiopia is itself growing under the heavy burden of feudalism in its economic, social and political life. Chattel slavery still flourishes in many parts of the land while serfdom is the normal condition of the great mass of the peasantry. The country, divided and impoverished, is dominated by a handful

dominated by England and France, has not the slightest intention of calling a halt to the African adventure of Italian imperialism in spite of the fact that all sorts of treaties are being openly and brazenly violated. The main efforts of the League are being directed towards a double aim: first, to prevent Italian colonial expansion at the expense of British or French interests and, secondly, to persuade or bully Ethiopia into capitulating, into committing suicide, "for the sake of preserving peace." It is therefore to be deeply deplored that not a single voice has been raised inside the League against these criminal manoeuvres; neither the Soviet government nor any one of the Socialist governments of the Scandinavian countries has deemed it necessary to make itself heard in protest. Worse than that, Maxim Litvinoff, the Soviet foreign minister, in his capacity as president of the League Council, has even found it quite possible to serve as that body's mouthpiece in pleading with the Ethiopians to accept the proposal to commit suicide in a quiet and decent way! That deep down in his heart Litvinoff did not mean what he said in his formal conversations with the Ethiopian representatives every one will readily admit but that changes nothing. A diplomat such as Litvinoff could surely have found some way to avoid being turned into the spokesman for the French and British wire-pullers on behalf of Italy. Instead of standing forth on the world arena in its old role as the arbiter of the oppressed millions, Soviet diplomacy has now manoeuvred itself into a situation where it appears as the errand-boy of the unscrupulous League politicians intriguig against the life of the last independent nation in Africa. Is it any wonder that the great people deserve gained by the Soviet Union among the colored peoples of the world is now being rapidly lost and that resentment is mounting among its best friends in Harlem and other Negro communities of this country?

MECHANICAL TRANSFERENCE
Obviously it is the latter theory that can account for the defections of the CI. For, it is important to note, and Trotskyites attempt to make their theory of national bolshevism explain two opposing phenomena—ultra-leftism and opportunism. If the Russians desired to sacrifice the international working class for the USSR, then why would they do this? Either it is correct for revolutionaries to give up their own organization and enter the reformist one or it is not. The CPO maintains the historic position of Lenin, that revolutionaries and reformists can not work in the same party, that "unity" can only mean the prior destruction of the influence of the reformists over the masses, that "unity" can mean only the triumph of the principles of Leninism, uncorrupted and uncompromised.

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MISAPPLYING SOVIET POLICY
The Russians represent a nation among the nations that have made a mockery of national bolshevism. In Russia the CI has put into practice Lenin's dictum on the utilization of the contradictions in the imperialist camp, i.e. the fact that French imperialism has interests opposed to that of Germany and France. At the same time the main enemy of the USSR, of the CPSU is also Hitler Germany. But since the Russian Party controls the CI the situation is automatically transferred to all the parties, which find in the immediate enemy is Hitler fascism. In practice this becomes a policy of favoring one bourgeoisie against another. But the Nazis will not bring fascism by fire and sword to the other countries. On the contrary when the

of feudal chieftains, each a petty prince-ling in his own domain, and by an entrenched priesthood with its deadly grip over the social and cultural life of the country. Such are the facts. The romantic idealization of all that is backward and barbarous in Ethiopian life, so common in American journalism these days, is certainly no service to the Ethiopian masses. But especially dangerous is the calculated demagoguery of the official Communist press, recklessly playing upon ignorance and nationalist prejudice.

Ethiopia suddenly becomes a "free country"; the Emperor is hailed in word and picture; the hard realities of Ethiopian social conditions are deliberately obscured behind a thick veil of vague and sentimental phrases.

It is necessary to emphasize that the ruling caste of feudal chieftains and priests, headed by the Emperor, cannot be looked to for leadership in a vigorous and uncompromising struggle against Italian imperialism. By nature of their social position and interests, they necessarily identify themselves closely to the foreign invader than to their own miserable serfs, all their fervent patriotic declarations to the contrary notwithstanding. With Mussolini they can always reach some sort of accommodation in the course of the underlying position, but with their own serfs and slaves, once aroused and set in motion in war, no accommodation is possible; from them they can expect nothing but bitter opposition, revolt and destruction. No effective national defense is possible under the leadership of the feudal chiefs and priests; no effective national defense is possible as long as Ethiopia remains crushed under the weight of feudal separatism, serfdom and priestly superstition. The Emperor, the chiefs, the priests and their entire caste and barbaric system must be swept aside if the people are to be capable of defending their freedom and independence against foreign imperialism. The main condition for effective national defense is a thorough emancipation from all imperialism.

REVOULTIONARY DEFENSE AGAINST REACTION
The historic experiences of over a century of bourgeois revolutions, from the restoration of the land to the tillers of the soil, the unification of the country thru the eradication of feudalism, the abolition of serfdom and the mobilization of the nation in arms against the heavy burden of feudalism in its economic, social and political life. Chattel slavery still flourishes in many parts of the land while serfdom is the normal condition of the great mass of the peasantry. The country, divided and impoverished, is dominated by a handful

the great French Revolution in the eighteenth century to the great Chinese Revolution in the twentieth century, have taught us that revolutionary defense is the "only effective national defense against reaction. The French people were able to beat back the whole of reactionary Europe once the imperialist energies had been released by the overthrow of feudalism, the destruction of the monarchy, the seizure of the land and the political enfranchisement of the masses. The Chinese people could hold the forces of imperialism at bay as long as the nationalist movement was identified with democratic progress and agrarian revolution. To arouse and unite the masses in determined resistance to the imperialist invader, every patriotic fervor is not enough; it is necessary that national defense acquire a concrete meaning to the toiling people, a meaning in terms of land and freedom! Only a democratic revolution can give the Ethiopian people the strength and the power to withstand the murderous onslaught of Italian imperialism.

ENTER BERLIN AND TOKYO
Considerable attention has recently been turned to the wide-spread intrigues of Germany and Japan in the Ethiopian situation. Here I am not going to examine the fairly obvious calculations that have moved the German Nazis and the Japanese militarists to parade as the champions of freedom and independence for the Ethiopian people. But I do want to point out that in this situation there lies hidden a fatal danger to the Ethiopian people. No genuine struggle for freedom or national independence is possible in alliance with the Nazi or the Japanese. The Nazi despots or the Japanese oppressors of Korea and Manchuria. It is not at all a question of obtaining arms; naturally, in the face of the virtual embargo on the export of arms to Ethiopia placed by the democratic countries of Europe in this quarter as well as elsewhere, such a diversion from the political and economic disaffection. We must, therefore, lead the potentially revolutionary petty bourgeois and proletarian elements, now serving the cause of counter-revolution, to wage materialism and materialism against the economic and political field.

Such a task can be fulfilled only by those who adopt a consistent, unequivocal Marxist stand—the stand of dialectical materialism. Any concession to religious dogma makes it impossible to carry out this task.

AT FIRST GLANCE
(Continued from Page 1)
these countries have undoubtedly, today, been less hard hit than some of the other capitalist countries. However, even the backlash of the world crisis itself will be more than sufficient to provide mounting misery for these latter Social-Democratic governments will no more be able to meet the resulting problems than their preceding and succeeding capitalist governments have or will.

THERE is little room for doubt that of the two movements the one headed by Huey Long is far more powerful and therefore more dangerous than that headed by Father Coughlin. The reasons for this we have presented on other occasions. Facts are at hand showing that the disintegration of the Coughlin movement has set in at an even faster pace than expected. The Coughlin movement, even if one must immediately write off the Coughlin movement. It still has vitality but its peak as a vital force has been passed. Nothing of the sort can today be said of Huey Long's movement. The downward trend of Father Coughlin's drive has become so marked that not even Huey Long, chairman of the Republican National Committee, can miss it. The latter, it must be kept in mind, is today Hoover's Party and is much interested in strengthening forces undermining the Roosevelt fold. The Washington office of Hoover's Party, without going into the precise why and wherefore of it, one may safely say that the silver-lined priest will jump on the Roosevelt band wagon in 1936. So we seek to explain this development by the reported declaration of Father Coughlin that he felt he "had a bear by the tail." The phenomenon is simply part of the crystallization and not dissolution of the rising potential fascist movement in the U. S.—to it indicates the passing of the high watermark of a particular pest.

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EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer

"LEFT" PARLIAMENTARIANS MEET IN FRANCE

On July 31st the second session of the so-called "left groups" in parliament took place in France. The "left group" include the Communists, Socialists, Radical Socialists, and a few small "independent" socialist parties. The main question was, of course, a discussion of the attitude of the Radical Socialists toward the emergency decrees of Laval. The CP and the SP proposed to the Radicals that parliament be convened in order to do away with the emergency decrees. Before parliament had been adjourned the "left groups" had collected enough signatures to convene parliament. The Radicals, however, now declared that they were opposed to re-convening parliament for the purpose of doing away with the emergency decrees and of overthrowing Laval. They argued that authority to convene parliament is justified only if a fascist coup d'etat is threatening, if, in other words, the republic is in danger. This is not the case at present. The individual groups which had granted such authority must be asked before such a move is contemplated.

Then Blum, Socialist leader, was asked to issue a weak statement in which the facts were disguised. This was done. The left press confined itself to Blum's statement. The true state of affairs was made public by the reactionary press.

Such tactics are false and harmful. They amount to a soft-pedaling of the struggle against the emergency decrees out of consideration for the Radical Socialists who belong to the Peoples Front.

In connection with this session, Duclos, the Secretary of C.P.F. wrote an article in *Humanite* on August 1, 1935 entitled: "The Peoples Front Has A Future":

"We will make all efforts to reach a unanimous agreement on the action to be taken against the emergency decrees. Our efforts in this direction will be stubborn and persistent such as have always characterized our party. However, we wish to inform Mr. Laval that if we fail to reach such an agreement with the Radicals, the Peoples Front remains intact. The Peoples Front is above all a rallying center to defend liberty with the larger aim of also fighting against the emergency decrees and for the taxa-



tion of the rich. . . ."

The leadership of the CPF sent a communication to the SPF on July 30th in which it asks for an early reply to its letter of July 13th in which the CP proposed a basis for organic unity. The letter expresses the hope that a united party of the proletariat be realized as soon as possible.

NEW BRITISH NAVAL PROGRAM

The Daily Herald has recently published the figures for the new British naval program for the next 7 years.

The strength of the British fleet in 1942 will be:

	1942	Previous
Battleships	15	15
Cruisers	72	50
Destroyers	142	84
Submarines	57	39
Airplane Carriers	10	8

Part of the expenses for construction is to be raised thru a loan for the defense of the British waterways. This program illustrates very plainly that England is primarily increasing its cruisers and destroyers. The naval race is in full swing. The British government maintains that this program is not final, it is quite clear that England is proposing a stronger fleet and that other naval powers will follow suit.

CP FOR CZECH LEFT BLOC

The CP of Czechoslovakia taking its cue from the CP of France has asked the left groups in Parliament to form a left coalition to fight fascism. The left group includes the German and Czech Social-Democracy and the party of Benes, which calls itself "National Socialist" but has no relation whatsoever with Hitler's national socialism. Benes' Party is a bourgeois democratic party. It has put the following demands to the CP of Czech:

Recognition of the unity and integrity of Czechoslovakia; approval of the budget; readiness to form a left cabinet; cessation of the "destructive" work of Communists.

The CP of Czechoslovakia, in its appeal, states that it would be willing to form a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties even if the latter remain in the government, as long as they are willing to fight against fascism.

Clique Struggles In Anthracite

Chris Golden who was Secretary of the Anthracite Counciling Board for many years died recently. In him the coal operators lost a faithful man. As a rule 3 coal operators and the Presidents of the 3 Anthracite districts select the man for the office. There were many high officials in the three districts who expected to be selected. As senior President of the three Anthracite districts, John Boylan, President of District 1 was honored with that job, which pays \$10,000 a year. The coal operators did not make a mistake in selecting John; he will be a good, faithful man.

As a result Boylan resigned as District President leaving his office vacant for Vice President M. Kozek to be advanced for President and the District Executive Board to select a Vice President in his place. Aspirants for Vice President were secretly campaigning for themselves among the local unions. They asked locals for endorsement in order to influence the District Executive Board for their appointment. M. Kozek the new President took his choice, J. Kennedy to Washington, D. C. to influence John Lewis for the selection of Kennedy. On the other hand, J. Boylan took J. Sullivan to be chosen. Boylan told Lewis that Sullivan comes from the Glen Alden mines and that he had the endorsement from all local unions in the lower

part of the district "and no doubt from the Glen Alden Coal Co."

John Sullivan was selected as Vice President of District 1 subject to approval of the District Convention which will convene in October. M. Kozek was always considered a weak man on the District Executive Board. In 1928 when Rinaldo Cappellini was forced to resign from the presidency, Kozek refused to accept the job, to which J. Boylan was selected. John Sullivan newly elected Vice President is not only weak but absolutely incapable.

As a result of this shift of President and Vice President it is expected that the disappointed job seekers will stir up some opposition in the District for their personal advantage. They will use the coming District Convention in October as well as the Tri District Convention in January 1936 at which the proposition for the coming Anthracite agreement will be presented. Rank and File miners should organize a real opposition for a fight against the officialdom as well as against all job seekers and fake opposition.

A program for an increase in wages, 6 hour day and 5 day week, with improved conditions in mines, one agreement for soft coal and hard coal miners is the best weapon in the hands of the progressive miners.

Books of the Age

THE STATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, by Harold J. Laski, 299pp. The Viking Press, 1935. \$3.00.

Reviewed by JAMES SAND

To arrive at a theoretical conclusion for which one has never had any evident relish is a triumph of objectivity over wish. Laski, viewing the contemporary political scene, is forced to the conclusion that we are in for an era of revolution and struggle for possession of the state-power. He accepts the Marxian thesis on the class-basis of the state; he even defends historical materialism, albeit with little philosophical profundity.

Twenty years ago Laski began his explorations into political theory, and came up, with the pluralistic theory of the state, which is an attempt to save the individual from the ravages of coercive authority. Now he realizes that the problem is not to put the state in its place, but to place the state in the hands of a new class. For one who in 1920 grew rhapsodical over the fact that French socialism was founded upon Proudhon rather than Marx, this is truly a revolution. For one who has busied himself defending liberty and freedom, the discovery that there is only class liberty and class freedom should mean a complete overhauling of all his principles. But for one who as late as 1931 could say that a bird in the hand is worth a copy of *Das Kapital* in the bush, the revolutionary position is something of a luxury.

The truth is that, although recognizing what happens in politics, Laski shrinks from its programmatic aspects. The democratic tradition is strong within him, and the liberal conception of the "life of reason" remains a haven of refuge. The upshot is that though this work is often incisive in analysis of actuality it is utterly confused in revolutionary theory.

State and Government

Thus, the concept "state" is seen in two different lights. In the beginning, it betokens not an instrument of a class, not a machine for the suppression of one class by another, but "a society . . . integrated by possessing a coercive authority legally supreme over any individual or group which is part of the society." But this granting to the state the integration of society is to give it sanction by collectivizing its action. The fundamental question here is ad hominem: Whose society is being integrated? This Laski realizes as he proceeds to study the practice of the state today. But before doing that he lets himself in for additional confusion by attempting to justify coercive power in terms of the measure of its satisfaction of maximum demand. This is arrant scholasticism. The justification of coercive power has always resided in itself. Only those who do not have it or will not wield it when they have it seek to justify it by anything but itself. Laski shrinks from the Thrasymachean view of justice as the will of the stronger because again he fails to ask the ad hominem question: Who is the stronger? Realistic as to the inevitable advent of a struggle for power, he is idealistic in seeking to find justification for its being where it is.

And his denial that the distinction between "state" and "government" is of practical significance (p. 12) is a denial of the actual situation in bourgeois society. The "state" is the organ of exploitation; government is merely a mechanism. Thus, the two Labor regimes in Britain have been governments by Labor, but the state has remained in the hands of the capitalist class. To deny this is to have to admit what is not true, that Labor has ever held state-power in Britain. Or in Germany. Labor cannot come to state-power until it owns the means of production, and it cannot own the means of production without expropriation (which in the very essence of capitalist society means violent expropriation). And if state and government are not practically distinct, how can Laski (p. 284) speak of "a government which is determined to maintain state-power"? If in practice they are the same, there would be no need to maintain it.

Nature of Democracy

Under democracy, Laski implies that there is democracy by consent. Yes, but consent of whom? The alternative to consent he thinks is "naked dictatorship." But the difference between the naked dictatorship of Fascism and the dictatorship of an unchallenged finance-capital is the superficial one evinced in the garment of parliamentarism. On this point Laski is not only vague; he is unknowing. Parliaments are "talking shops," as Marx said; under Fascism they are abolished because they impede the dictatorship of capitalism. Under a non-Fascist capitalism they are not

abolished because they do not as yet impede the dictatorship of capitalism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat representative institutions are workers bodies. The state is always a dictatorship (which Laski really does not want to believe); the real problem in revolutionary socialism is how to transfer the dictatorship to the hands of the proletarian class.

Nothing better illustrates the identity of Laski and the Centrist socialists in Britain with the German Social Democracy which would not push the logic of Marxism to its ultimate conclusion in practice than rhetorical Weltanschauung like the following: "When ideas arm themselves for conflict, the voice of reason is unlikely to be heard. When the voice of reason is drowned by the passionate clangor of arms, men have never listened to a plea for freedom." This is the weariness of vicious intellectualism viewing the world from a study-window. This, as Lenin said of Kautsky (with whom Laski has such obvious fraternity) is positively like chewing rags in one's sleep! What in the world is the voice of reason if not a cloak for those who cannot or will not take sides in a conflict? Laski's position is that of prayerfully hoping that by some divine metamorphosis capitalists will give up their privileges by exposing themselves to scientific socialism. If such were possible, the growth of Fascism throughout the world might be mitigated by a Sunday-school movement wherein the Communist Manifesto was read to capitalists who out of a clear sky had forgotten where their own interests lay and wanted to discover how they could hand over their belongings to the workers. Again Laski misses the question, the voice of whose reason?

Advice From Lenin

In these days when men align themselves for impending struggle, the question that grows out of any discussion of this sort is: Where does the author stand? The answer, though never explicit, lies implicit in the manner in which Laski has broached the question. He does not stand as a revolutionary socialist. The very manner in which he discusses the fundamental questions of politics and economics stamps him as psychologically a bourgeois. This is the more important in Laski's case since he is the intellectual godfather of the political theory of the British Labor Party. The coming to power of British Labor, which directly impends, will see the ensconcing of men who think like Laski in high office in Britain. Then we shall better see the reality of the distinction between government and the state; then we shall see the extent to which a party pledged to socialism can further its coming through constitutional means. The tone of Mr. Laski's book makes it exceedingly probable that the experience of German Social Democracy will once again be repeated, unless the small revolutionary group (of which Laski is decidedly not a member) succeeds in grasping power and revolutionizing England.

But revolutionary situations are not made by statements beforehand; they are made by parliamentary crises and economic upheavals. And on this score in England there are the words of Lenin (in *Left-Wing Communism*) whom Laski conceives of as "the supreme strategist of the actual seizure of power," and even more, "the great architect of its consolidation."

"The main task of contemporary Communism in western Europe and America (says Lenin) is to acquire the ability to seek, to find, to determine correctly the concrete path, or the particular turn of events that will bring the masses right up to the real, decisive, last and great revolutionary struggle. Take England, for example: We cannot say, and no one is in a position to say beforehand, how soon the real proletarian revolution will flare up there and what will serve as the cause to rouse it, to kindle it and move into the struggle very wide masses who are at present dormant. . . . It is possible that a parliamentary crisis will cause the "breach," will "break the ice"; perhaps it will be a crisis caused by the hopelessly entangled and increasingly painful and acute colonial and imperialist contradictions, perhaps some third cause, etc."

But if the cause of the flare-up is uncertain in England, one thing concerning those involved in it is certain: it will not be men incorporating the disembodied voice of abstract reason who "will bring the masses right up to the real, decisive, last and great revolutionary struggle."

Wage Trend Down Despite Fake Statistics

(Continued from Page 1)
compared with prices does however indicate a marked decline in real income during the depression."

Further, we note: "The net decline from 1929 to 1934 in income paid out was 37%, as compared with a decrease of 20% in the cost of living."

Thus, if you earned, in 1929, \$100, you earned in 1934, \$63. But while it cost you \$100 to live in 1929, it costs you \$80 today, 17% more than you are earning!

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

The trade union leaders of the Communist International have come upon sad days. Even the great (but not the greatest) must beat his breast and intone with great humility—Pecavi, Pecavi. It was not easy for Lozovsky to arise and criticize "the leadership of the Profintern" which consisted of no one but Lozovsky. He who in the past hurled thunderbolts of abuse against his opponents now stands there mumbling in his beard that his "own theses" was wrong, that he should never have said that "the reformist unions are a school of capitalism." Yes, Lozovsky is paying a price but our heart fails to bleed for him. For we recall the treatment by Lozovsky of those who rose to challenge and oppose these very theories which he now discards. They were abused, spat upon and thrown out of the Communist International.

HOGGING THE SHOW

We do think, however, that Lozovsky has gone a little too far. He is actually hogging the show of self-criticism. The name of Stalin is not even mentioned. If that name is to appear so frequently in connection with real or imagined victories and advances why not also where the balance is written in red? He it was who was the sole arbiter and supreme commander over soldiers and war plans. It was particularly under his command, during the last 6 years, that the heaviest blows were dealt the Communist Parties of Germany and Austria and in less dramatic form the Communist Parties everywhere else. So that if Lozovsky would serve the cause of accuracy he would rise and, giving credit where it belongs, he would say: "It was under the leadership of our great Comrade Stalin that I and the Profintern made such and such errors." His position in the Party might suffer from such a declaration but how much easier would his conscience be when he recalled that he was not alone responsible for the trade union policies which helped bring death to many workers and concentration camps to many more?

MATHEMATICS INSTEAD OF POLITICS

For Lozovsky as a trade union tactician we have nothing but contempt but his arithmetic is impregnable. Between 1921 and 1927 the Profintern appealed to Amsterdam for a united front exactly 20 times. And again in 1935, says Lozovsky, the same appeal was repeated. The absence of such appeals between 1927 and 1935 is apparently due to politics and not to inability to count beyond twenty. For this was the period when inflamed imaginations ran riot.

It was in this period that the trade unions "became fascized," had become an "organic part of the bourgeois state"; that it became necessary "to work consistently, consciously, and untiringly for the organization of an independent revolutionary trade union movement"; that in so far as the workers in the reformist unions were concerned it was necessary "to transfer them, in compact groups, to the corresponding Red Trade Unions"; that also "there is no need of shouting it from the rooftops" there "cannot be the slightest doubt" that we want to "break up the reformist trade unions . . . to explode their discipline. . . ."

How could there be united front proposals to the Amsterdamers when such policies were being "shouted from the rooftops"?

REMEMBER THE PAST

We have dug up these quotations—incidentally all of them from the pen of Lozovsky—not out of sheer malice but to parade their insane and dangerous content before the eyes again. Now when even official (unfortunately this term is today almost synonymous with unthinking) Communists discard these theories it is necessary to undertake the process of immunizing the revolutionary movement against them.

This becomes doubly necessary because even at the Seventh Congress attempts are made to justify these patently false ideas. One of the worst offenders is reporter Wilhelm Pieck who tells us that "Without a loosening of the reformist trade union discipline, without an independent Communist strike leadership, the bourgeoisie could have carried out its wide plans of wage cuts. . . ."

To claim, as Pieck does, that to split the trade unions helps to defeat the offensive of the employers, is to defend dual unionism at its worst and indicates clearly that the Comintern still has not broken with the philosophy of dual unionism no matter how many red unions it liquidates, no matter how loudly it screams for trade union unity.

In Preparation

Two Articles by
JAY LOVESTONE

1. The New Position of the Comintern
On Bourgeois Democracy

2. The Comintern Takes A New
Position On War

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