Unite!

Workers

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

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A. F. L. TO SUPPORT

Woll Endorses Scheme To Shift Burdens Of Crisis To Working Masses

New York City. With a great blare of publicity, Grover A. Whalen, speaking for the Advertising Club of New York, anplan ever taken to bring about joint action by industry commerce and labor for economic recovery and stabilization." This plan was immediately endorsed by Matthew Woll in the name of "labor," that is, for the American Federation of Labor, which has assumed not be assumed assume bor which has assumed responsibility for it. It is proposed that a "nation-al congress of capital, labor and other important factors in trade and industry" should be summoned in October to devise ways and means of putting

this "plan of recovery" into effect.

The plan itself is an out-and-out pro-capitalist plan, not only offering nothing to the workers but even threatening to intensify the pressure of the crisis upon them. That the A. F. of L. leaders have endorsed and sponsored such a scheme is a significant sign of whose interests these leaders are really championing—the interests of the workers or the inter-(Continued on Page 2)

FARMERS STRIKE" GROWS

Revolt Against Low Prices Ties Up Big Centers In Mid-Western Field

COUNCIL BLUFFS, Iowa. — In spite of mass arrests and other attempts at repression on the part of strike" movement is reported to be spreading rapidly. The most important parts of Iowa are already in its grip and its influence has extended to Des Moines.

Bitter attacks upon the Republican party, upon Wall Street, upon the meat packers and other trusts, and upon the Administration, Department of Agriculture and Federal Farm Board, are vigorously applauded by the assembled farm pickets.

Omaha, Nebraska. Desperate at the constantly sinking prices and the barefaced robbery on the part of the marketing middlemen, the farmers of many parts of the Middle West have organized a widespread "selling strike", refusing to sell their product and live-stock or

to let any be sold until prices are raised and conditions improved. The movement started in the Sioux City neighborhood with the organization of a Farmers Holiday Association. The farmers picketed the roads leading to the most important markets, trying to maintain the boycott as effective by as possible.

The movement then spread to Oma- P. G. O. feel ourselves closely related ha and from there to Wisconsin and Minnesota. A marked decline of rail shipments is already noticeable while shipments by truck have in many places been stopped altogether.

The boycott on the shipment of

The boycott on the shipment of milk has already been lifted after a titude to the C. I. and the C. P., atsettlement of prices.
Governor Olson of Minnesota, the we have. The proceedings and decisstrike" and has urged a conference of well. Middle Western Governors to aid the

Labor convention, Lieutenant-Govern-or Herbert Lehman, probably the your press and from the verbal re-Democratic candidate for the Governor of New York State, made a plea against strikes and in favor of arbitration of labor disputes. In spite of numerically weak and does not stand the fact that he has been instrumen- in proper relation to your political tal in suppressing many labor struggles in New York City, especially in the garment trades, Mr. Lehman was actually welcomed as a "friend of labor." Immediately afterwards, the gathering endored Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Presidency.

Second as a "friend of from essentially the same objective conditions. But over and above these objective conditions, we have the impression that basically you tend to be

In the same session Harry L. Hopkins, chairman of the State Tempor- This is a danger that you have alary Emergency Relief Administra- ready recognized yourselves and it is tion pictured the widespread misery in the State and the bankruptcy of the relief machinery. Miss Frances Perkins, State Industrial Commission-

Against Hooliganism!

An Appeal To The Party Members

Dear Comrades: The leaders of the Communist Party have forced upon the membership of the Party the policy of breaking up open-air meetings conducted by other working class groups and or-ganizations. The election campaign held by the Socialist party, the Socialist Labor party, the Industrial Union League, the Communist Party (Majority Group) and the Communist League of America have been broken up and smashed by hoodlum and strong-arm methods.

have repeatedly protested against this policy. We have called attention to the fact that such a policy of denying freedom of speech to the working class organizations by some members of the Communist Party, acting like agents of the po-lice in smashing meetings, would serve as a boomerang against the Communist Party itself that has every reason not to give the police and the authorities a pretext for prohibiting meetings and thus taking away what little freedom of speech the workers

We complained of the tactics of the eaders of the Communist Party to the American Civil Liberties Union. A hearing was held and the facts piled up of the criminally insane tactics pursued by the Communist Party leadership. We urged the American Civil Liberties Union, as a body interested in civil liberties and especially in safeguarding whatever freedom of speech is left to us, to use its influence with the leadership of the Communist Party to abandon its policy of smashing other but Communist Party open-air meetings

But your Party leadership was ob- against capitalist reaction!

nunist Opposition and the national

Berlin, August 12, 1932. To the C. P. U. S. A. (Majority

On behalf of the buro of the Inter-

national Communist Opposition and

he Communist Party of Germany

(Opposition) I transmit our best

greetings to your second national con-

ference. Especially do we of the C.

o you. With the greatest satisfaction

have we noted that, since the founda-

tion of your group, you have independently developed the same position on all questions that have arisen (attit-

port of your delegate to the interna-

tional conference, we are of the im-

pression that your organization is

nfluence. This is a situation that res-

embles to a great extent our position

in Germany and apparently arises

too much a New York organization.

Dear Comrades:

stinate and defiant. It continued its policy of breaking up meetings.

This policy has brought very tragic results. As a result of the hooliganup open-air meetings conducted by other working class groups and organizations. The election campaign thus far has been marked by a wave of health as been m Street and Avenue B, two workers were killed, Nick Kruznik and Michael Semon. The "Daily Worker", on August 23 and 24 carries an account of the whole affair. Now the authorities can move to deny all working class organizations the right to use the streets for open-air meetings! Now we can see where this policy, criminal and detrimental to the interests of the working class,

leads to. It is about time that you, the members of the Communist Party, rebel against this disruptive, suicidal, policy of your leaders. There is absolutely no reason for supporting such a

policy.

To engage the workers and their organizations in a bloody feud over the holding of open-air meetings and to are still permitted to enjoy in the deny them the opportunity of pre-United States.

We complained of the tactics of the workers, does not help Communism but discredits the Party.

> Party members! The deaths of Kruznik and Semon are the tragic into the Taylorville region, organized consequences of the policy of smashing meetings. Raise your protest against the pol-

icy! Refuse to continue to carry out the policy of smashing meetings! Demand that your leaders immediately change their policy in this matter!

Fight for freedom of speech! Fight against hooliganism!

Civil Liberties Union in the letter of

We in Germany are facing the most

difficult times. The ultra-left course

of the C. P. has made it possible for

the treacherous policy of the Social-

democratic party to result in render-

Int'l Opposition Center Greets

Our Conference

Letter Of International Opposition Center

the buro of the International Com- al considerations.

We publish below the letter sent by the very center of your organization-

manner by you.

Thousands March On Mines
In South Of State To
Spread Movement

SPRINGFIELD: III.—After the

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—After the niners caravan out to tie up Franklin County in the spreading strike against the \$5 basic wage scale was beaten back by sheriff and deputies at Little Muddy River, the striking miners reformed their forces for another "invasion." An interstate policy committee of Illinois and Indiana miners has been formed and a new offensive planned on a broader scale.
The strike in other parts of the State is holding strong.

Springfiield Illinois. The insurgent strike movement of the Illinois miners against the \$5 wage scale put over by the mine com-panies with the help of the United Mine Workers officials against the resistance of the workers, is spreading very rapidly and is tying up work Now as never before is there need thruout the State. At the same time, for the greatest possible working the government authorities, worried class unity against the growing capitalist reaction which is sweeping the struggle, are mobilizing an forces for struggle, are mobilizing an forces for an attack on the strike in order to suppress it before it is too late.

The movement started in Central and Northwestern Illinois and succeeded in closing down mining activities in those regions. The miners then decided to organize marches to tie up the mines in other parts of the State. Over 10,000 miners marched cing work in the four Peabody Coal Company mines in that district. The Zeigler mines in Franklin county are another important objective and about 30,000 miners are mobilizing at Peo-

ria for a movement in that direction. The local authorities have put into action every weapon of attack against the workers. Injunctions have been obtained mass arrests have taken place, orders of evacuation issued and the anti-labor elements of the population armed. But the onward sweep of the miners movement can-

not be stopped. While the miners are fighting for the maintenace of a scale that will allow them to live like human beings. their officials, headed by District President John H. Walker, are busy at work denouncing them and doing everything possible to weaken and break down the strike. According to Mr. Walker, the strike is an "outlaw" strike because the \$5 scale has been "accepted" by the U. M. W. A. district board—altho it was rejected We are of the opinion that, in spite council of the German Communist Opposition to the Second National Conference of the Communist Party (Majority Group).—Editor.

of all difficulties, the communist 20th the work of the American group exist. The terroristic attacks of the sabotage of the leaders, the local unions are rallying to the struggle on an ever larger scale. of all difficulties, the conditions for district referendums. In site of the

BENTON, ILL.-Joe Colbert secr-Comrade Gitlow, is at the same time a recognition of your good work in the direction of Communism. It is an was murdered here on Agust 17 by was murdered here on Agust 17 by expression of the impotence and fear three thugs. The killers came to his of open, fundamental discussion on house in an auto called him outside n the name of the national council of the part of the champions of the ultra and pumped him full of lead. Colbert was a bitter opponent of

left course. Another evidence in the same direction is the unity campaign the wage-cut recently put over by that was carried thru in a model the mine owners in collaboration with the U. M. W. A. officials. On the Sunday before his death he has chair man at a protest meeting as Benid No attempt is being made, wither by the mine owners or the reactionary officials to deny that Colbert was ing the working class incapable of murdered for his militancy.

the offensive of capital. Your dele-The inhabitants of Wilmette, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, are faced gate will give you full details on our situation. with the alternative of keeping their only Farmer-Labor Governor, has export of the "selling of the greatest significance to us as in your work. Only the strengthening paying about \$80,000 in tuition fees well.

Of the work of the Communist OpAs revolutionists and international Communists, we must not only talk of to shield Communism from the proler, school board president, the city

JAY LOVESTONE

will report to the

Second National Conference of the C.P.-Majority Group

"International Communist Opposition Conference And The Present Situation In Germany'

on Saturday Evening, 5 P. M., September 3 at 228 Second Avenue ALL GROUP MEMBERS ARE INVITED

"Pick-Up" Propaganda Is False; New York Figures

Washington, D. C. In the face of the deliberately (Continued on Page 2)

Are Even Higher

Issues Program of Capitalist Uttensive; "Arbeiterpolitik" Suppressed!

Chancellor Makes Bid For Nazi Support But Repudiates Hitler's Demand For Power; Communist Opposition Paper Is Suspended For Thirteen Week Period

Berlin, Germany.

As an act of studied contempt for the Reichstag on August 30. On the In the face of the deliberately gesture as to where the real power lies today, not a single member of the Cabinet, neither Chancellor von Pa-

DECREE THAT BANNED "ARBEITERPOLITIK"

Verbot der "Arbeiterpolitik" auf 13 Wochen!

Der Polizeipräsident

Auf Grund des § 13 des Gesetzes zum Schutze der Republik vom 25. 3. 1930 (RGBl. I S. 91) in Verbindung mit den § 81, Ziffer 2, 85, 86 StGB. und auf Grund des § 6 Abs. 1, Ziffer 1 der Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten gegen politische Ausschreitungen vom 14. 6. 1932 (RGBI. S. 297) verbiete

ich das in Berlin erscheinende Wochenblatt "Arbeiter**politik*** mit sofortiger Wirkung bis zum 15. November 1932 einschließlich. Das Verbot umfaßt auch die in demselben Verlag erscheinenden Kopfblätter der Zeitung, sowie jede angeblich neue Druckschrift, die sich sachlich als die alte darstellt oder als ihr Ersatz anzusehen ist.

Gegen das Verbot ist binnen zwei Wochen vom Tage der Zustellung ab die Beschwerde zulässig; sie hat keine aufschiebende Wirkung. Die Beschwerde ist bei mir einzureichen. Sollte von dem Beschwerderecht Gebrauch gemacht werden, so empfiehlt es sich, zur Beschleunigung der Angelegenheit die Beschwerdeschrift in fünffacher Aussertigung

Für richtige Abschrift: gez. Schmidt Kanzlei-Angestellte

In Vertretung: gez. von Werder

Berlin, den 10. August 1932

Die Verbotsbegründung darf alleht veröffentlicht werden

DOLL WORKERS STRIKE FOR UNION RECOGNITION AND WAGE RISE

3,000 New Yorkers Are Involved In Struggle To Improve Miserable Conditions; Gangsterism And Official C. P. Scabbery Are Serious Dangers

New York City.

A strike of the more than 3,000 hours and no overtime rate. The vorkers engaged in making dolls and Communists, we must not only talk of ugreeable things but we also have delegates to the State Federation of the State Federation of the Communists and international position in an countries will be able to shield Communism from the profession in an economized to the limit, and the city was called on August 23 by the delegates to the State Federation of this limit. As far as we have been able to the State Federation of this limit. As far as we have been able to the State Federation of this limit. As far as we have been able to the State Federation of this limit. As far as we have been able to the State Federation of this limit. As far as we have been able to shield Communism from the profession in an countries will be able to shield Communism from the profession in an countries will be able to shield Communism from the profession in an countries will be able to shield Communism from the profession in a countries will be able to shield Communism from the profession in agreeable things but we also have the city was called to the limit, and the city was called to the city was ducted with the workers determined upon victory.

> The men and women involved in country. Sweatshop conditions and low wages dominate in the trade and are the reasons for the strike, which Stuyvesant Casino. Active picketing the one hand in addition to police was called after the demands of the union, a newly established organization, were rejected by the individual employers. The strike was timed to coincide with the beginnings of the season in the industry.

seriously endanger the health of the workers and also menace the purchasers of dolls and toys. The demands of the union are: a 35% increase in wages, a 40-hour week, equalization of work recognition of the union and the payment of wages upon a stated workday. In the past The men and women involved in the workers have frequently had their this walkout make most of the dolls and stuffed toys produced in this cases they had to resort to the courts for payment.

Strike meetings are being held at

The union has applied for affiliation to the Amtrican Federation of Labor. The strike is being supported by a wide variety of elements in the labor movement of the city. With the labor movement of the city. With the

pen nor Defense Minister von Schleicher, was present at the opening of As an act of studied contempt for that body and as a demonstrative gesture as to where the real power lies today, not a single member of the Cabinet, neither Chancellor von Parage Technique (Cabinet, neither Chancellor von Parage Technique)

D "ARBEITERPOLITIK" the Reichstag on August 30. On the even they had all left for a conference with President von Hindenburg at Neudeck in East Prussia.

The Reichstag was opened by Klara Zetkin, world famous Communist leader, as senior deputy. In spite of the loud threats of the Nazis that they would never allow here to speak

they would never allow her to speak, the whole Reichstag sat absolutely quiet as the veteran of the German labor movement indicted the von Paen regime and President von Hindenburg in the most biting terms, called for a united front of all labor against Fascism and expressed the hope that she would "live to see the happy day when as senior president I can open the first workers and peasants congress of Soviet Germany."

Immediately after, Herman Wilnelm Goering, Nazi leader, was elected speaker, in view of the fact that ne was the nominee of the biggest party, who is always elected to that

Before the session opened President on Hindenburg had already granted the Chancellor the power to dissolve the Reichstag "at his discretion." If any move for a vote of non-confidence is made it is expected that von Papen will use his powers.

The final alignment in the Reich-

stag is not yet clear. Long negotiations between the Nazis and Center party leaders had preceded the opening of the Reichstag and some sort reached.

Under the emergency decree against political excesses," issued y President von Hindenburg on June 4, 1932, the central weekly organ of the German Communist Opposition Arbeiterpolitik, has been suppressed by the Junker-militarist dictatorship for thirteen weeks, to begin im-mediately and to run until November

The order of suppression was is sued on Aagust 10 and applies equally against any paper that may be thought to be a substitute for it. The prohibitory order concludes: "The reasons for this prohibition are not to be made public.

The suppression of the Arbeiterpo litik follows hard after the illegalization of the Communist Opposition platform a few weeks ago. The vicious attack of the reaction-

ry dictatorship upon the Communist Opposition has unquestionably come because of the good work the Arbeiterpolitik and the organization whose central organ it is have done in rally-ing the German workers against the offensive of capital and for a class united front to smash the menace of ascism. The Communist Opposition will know how to continue its work even more effectively in spite of all attempts at suppression on the part of the reactionary regime.

The long-awaited statement of policy of the junker-militarist regime dominating this country was made in the radio address of Chancellor von Papen before the Westphalian peasants Congress at Muenster on August to \$18 a week, with no standard of the first place, it outlined a program 28. It had a twofold significance: in hours and no overtime rate. The of systematic support of German unsanitary conditions in the factories trust capital in a bitter offensive against the masses while in the second place, it made an offer to the Nazis for cooperation in a secondary position, making it clear however, that hegemony would not be surrendered to the Hitlerites. With many a high-sounding phrase

(Continued on page 2)

has been established.

As the strike develops, dangers are attacks of the usual kind, gangsters associated with the bosses are making the attempt to "muscle in" and to destroy the strike and the union. On The conditions of the doll makers, as exposed by the strike leadership, are frightful. Wages range from \$8 strike, a relief and defense committee the interest of the interest gone back to work organized in a company union sponsored by the boss. The strike breaking of the bosses, police and gangsters as well as the scabbery of members of the official Communist Party, must be smashed.

er, pleaded against the State being "stampeded into an economy which may be translated into maimed bodies and stunted lives."

A V LOVESTONE

SPEAKS FRI. SEPT. 2, 8 p. m. on "ORDER IN GERMANY" at Labor Temple

News From The Waterfront

THE MINK ON THE RAMPAGE AGAIN!

by Nauticus

the marine worker Carl Coster to it that Jones goes to the 'big Again it's the notorious mink is at house'." Again he was ready to sink the bottom of it; no, I'm not referr- his poisonous fangs into a marine ing to the fur-bearing animal, but to the most slimy snake that the seamen have had the misfortune to have appointed as their leader (Read: misleader) by the Party burocracy. Again of salt, for it would be just like that he has struck with his poisonous slimy reptile not only to make such fangs at a militant seaman. The price to be paid for opposition to the mink is expulsion!

a threat but to actually carry it out. The old timers who were in the Marine Workers League will remember mink is expulsion!

other marine workers have been busy uptown on the T. U. U. L. picket lines and have not been carrying out the mink's decrees on the waterfront. Not being able to get them down to the waterfront he tried one of his usual "warnings." What was his' warning? Well, Fellow-Worker Jones was arrested at a unemployment demonstration in front of City Hall last April and booked on the serious charge of felonious assault. Jones is now on trial. So the mink warns the

PAPEN MADE PUBLIC

(Continued from Page 1)

about "Christian conservatism" and for the coming expulsion meeting by the "old Prussian State ideals," von "lining up new members" i.e., needle Papen declared in favor of coopera- pushers, suit-case makers, janitors tion with the Nazis but rebuked and probably taxi drivers, etc., to Hitler's "excessive" demands. "From pack the expulsion meeting, as has its first day in office," he declared, "this government has pursued the aim of preparing the way for constructive cooperation in the reconstruction of the Reich of that great patriotic movement of liberation between the M. F. W. I. U. and later the modern of the Reich of the M. F. W. I. U. and later the matter of the Reich of the M. F. W. I. U. and later the matter of the Reich of the M. F. W. I. U. and later the matter of the Reich of the M. F. W. I. U. and later the matter of the Reich of the M. F. W. I. U. and later the matter of the Reich of the M. F. W. I. U. and later the matter of the matter of the past. The seamen should keep a good lookout for such the matter of the past. The seamen should keep a good lookout for such the matter of the past. The seamen should keep a good lookout for such the matter of the past. The seamen should keep a good lookout for such the matter of the past. The seamen should keep a good lookout for such the matter of the matter of the matter of the past. The seamen should keep a good lookout for such the matter of the matter of the past. The seamen should keep a good lookout for such the matter of th whose great service to Germany must be acknowledged by everybody" (the Nazis). At the same time, however, the Chancellor sharply attacked the "unrestraint" of Hitler, that is, his insistence on leadership in the nationalist-reactionary movement and in the ed all honest workers" against such government.

Passing on to the main points of the government's economic program, von Papen took occasion to eulogize discontent and burocracy does not lie and defend capitalist private property in the mink but rather in the narrow and to repudiate even the slightest sectarian and splitting policy of which concessions to the socialist aspirations of the working masses. The program Hudson, Harvey and Glickson, etc., of recovery, he announced, must be based on aid to and stimulation of "personal private initiative." Along with an extension of the "voluntary labor service," really a system of forced labor for the unemployed, the party in 1928 for being a "right wing splitter," but later reinstated by the present Party leadership because he was "a hitter Leverture for." program provided for over two billion marks government credit and other aid to private industry as a means of "restimulating business."

I think Fellow Worker Coster should take a definite stand in the union against the burocracy on this question. An attack on the already miserable tion. Coster should also fight against wage standards of the German work- his coming expulsion to the last. If ers is outlined in the provision that he does I'm sure he will be well sup-"employer hiring additional men ported by the rank and file. will be authorized to pay less than the present collective wage-rates. The the Age for further developments more men he hires the lower wages on the waterfront. will he be permitted to pay." It is obvious that these reduced rates are certain to become universal in a very short time. And finally, a further reduction of unemployment benefits is

The satisfaction of the German capitalists with this economic program was shown by the sensational rise on the Berlin stock exchange. Repercussions were felt even on the

Vienna and Prague exchanges. The political developments in the special court for the open and particularly atrocious murder of a Communist. The Hitlerites have organized a nation-wide campaign on this issue and are demanding the release of the come essentially a test of the strength and independence of the von Papen regime in the face of the Nazis. In his Muenster speech von Papen referred to the case and declared that it was being "reviewed by the Prussian government." The commutation of the death sentences is everywhere

Meanwhile, as against the one Beuthen case there are scores and hundreds of cases in which the special decrees and courts are being used to sentence to long terms of imprisonment Communists, Socialists, trade unionists and members of other labor organizations. The most notorious of these cases is the so-called Ohlau afmilitary organization) members were

LAS VEGAS, Nev.—Charges that the workers in Hoover Dam, a government project were being exploited and mistreated, were made on Aug-ust 20 by Senator Oddie of Nevada in a telegram to Secretary Wilbur. He charged, among other things that the contractors were paying wages in scrip which could only be used at the company stores and that the prices at these stores were exorbitant.

BUENOS AIRES.—An anti-Com-

New York City. Jother marine workers: "If you don't One more expelled. This time it's come down to the waterfront I'll see

The mink denies saying it. But the reader can take that with two grains What's the matter this time? Well, Coster, Jacobson, Jones and some other marine workers have been busy only one who knew that Haigeney had one before the police searched him; so the reader can draw his own conclusions. The aforementioned "warning" was too much for Coster and the others who felt pretty damn sore and indignant about it. So the mink charges that Coster came down to the hall and pointed a gun at him (un-fortunately he did not pull the trigger!) Evidently the mink is afraid of guns. It put the fear of Jesus in him for he squirmed and went immediately for the Party headquarters PROGRAM and placed the charges. So Coster like so many others have paid the price. His expulsion from the union will, of course, soon follow unless the membership get wise to them selves and stop this practise by the burocracy. Perhaps they did'nt feel strong enough at the last membership meeting to carry a motion for expulsion, but are undoubtedly preparing characters as the mink.

Readers should keep a lookout in

---NAUTICUS

THE CRISIS IN'THE COMMUNIST **INTERNATIONAL**

Its Causes and Consequences -- How the International Communist Opposition Proposes to Overcome It

by Bertram D. Wolfe

The past four years have been extremely favorable for the growth of the Communist movement.

In the capitalist world-depression, mass misery and starvation, open preparations for a new world war. In the Soviet Union-freedom from unemployment,

expansion of industry, construction of socialism. Millions are disillusioned and discontented with capitalism. Millions look to the Soviet Union with hope and longing. Never were conditions more favorable for the growth of the Communist movement-here and thruout the world. Yet the Communist movement has not grown!

THE CONDITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TODAY

What have the past three or four years brought to the Communist International?

They have brought a continual, steady decline in membership in all important countries except Germany and the Soviet Union.

A profound crisis in inner-Party life. The expulsion of the majorities of the Communist

Parties of Sweden, Spain, India, Switzerland, Alsace The expulsion of the founders and most experienced

leaders and officials of all important parties. (1) The crumbling of entire parties. For example, the Czechoslovakian Communist Party lost 80% of its members in the first eighteen months after the expulsion policy and change in the political line of the International began. The French Party has been reduced to a chaotic sect and has lost its influence over the French masses. The English Party, once numbering 12,000 members, does not now number 1,000. The aftermath of a general strike, the collapse of the "Labor" government, the breakdown of the pound sterling and a mutiny in the fleet-all leave the British Communist Party smaller than it has been at any time since 1924. The South African Party has lost 90% of its membership in two years.

Even the big German Communist Party has lost completely its once powerful position in the German trade unions, has failed to defeat the Social-democracy even tho the latter split, has failed to win the left wing which broke off, and has been unable to check the rapid growth of Fascism or even the streaming of large sections of the working class into the Fascist ranks. While the Communist Party has virtually stood still or made relatively small gain, the Fascists have grown by leaps and bounds to become the largest party in Germany. The recent tragic defeat of the Communist Party in the Presidential elections has demonstrated how dangerous the situation is for the Communists in Germany.

In brief, during these four years that were so favorable for the growth of Communism, not only has the movement not grown, but it has failed utterly to give leadership to the masses adequate to their needs in the crisis. The tremendous sympathy for Communism and the hatred of capitalism have not resulted in growing parties nor consolidating class forces, have not been crystallized into an organized force such as the Communists and the working class had the right to expect.

THE AMERICAN PARTY

In the American Communist Party we find a similar situation. The old and experienced members, the founders of the Party, and its builders in the harder years of Palmer raids and "Coolidge prosperity", have

been expelled by the hundreds. Others have dropped out in disgust by the thousands. Fearful of the outcome of a discussion of their blunders and wrongheaded political line, the present leadership forbids discussion, expels questioners and critics, substitutes name-calling for argument, terror for comradeship and stifles the internal life of the party.

The work in the conservative trade unions has been abandoned or reduced to splitting activities. The once powerful left wing in the American Federation of Labor has disappeared. The independent unions under Party control have disintegrated to mere paper unions, shadows of the Party. Nothing remains of the "new" textile and miners unions and next to nothing in the

Sectarianism, which separates the Party from the backward masses, and amateurishness, sensationalism, recklessness and bluff, have taken the place of the earnest building and digging in, which aided the Party's growth in the past. The Party, which in the heyday "Coolidge prosperity" was able to grow, has actually lost in membership in the period of depression! From 1925 to 1929, when it was not easy to win workers to Communism, the Party grew slowly but steadily. On the eve of the change of line and expulsions, the Party membership in good standing numbered about 15,000. In 1932, after three years of capitalist depression and bankruptcy, three years of mass misery and discontent, the dues-paying membership had shrunk to less than half of that! (2)

WHY DON'T THE PARTIES GROW! When a new member or sympathizer asks why the Party does not grow, why thousands are out, why the Party has been split, he is told: "It is Lovestone's

But does Lovestone live in Germany and Switzer

land? Is it Lovestone's fault that in Sweden the "expelled Party" has over 15,000 members and the official Party has less than 3,000? Is Lovestone responsible for the collapse of the Party in France? or in England, where there was not even an opposition group and almost no resistance to the false line of the Party? No, the crisis is deep-too deep for explanation as the work of a devil or an angel. The crisis is international. The crisis grows out of the errors of the Party in every country outside of the Soviet Union. The errors are persistent and continuous. They prevent growth in spite of favorable conditions. They are not isolated errors. The whole line of the Party is involved. The line of the International is involved. Until it is corrected, the parties cannot grow! To be a Communist does not mean "just to belong", to be a cardholder. To be a Communist means to want to build a powerful Party, to investigate why it does not grow, to remove obstacles in its path, to help it grow. To such genuine Communists this discussion is ad-

Next Issue: THE CAUSE OF THE CRISIS IN THE INTERNATIONAL

(1) When the German Party held the celebration of its tenth anniversary, virtually all the Spartacan leaders, who had founded the Party, had been expelled so that the anniversary speakers were men who had opposed or had not participated in the Spartacan revolt. The situation at the tenth anniversary in the United States was similar.

(2) At the last Plenum, the membership in good standing was reported as between 6,500-7,000.

With the WORKING

HOMELESS CHILDREN IN THE U.S. A.

sued a sensational report about the in the world, whose productive capahordes of homeless children deprived cities were stimulated and not des-

children between the ages of 12 and too, only the replacement of the 20 are 'on the road', cut loose from their home surroundings and unable system, can permanently solve this to adjust themselves to any unable picture. And the total is constantly increasing." Thru Kansas City alone, increasing." Thru Kansas City alone, we are told, there rode thru on the freight trains about 1,000 a day for more than two weeks continuously in the month of May. In Yuma, Arizona, over 30,000 of such children were fed in soup kitchens in the space of four and a half months "Cities are now providing little help in this line to non-residents," the report points out. "Medical care for those sick as ests of the bosses. The seven points in out. "Medical care for those sick as a result of hardship or exposure is practically not to be had . . . In most cases a simple form of registration is all that is undertaken . . . Freight yards are policed. Hence trains must be boarded outside of "collaboration" of the workers with

this way last Winter."

parade at every opportunity!

The hundreds of thousands of miserable children who are torn out of their homes and condemned to drift and die with every man's hand against them are to a demand the state of the stat them, are a damning testimonial to of the big capitalists thru a sale-tax the hideous life that decaying capit- or a similar device, that is, thru shiftalism has brought to the working ing even more of the burdens of tax-masses of this country. The govern-ations on to the shoulders of the poor. ment children's buro reports the (6) The reduction of government exshameful story but the government itself does nothing at all about it. To take any relief action would be to undermine the "rugged individual-ism," the "American spirit" of these homeless and starving children. Besides, no funds can be diverted from the subsidies to the big banks and railroads for any such purpose! And so the children are doomed to starvation and death!

less by the eight years of war, Whalen-Woll plan. famine, counter-revolution and imperialist intervention. As soon as the Soviet State began to recover and F. of L., who have their own interconsolidate its economic forces, these ests and the interests of their class children were rapidly reclaimed and converted into useful citizens of the workers republic. In other words it the job to force the A. F. of L. leadworkers republic. In other words, it was war, counter-revolution, and ers to withdraw their support of this intervention, that created the problem bitterly reactionary, anti-labor plan, of homeless children in the Soviet and to get all labor organizations to Union; it was the growing socialist

The Children's Buro of the United economic system that solved it. In States Department of Labor has is the United States, the richest country of all support and shelter by the blows of the economic crisis.

"Conservative and reliable author"Conservative and reliable authorities," the report declares, "estimate that between 200,000 and 300,000 created, homeless children. And here

CAPITALIST PLAN

(Continued from Page 1)

yard limits while trains are in motion. the employers inevitably means in One railroad alone reported more than fifty young men and boys killed capital. (2) The revision of the antiand more than a hundred crippled in trust laws so as to remove all obstaclthis way last Winter."

This is the horrible truth behind the loathsome sham of "child welfare", which the capitalist apoligists week. (4) An increased program of penditures—which is certain to involve both wage-cutting and "economy" in the already meager social services. (7) The repeal of prohibi-

Characteristically the document ends with the slogan: "Jobs-not the dole." Altho the A. F. of L. executive council recently approved Federal un-employment insurance, this plan categorically rejects it. Nor does it have a word to say against the wage-Ten years ago the capitalist press of this country was full of stories of the thousands of children in Soviet Russia who had been rendered home

All workers, in and out of the A. condemn it.

JOBS AND WAGES FALL IN MONTH OF JULY

(Continued from Page 1)

about the "industrial pick-up," "beginning of the revival," the "turn of the corner" and the like, with which the newspapers have been filled lately and in which government of-Gallery and delegates united in ficials, capitalist politicians and A. F. pooing and hissing every mention of of L. leaders have joined, comes the report of the Federal Buro of Labor Statistics according to which there has been a 3% decrease in industrial employment in the month of July 1932 as against June and a decline of continually interrupted and in the end 6.1% in payrolls for the same period. The most pronounced fall in employment (16.1%) was in the anthracite mining industry.

In the same period New York State factory employment fell 5.3% and payrolls 7.1%, the largest June to rage of the Legionnaires to a fever July declines on record according to the report of Industrial Commissioner Frances Perkins. The July declines So far the overwhelming majority brought the indexes of factory of the State and district Legion con- employment and payrolls to record taken as 100, the employment index for July stands at 55.6 and the payroll l index at 39.6.

Payroll totals, it should be noted, vention, which meets in a few declined faster than employment in weeks, is expected to reflect this the June-July period, thus indicating another wave of wage-cuts.

AZANA REGIME SHIELDS ROYALISTS

MADRID.—In direct disregard of the vigorously expressed will of the vast majority of the Spanish people, the death penalty imposed on General that a "law of forced exprosure of the content of the conte last few weeks have centered around chist uprising, has been commuted to cause a sensation in all Europe because a sensation are sensation and the sensation are sensation are sensation and the sensation are sensation are sensation and the sensation are life imprisonment. The mercy, which cause it is profoundly revolutionary.' members and adherents of the Nazi the Zamora-Azana regime could not party were sentenced to death by a find for the hundreds of workers and peasants arrested in the last year for defending the interests of the people, it has characteristically manifested in the case of counter-revolutionary murderers. The whole affair has bethe commutation action was taken in plotters. It is frankly declared that order "not to break with the conservative (read: monarchist and semimonarchist) elements and not to give too great an impetus to radicalism (read: workers and peasants).'

* * * interest now centers upon the fate of the final pacts. General Jose Sanjurjo and his aids in fair in which a number of Socialist chists, of the execution of the lead-Kingdom would prevent the "unfair Reichsbanner (a Socialist-republican ers and the punishment of the other sentenced to ten years of imprisonfor the confiscation and nationalizaGreat Britain also granted a 6¢ a ment for defending themselves tion of the estates and other property bushel preference in Dominion wheat good shoe-maker and a poor fish altho several score of the insurgents from all parts of the Empire except have already been summarily deport- Ireland. ed to a penal colony without trial. But, of course property is more scar-

ed than life or liberty! The arrested nobles include some of interests, especially in relation to Ca munist, anti-Semitic movement has been gaining headway here for the last several months and has already of great strategic importance in a country like Spain. The nationalization of states to

FULL FAILURE

OTTAWA.—Virtual failure was admitted on all sides as the Imperial Economic Conference ended here on August 19. None of the parties in the MADRID.—The monarchist revolt conference received anything near having been smashed in a surprisingly what it demanded, while the Irish short period of time by the mass uprising of the Spanish people, public ing. Bitterness marked the signing of

The sharpest struggle at the conthe counter-revolutionary attempt, ference took place between Canada who have been captured and are in and Great Britain. The demand of the the hands of the authorities. Popular Canadian capitalists for British emsentiment is unmistakably in favor of bargo on Soviet goods was finally met competition" of "countries with Stateoutstanding figures, and, above all, controlled industry and commerce." of the great nobles, who directly or and similar action was taken in reindirectly sided with the restoration- gard to other agricultural products. longs to us—that agony is our ist revolt. The Azana regime not in In return Canada granted tariff conthe least anxious to undertake any cessions in behalf of British steel and radical measures against the monar- iron and textiles. The other Comchists and thus stimulate the revolu- monwealths received even less. No tionary sentiments and activities of general Empire accord coul be reach- a Fascist complexion, is being former the masses, has refused to carry thruled on anything. The most sweeping cd in the Free State to fight the Irish any immediate confiscations; these provision was the granting of free must wait for long drawn out trials trade by Great Britain on the imports movement of the Irish people for na-

> Even the partial agreements arrived at, however, are expected to constitute a blow at United States

SACCO AND VANZETTI FIVE YEARS AFTER

Five years ago, August 23, 1927 murdered for an act of which everyone from the governor down to the executioner knew they were completely innocent. Their only "crime" was their radicalism, their devotion to the cause of labor.

The attempt to prevent the legal murder of the two martyrs of the working class unleashed a mass movement all over the world the like of which had not been seen for some time. Today, the memory of the death of Sacco and Vanzetti still strikes a note of indignant protest in the

breasts of millions of toilers. The statement of Vanzetti, made as soon as sentence of death was prolong and hard struggle of the working class for emancipation:

"If it had not been for these thing might have live out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. might have die unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. peddler-all! That last moment be-

DUBLIN.—A new White army, of ed in the Free State to fight the Irish tional freedom. This organization is spies. known as the Army Comrades Association and is headed by Colonel Thomas O'Higgins.

RIO DE JANEIRO.—The greatest battle in the history of Brazil, involvlast several months and has already found expression in assaults upon Jews, labor leaders and others and in attacks on motion picture theaters

of great strategic importance in a jount to \$100,000,000 of Canada's annual purchases from the United States to Great Britain. The British drive against American branch plants in Canada has apparently failed owing a smashing defeat of the insurgents industry since the general strike of 1926.

N. Y. LEGION FOR BONUS PAYMENT BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Amidst vio-sed a resolution demanding the im-

ent demonstration against Hoover | mediate payment of the bonus. The England anarchists, were legally and his treatment of the bonus army in Washington, the convention of the New York State organization of the American Legion in session here pas-

CONDEMN RUEGGS

NANKING. — Paul Ruegg (also known as Noulens) and his wife,

members of the leading bodies of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat nounced is worth going down as of the Red International of Labor imperishable in the record of the Unions, were sentenced on August 19, to death by a Kuomintang court. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. The Rueggs were not even accused of any overt act but were charged simply with Communist propaganda

They had already spent over fifteen This is our career and our triumph.

Never in our full life could we hope place. During this period working to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of persons all over the world had deman as now we do by accident. Our manded their release and condemned words, our lives, our pains—nothing! the whole affair as another Sacco-The taking of our lives—lives of a Vanzetti judicial scandal. Among those who raised their voices in defense of the Rueggs are H. G. Wells, Albert Einstein Romain Rolland, Upton Sinclair and Madame Sun Yat-

> The provisional government of the Soviet regions of China has offered

LONDON.—Over 200,000 cotton operatives were called out on strike in Lancashire on August 27 as a result of a general protest move against ing 10,000 Federal troops and an in- violation of trade agreements on the

vote, which took place on August 27, was 499 to 138.

opposition to the bonus and every mention of Hoover's name. Assistant Secretary of War Trubee Davison, who was invited by the Legion leaders to defend the Administration, was could not make himself heard because of the vigorous expressions of disapproval on the part of the audience. Davison's insolent attacks on the veterans who came to Washington to demand the bonus only raised the

ventions that have been held have come out in favor of the bonus; everywhere the sentiment against Hoover was strong. The national Legion confeeling.

CAMP SOLIDARI

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Call the camp for a car

On Our Relations to Centrism

Resolution of the International Conference

We publish below the resolution, "On the Relation to Centrism," adopted at the second International Conference held in Berlin in July 1932.—Editor.

Since the international conference of the Communist Opposition at the end of 1930, the world crisis of capitalism has passed thru certain significant new phases. First of all, it has been extended to include all bourgeois countries without exception. Secondly, it has been deepening seriously at an almost constantly accelerating pace, particularly in the most highly developed industrial countries (U. S., Germany, England). Thirdly, it is rapidly undermining the entire credit structure of international capitalism. Finally, the extension and the continued intensification of the world crisis have brought about a spirit of despair amon'y large sertions of the toiling masses and a spirit of helplessne.s as to a way out among the dominating forces of the international bourgeoisie. The sweep and intensity of the world-wide economic crisis, alongside of the rapid growth of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., have brought every walk of life, thought and action in the bourgeois world in deepgoing crisis.

It is against this background of world economic crisis that the recent developments of the international labor movement stand out in bold relief. The stress of the crisis has sharpened both elements of the contradiction tearing Social-democracy from within. It has strengthened the dissatisfaction of broad strata of the proletarian membership of the Socialdemocratic parties but it has also brought out in more open, more developed and more extensive form the bourgeois course of the Social-democratic leaders in aiding to save and rehabilitate broken-down capitalism. In this way the Social-democracy of the whole world has fallen into a profound crisis.

The tactical and organization bankruptcy of the Comintern has brought it about that this mass dissatisfaction of the Social-democratic workers has not led to a mass rebellion against reformism and to a mass movement into the camp of Communism. Instead of this it has proved possible for the centrist wing of reformism to hold a part of the dissatisfied Socialdemocratic working masses for itself. The present strengthening of centrism thru the creation of new centrist parties, however insignificant these parties may be, might have been avoided had the Comintern followed a correct policy in this field.

1. The centrist parties (S. W. P. in Germany; the Proletarian Unity party, P. U. P., in France; the I. L. P. in England; the Norwegian Labor party, the Independent Social-democratic party of Holland; the C. P. L. A. in the United States, etc.) stand on the basis of reformism in regard to the basic questions of the struggle of the working class. This applies to their attitude on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, since the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat without the recognition of the Soviet form of this dictatorship, without the recognition of the leading role of the Communist Party in fghting for and defending this dictatorship, without clarity as to the role of force before and after the establishment of this dictatorship (armed uprising, terror), is worthless. This applies also to the attitude of the centrists on the Soviet Union, for here, too, solidarity is merely

a phrase if the proletarian character of the State in the Soviet Union, if the Socialist character of the already collectivized branches of its economy (administered by the State or by cooperatives) and if the international significance of the fundamental features of the Russian revolution, are denied. Finally, the centrists oppose the fundamentals of Communism in organizational questions. They deny the necessity of an organizational break even with the open reformists. with the open adherents of the bourgeois State in the labor movement; they deny the necessity of strong centralization and revolutionary discipline but, on the contrary, defend the slogan of "freedom of opinion" for the representatives of all reformist, i. e., petty

bourgeois and bourgeois, ideas. 2. Whereas the I. C. O. raises the slogan of reform in regard to the Communist Parties, with which it shares common fundamental principles and from which it is separated only by tactical differences, in regard to the centrist parties, on the other hand, which, in their basic conceptions, are a part of reformism, the slogan must be the destruction of these organizations, i. e., the elimination of their influence among the workers, the winning of the workers in them to break organizationally with the open and disguised reformist elements, to join the Communist organizations.

We want to win the Communist Parties for the ideas of the Communist Opposition; but the centrist parties, as a whole, as organizations, cannot be won for Com munism. The winning of the workers in the centrist parties for Communism cannot take place except thru

NOTICE

Because of the necessity of printng the three resolutions of the recent International Conference in time for the Second National Conference of the C. P.-Majority Group, a number of important articles, especially dealing with un employment, have been omitted. They will appear in the next issue.

their organizational break with the centrist leaders, i. e., thru the breaking of the organizational unity of the entrist parties.

The winning of the workers in the centrist parties for Communism re quires a long continued, basic critiism of the centrist policy from the Communist standpoint and, in closest onnection therewith, the application of the united front tactics towards the centrist parties, in order to convince he members of these parties, on the basis of the experiences of joint struggle, of the inadequacies of the poli cies of their leadership of their in-ability to fulfil their big promises to carry out a consistent, really revoutionary course.

It is furthermore necessary to stimulate the development of a Communist wing in the centrist parties, standing for the fundamentals of ommunism in word and deed and aking the position of affiliation to the Communist organizations. It is necessary to support this wing in the struggle against the centrist and the pen reformist elements.

4. A union or a permanent organizational connection (block, collective work) between the Communist Opposition and the centrist organizations s permissible neither internationally r nationally, since such a union or connection is possible only on the basis of fundamental agreement. With he centrist organizations as a whole, only agreements from time to time on actions for concrete partial aims are permissible in line with the Leninist tactics of the united front. Such united front actions should be undertaken nationally as well as interna-

On Our Relations to Trotskyism

Resolution of the International Conference

We publish below the resolution, "On the Relation of in a single country, insofar as it is not disturbed by the International Communist Opposition to Trotskyism," adopted at the second International Conference held in Berlin in July 1932.—Editor.

The Trotskyites, who call themselves "left Communists" and claim to fight for the reform of the Communist International, have in reality left the fundamental basis of Communism in essential points and today continue the tradition of pre-war Trotskyism, which, as is well known, adopted a centrist position in the struggle between the Communist (Bolshevik) and reformist (Menshevik) tendencies in the Russian Social-democracy.

(a) The Trotskyites deny the socialist character of the present Soviet economy (see Trotsky's "Draft of a Platform of the International Left Opposition on the Russian Question", point 28). It also denies the possibility that the Russian proletariat, if it is spared an attack of the imperialists, will be able to realize the aims set up in the second Five-Year plan, namely, the elimination of the remnants of the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union, the abolition of classes and therewith the completion of socialist construction in its main features. They maintain that the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union is not in a position, thru its own forces, without the victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries, to overcome the capitalist elements within its own land; on the contrary, they maintain that under such conditions the victory of the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union becomes unavoidable at a certain point, i. e., that the activity of the proletarian dictatorship strengthens the elements of the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union. The Trotskyites deny in fact, whatever they may say in words, the character of the Soviet Union as a proletarian dictatorship by maintaining that this state is no longer led by a Communist Party but by a burocratic apparatus which has suppressed the Party and the Soviets and which is the bearer of counter-revolutionary, bonapartist tendencies. This attitude of the Trotskyites to the Soviet Union agrees in essential and fundamental points with the Social-democratic viewpoint.

(b) As against the Communist International, the Trotskyites maintain that it has departed from the fundamental basis of Communism because it proclaims the possibility that the proletarian dictatorship can, the international counter-revolution, eliminate the capitalist elements, abolish classes, i. e., complete the building of socialism thru establishing, in its fundamentals, a classless socialist society. As to the C. P. S. U., the leading party of the Soviet State, the Trotskyites maintain that it practically does not exist any longer and has been replaced by the burocratic apparatus. From this viewpoint it is mere deceit when the Trotskyites declare that they are fighting for the reform of the C. I. and its sections; the effect of their agitation, in which they declare that the C. I. has surrendered the fundamentals of Communism and that the C. P. S. U. is only the fiction of a party, can be one only, namely, to spur on the Communist workers to break with the C. I and its sections, because these latter are fundamentally bankrupt and hopeless, and thus to bring disintegration into the ranks of Communism. Were the Trotskyites logical, then they would have to demand the creation of new Communist Parties and a new Communist International in place of those existing today, which, in their conception, have departed from the fundamental line of Communism, i. e., are no longer Communist. At any rate, the position of the Trotskyites shows that they are quite clear themselves that they are standing upon a different basis of principles than that upon which rests the Communist International.

Page Three

(c) That the basic position of Trotskyism is nothing but a Communist mask for reformist ideas is shown clearly in its relations to the centrist organizations. In his recent work "What Now?" Trotsky stands forth as the champion of the centrist S. W. P. of Germany against the Communist criticism of the C.P.G.-O.; he has approved the conduct of Walcher and Froelich, who left the Opposition for the S. W. P. and landed there in the right wing. On its side, the S. W. P., at its congress, incorporated into its programmatic declaration of principles, the Trotskyist theory of the impossibility of the completion of socialist construction in one country and therewith sought to find a basis for its anti-Communist policy. As formerly the leaders of Austro-Marxism, so today Trotsky is the international idea-provider of centrism.

For these reasons, a propaganda of the ideas of Trotskyism is impermissible in the ranks of the I. C. O. The I. C. O. carries on a basic struggle against

Marxism And The "Negro Question"

LABOR AND THE NEGRO MASSES

Resolution Presented To National Conference

We publish below the last instal- | peonage, tenancy, share-cropping, furment of the resolution on "Marxism and the 'Negro Question'."—Editor

The Negro Worker And American Labor

backward white workers—and the sent merely the demands of consistvast majority of the American work- ent democracy: they are in all reers are still backward. At the same spects akin to the classical ideals of time the narrow and exclusive craft structure and the opportunist philos- the great French Revolution, for exophy of American trade unionism ample. Not a single one is a speserved from the very beginning as a cificially socialist demand—not one most serious obstacle in the way of necessarily implies the socialization the black workers in industry. The of all the means of production, etc. conservative trade unions, in spite of occasional fine phrases, have practically closed their doors to the Negro caste status by no means implies that to throw in their lot with the white solved within the framework of the capitalists as scabs and strike-break- capitalist system and capitalist deers—a course incessantly urged by mocracy. So anti-democratic has the the conservative Negro leaders as bourgeoisie become in its period of well. The darkest page in the his- decay, so organically bound up with tory of the American organized labor everything that is outlived, reactionmovement is its shameful record of ary and decadent that the realization antipathy and discrimination against of the basic democratic demands is

struggle promises to heal even this centration of political power in the omninous breach in the ranks of the hands of the proletariat. In such the corruption of race prejudice. The fraternization of white and colored racy to the masses and bring real workers in the South during recent strikes, however hesitating, uncertain and unstable, is a straw in the wind. period has passed since the Civil The slow but inevitable deepening of the class consciousness of the white proletariat, i.e., its growing ideological liberation from the bourgeoisie, will certainly deliver the white workers from the thoroly bourgeois curse of race prejudice.

24. The submergence of national and racial differences within the proletariat in the firm ties of class solidarity is an indispensable requisite the labor movement. In the Communist movement, in which all innerclass distinctions vanish, any open or disguised manifestations of race preworking class, must be deliberately and consciously eliminated.

Negro Emancipation and the Proletarian Revolution

The whole burden of the analysis of the status of the Negro people in this country goes to prove people from their caste existence is in bourgeois revolution in the United ination of the underlying economic conditions upon which the subjection can make possible any real emancipa- in the struggle for Negro emancipation. The radical eradication of the tion.

nishing, the shattering of the power of the Southern landlords thru the nationalization of the land and its distribution among the cultivators, the elimination of all elements of inferiority in the Negro's status in inthe bourgeois-democratic revolution, 26. But the democratic character of task of Negro liberation from workers and have all but invited them the "Negro question" today can be possible only thru the overthrow of capitalist "democracy," thru the con-American proletariat. The white heat dialectical contradiction does history of the class struggle will burn out move that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can guarantee democdemocracy, for the first time, to the U. S. A. today is an historical impossibility—today only a proletarian reverican bourgeois revolution that was

place among the Negro people and destroying any possible "racial unity" of all classes, is to be regarded as a for the triumph of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. The struggle against the race prejudice of struggle against the race the white workers is a fundamental force in the struggle for the emanci task of all revolutionary forces, in pation of its own race, so firm and numerous are the bonds that tie it to white capital. The more completely and the more rapidly there takes place the class separation of the broad judice, which come as a result of the masses of the Negro people from the pressure of bourgeois ideology on the Negro bourgeoisie, the better. At the opposite pole stands the Negro proletariat, whose tremendous historical Negro people, is only emphasized by the close organic link between the democratic emancipation of the Negro people and the socialist revolution of the proletariat in this country. Under the hegemony of and in close alliance that the deliverance of the Negro with the proletariat, the Negro peas-people from their caste existence is in antry and the broad sections of the its content essentially a democratic Negro petty bourgeoisie can play a task—the only form of uncompleted profoundly revolutionary role. The process of class differentiation among States today. In that respect it is the Negro people lays the basis for similar to the liberation of subject the liberation of the Negro masses nations or colonies. Only the elim- from the influence of the white bourgeoisie (transmitted thru the Negro bourgeoisie) and for the achievement of the American Negro is predicated, of the hegemony of the proletariat

the Civil War failed to do.

semi-feudal forms of exploitation, of 28. It is clear that the racial (that

The Election Campaign and the Workers

The Prospects for a Labor Party

by Herbert Zam

dle class elements, for independent ces as possible. This requires that the The sudden influx of tens of thousands of black workers into Northern industry inevitably aggravated the anti-Negro prejudice of the conditioned. These measures represented by the condition of the colored people is conditioned. These measures represented by the condition of the colored people is conditioned. These measures represented by the condition of the colored people is conditioned. These measures represented by the condition of the colored people is conditioned. These measures represented by the condition of the colored people is conditions and political action, that is, for political action, that is, for political action, that is, for political action independent of and opposed to the two capitalist parties. This sentitude is a possible. This requires that the conditions is a possible. This requires that the conditions is a possible. This requires that the condition of the colored people is the condition of the colored people is conditioned. These measures represented by the condition of the colored people is conditioned. ment, which has grown out of the de pression and the exposure of the Democratic and Republican parties as open instruments of the top most ing the trend of sentiment among layer of the capitalist class in this many workers. These have included country can crystallize in two directithe unemployed march of Father Cox, party dominated by and representing less parties, the B. E. F. the Khaki- society," an obvious falsehood, and ministrations, were unrealizable, bethe interests of the petty bourgeoisie, a so-called liberal party; or into a Labor or Farmer-Labor party based of agricultural states, the establishupon the exploited workers and farment of local Labor parties, the that all its talk of "labor", "party recent agreement in the cloak industrial of the workers and farmers", etc., was against the ruling class on the basis of the immediate needs of the exgrowth of the League for Independploited masses. It is not a matter of indifference to revolutionists as to which direction this sentiment takes. Should it develop into a Labor party, it would mark a big step forward in which has always had its ear close the development of the American to the ground, has recognized the working class toward political consciousness as a class, an absolute prerequisite for its development toward communism. Should a third capitalist party result from the present fermentation it would mark the dam-ming of this anti-capitalist sentiment and the return of the dissatisfied masses to the fold of the Democratic-Republican parties. Revolutionists who wish to carry on revolutionary activity in a realistic manner in the War: a bourgeois revolution in the United States (not in Moscow, Berllin or Prinkipo) must therefore ensibility—today only a proletarian revolution can accomplish what the American vague sentiment into a movement for the establishment of a Labor party. In doing so they need not for one From this viewpoint, the class moment lose sight of the shortcomings differentiation, now rapidly taking of such a movement, its narrowness, its backwardness, its "loyalty to American institutions," its anti-Communist moods. These all represent neessary stages in the political development of the workers. They must not lead to the abandonment of the

> s, caste) emancipation of the Negro cannot come as the result of any "purely racial" movement—of any novement deliberately aiming to subordinate, in the name of an unreal "racial unity," the masses of the Nerole as the chosen vanguard of the gro people to the narrow interests of the Negro bourgeoisi (who work hand in glove with their white paymasters), of any movement consciously striving to divorce the liberation truggle of the Negro people from the chief social movement of our times, the class war of labor against capital. The racial emancipation of the American Negro, in the present historical situation, is possible only as an integral aspect and as an inevitable consequence of the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system, of the victory of the proletariat.

the revolutionists to act in such a

The Immediate Struggle and General Perspective

There is growing sentiment among manner as to help the masses get large sections of workers, farmers, inellectuals professionals, lower middle class. The Large sections of workers are developed by the masses as quickly and lover middle class. The Large sections of workers, farmers, inellectuals professionals, lower middle class. The Large sections of workers are developed by the masses get large sections of workers, farmers, inellectuals professionals, lower middle class. The Large sections of workers are developed by the masses get large sections of workers, farmers, inellectuals professionals, lower middle class. The Large sections of workers are developed by the masses get large sections of workers, farmers, inellectuals professionals, lower middle class.

Since the crisis began there have been a whole series of events indicattions—either into a third capitalist the founding of the Liberty and Jobthe Nonpartisan League in a number ent Political Action. Only a person with his eyes tightly shut can fail to see these events and recognize their significance. The Democratic Party, symptoms of tremendous discontent and has hauled its radical dress out of the wardrobe for the Presidential

campaign. How can the Democratic demagogy be exposed? What is the answer to the Jobless-Liberty parties? to the Fascist Khaki-Shirts, to the millions of disappointed veterans? Only a Labor party can serve to rally the discontented masses away from the false

leaders and on to the right road. How can an effective struggle be conducted against the burocracy of the American Federation of Labor and its non-partisan policies? What instrument can serve to rally the rank and file of the American trade unions, against the wishes of their leaders, for independent political action thru their own class organizations, better than a Labor party, whose main base is made up by the organ-

izations of the workers? made in many directions for the masses as hopeless; they must cause formation of a third capitalist party, which would be dominated by the third-partyites and the Labor party- away from the capitalist parties, this and the Socialist parties suffer from ites may not be great, as an exthe Labor partyites; the L. I. P. A. President, while the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party is for Roosevelt. The decisive difference is in social base, in composition and structure. A Labor party is based upon the organizations of labor, trade unions fraternal organizations, political parties and groups, and upon the organizations of the farmers, cooperatives, constitutes a very secondary factor. individual workers but primarily to 29. It is clear that this far-reaching the bodies of workers already organing perspective can today assume vilized and therefore is capable of influ
(Continued on page 4) encing masses of those not organized.

inantly of the middle class. The L. ence that its membership and supworkers in a party led by the middle our comrades have, on occasions class by declaring that the middle put forward propositions in mass orclass was "numerically the largest in ganizations which, with the best adnothing but an endeavor to gain the support of the workers and farmers manufacturers, knowing that, because for a third party of the middle class. of the looseness and demoralization These efforts must be fought as injurious to the best interests of the incapable of a long and militant fight working class. They can be fought to gain better conditions. Such a most effectively by a drive for the strike at this time, in my opinion, formation of a Labor party. The could only end in disaster for the leaders of the L. I. P. A. must be union. In no industry have the Amerbor party, and not merely in words, but in social base and structure. The would be too shallow to lay the entire Unless I am wrong in my estimause of the word "labor" to cover up if they understand that the party must be led by the workers and by no other class.

There can be no doubt that in the struggle between the Labor and third party tendencies, the latter have the advantage at the present time. This s due in no small degree to the negative attitude taken by the two main political bodies in the ranks of the working class—the Communist Party and the Socialist party. The Com-A Labor party is the only effective munist Party, which abandoned its means for defeating the efforts being pro-Labor party attitude when the ultra-left line was adopted puts up the Communist Party as the alternative to all other forces in society tomiddle class. In the early stages the day. To the backward but discontentdifference in program between the ed masses, who are just breaking is obviously so abrupt a jump that amination of the program adopted at they can not be expected to make it. the last conference of the League for Independent Political Action will be thru a series of stages, of show. In fact, in many respects, the which the Labor party can be made sequent events will demonstrate their third-partyites are more radical than one. The Communist Party today declares that any new party distinct for instance has endorsed Thomas for from the Communist Party can only be "social-fascist" and it quently opposed to the Labor party Progressive Labor Action, and some of a Labor Party and declares its intention of fighting it if it is formed

analogous attitude, more subtly take the initiative in forming a Lacloaked. It declares that it will cooperate with a Labor party if one is large authoritative labor bodies, they farmers leagues, farmers education formed but sees "not the faintest can do a good deal of agitational al societies. Individual membership sign on the horizon, and refuses to work in this connection, and, if they do anything at all to develop a move coordinate their activities, they may A Labor party appeals not merely to ment for a Labor party or to help succeed in stimulating larger groups form one. Like the animals in the in the same direction. And no bet-

SOME HESITATIONS IN MASS WORK

In The Pre-Conference Discussion

by Paul Berg

Los Angeles, Calif. Idistrust of the administration they, ply correctly our trade union policy

of the union ranks, the workers were the present industrial crisis set in. It from them. Labor party or helping to form one, convulsions of our class caught un- in league with the reactioneries. prepared to the general onslaught by I will also mention the Tom Moo-

The cloakmakers are no exception.

bake it, but were very willing to help eat the bread, the Socialist party will Party, or farther, speculating what not lift a finger for a Labor party impression it will make there. This when there is no Labor party but will magnanimously step in and "cooper-ate," that is, try to benefit from it, ed to form united fronts for imafter someone else has organized the Labor party. Both the Communist lief, foreign-born, the right to strike, sectarianism, from a belief that they and radical movements. Such united are themselves sufficient to absorb the tremendous discontent which exists today among the workers. Sub-

Only the smaller groups in the labor movement, the Communist Party them only after we become a force (Majority Group), the Conference for movement, opposed to the formation workers and farmers groups in the West, have come out in favor of mortal fear of doing anything or of the formation of an inclusive Labor The Socialist party has adopted an party. While they cannot of course, bor party, which must come from

Our comrades often hesitate to ap- nevertheless, accepted the agreement. Instead of fighting for a strike, it in the A. F. of L. and other conser- should have been our policy to make vative mass organizations. This hesi-clear to the mass of workers the tation is in most cases a result of the causes that led to the worsening of attacks and slander hurled against us their conditions. By pointing out their by the Party burocrats. Our com- passivity and lack of interest in the rades are at great pains to prove to life of the organization, by pointing the Party that we, within the conout the guilt of the reactionary ofinevitable characteristic servative organizations, have not ficials with their class-collaboration of any third party movement. An merged with the reactionary leader-policy, we would have stood a better effort has even been made to justify this situation, and to try to enroll the state of the injury of our work.

Ship, as the Party maintains, often to chance to appear as a constructive force. This would not look at the first glance as a militant policy. But what sense is there in raving "militantly"? This will not help matters. The American labor movement today is Shirt movement, the resurrection of then by emphasizing its important cause of the weakness of the organi- utterly helpless. We need not go into role in society. The last conference zation. It was, for instance, wrong the causes now. This is a job for the of the L. I. P. A. gave definite proof on our part to fight against the historian. The fact however, is obvious. With one blow the bourgeoisie try made between the reactionary has succeded in shattering whatever there was of it. To see this we need only rise for a minute above the haze of the New York garment workers fire-works and have a laak across the country. It is our business now to go patiently to work and gather it together and reconstruct it on a better and more sound foundation. In our daily struggles today for the workers made to see that if there is to be ican workers fought back successfully interests we must first understand formed a party championing the interests of the masses, it must be a Lalagainst their standards of living since ing us so as not to detach ourselves the present industrial arising the form them.

> blame for this upon their union of- tion of the cloakmakers fighting abila new bourgeois party will not fool ficials only. The few truly militant lity, our policy was the result of the anyone. There can be no objection to struggles that have taken place, and Party's influence upon our group. It members of the middle class being in that are still in progress, are mere was the result of fear of appearing

the bourgeoisie. On the whole the rey conference held in New York by bourgeoisie had little difficulty in re- the Socialists where our comrades ducing the workers standard of liv- backed out and were too uncompromising to make it possible to work in a united front. In the Paterson silk By our insisting for a strike we could strike we created unnecessary fricnot help appearing adventurous to the tion with the other groups also an mass of cloakmakers. In spite of their account of what the Party leadership might say. These are deviations from our trade union line; they are hesitations and side-glances at the probably accounts for the fact why mediate demands (unemployment reetc.) with other sections in the labor fronts give us the best opportunity must not hesitate. We cannot win the favor of the Party chiefs by trying to ape them. Not even when they secretly flirt with us. We will win in the revolutionary movement.

Of individual members of our group I know or many who are in even saying anything because it might be misinterpreted as favoring

the reactionaries. Now I do not propose to ignore the official Communist Party. I maintain that our policy of winning over the Communist Parties to our line is the only policy possible today. But I hold that gaining inflcence in the labor movement, no matter how much our policy may conflict with the official Party policy, is the nly way of win-

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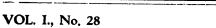
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Saturday, September 3, 1932

A CAPITALIST PLAN FOR LABOR

WITH characteristic cynicism, the leaders of the American Federa tion of Labor are going to celebrate Labor Day with a big balyhoo for one of the most viciously reactionary and brazenly anti-labor "recovery plans" as yet conceived—the Whalen-Advertising Club sevenpoint plan, endorsed and sponsored by Matthew Woll as Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

What are the elementary needs of labor in this crisis? Every worker, every trade unionist, without regard to his political or economic views, knows the answer: organized resistance against the wage-cutting drive defense and strengthening of the trade unions against the union-smashing offensive, an adequate system of unemployment relief including Federal unemployment insurance. Even the most conservative trade union officials cannot argue openly against this program, especially since the A. F. of L executive council recently endorsed compulsory jobless insurance. Yet what have the A. F. of L. leaders actually done—what are they actually doing today? They signed a sell-out pact with Herbert Hoover in the Fall of 1919 pledging labor against strikes at a time when only militant strike action could accomplish anything, and they followed up this act of betrayal by discouraging, suppressing and often openly sabotaging the sporadic strike struggles that have broken out in various parts of the country. They have bound the unions hand and foot, impotent in the fight for survival. Until the last minute change of heart, as yet only in words, they persecuted every element in the labor movement that raised its voice for unemployment insurance. This is the black record of the A. F. of L. official leadership. And now to cap the climax of infamy, they are trying to force upon labor a plan for its own further exploitation and enslavement.

What is this Whalen-Woll plan? It has nothing to say about wagecuts or unionism. It definitely rejects unemployment insurance. It proposes nation-wide and organized "collaboration" between the workers and the employers, between the slaves and the slaveowners, between the robbed and the robbers. It proposes to revise the anti-trust laws to make things easier for the trusts. It proposes, "wherever possible," the 5-day week and 6-hour day, without saying anything about wages. It proposes "broadening the base of taxation," to include the sales-tax, so as to shift the tax burdens even more on to the shoulders of the poor. It proposes to reduce government expenditures by economizing on social services and education and by cutting wages. And finally it proposes the abolition of prohibition.

How can even the most hardened labor "leader" have the gall to try to palm off this straightout capitalist plan as a scheme to benefit labor? What monumental contempt for their own membership they must feel if they think they can get away with it! And what weak tion in the labor movement it will indeed show if they really get away

The workers of this country, especially the members of the American Federation of Labor, for their part can find no better way of celebrating Labor Day than by making their voice beard, by demanding in thunder tones that the officials of the A. F. of L. should break with and openly condemn the utterly reactionary Whalen-Woll plan, by demonstrating their support of a real plan for labor, a plan based on a struggle against wage-cut, a campaign to build and strengthen the trade unions, a movement for Federal unemployment relief!

THE BARBUSSE ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

T HE so-called anti-war conference, befter known as the "Barbusse conference", is a striking illustration of the hopeless confusion, almost suicidal in its consequences, into which the official Communist Party has fallen. From first to last, from its inception to its execution, this conference has been in standing contradiction to the fundamentals of the Leninist struggle against war and the war danger. In this respect, the criticism repeatedly voiced by L. D. Trotsky has shown itself to be substantially correct.

That there is a strong anti-war sentiment making itself felt among the petty bourgeoisie, and especially among intellectuals and professionals, is not to be disputed. Nor can there be any question that it is the duty of the Communists to stimulate this sentiment, help it crystallize and assume organizational form, even tho, as is inevitable, such a movement will be deeply saturated with pacifist illusions and will be miles away from a clear revolutionary struggle against war. Every spark of opposition to the bloody regime of imperialism must be blown into flame! But it is one thing to do this and quite another thing to force into such a movement workers organizations and working class elements and thereby subject them to the confusing and demoralizing influence of petty bourgeois pacifism. Above all is it quite another thing to allow a movement of this type to replace a real drive for a working class united front against the danger of war. All of these basic errors have been committed by the Communist International and by the Communist Party of the U. S. A. They have set in motion a petty bourgeois pacifist movement into which they have thrown whatever labor support they could muster, hamstrung and gagged, under instructions not to challenge the ideological and organizational hegemony of the pacifists. They have categorically rejected the proposal for an international united front of the labor movement against war and have persistently pointed to the Barbusse conference in reply. And they have carried out their whole campaign in the accustomed arch-burocratic manner, barring certain delegates, suppressing others, handpicking representatives and so on. The result is that, even as a pacifist gesture against war, the Barbusse conference is already nothing more than a fiasco, another dismal failure added to the long record of the official Communist movement in recent years.

What is needed today on the field of the international struggle against war is simple and easily intelligible in the light of Leninist tactics:

1. A campaign for an international united front against the war danger, a united front that will include the Communist and Socialist Internationals the R.I.L.U. and the Amsterdam international trade union centers, the syndicalist international body, and all other international labor organizations. The initiative in this drive must come from the Communist International. The tactics followed by the C. I. ten years ago when the representatives of The tactics followed by the C. I. ten years ago when the representatives of the Communist, Socialist and Centrist Internationals met in conference in gram of immediate action intimately associated with every phase of Negro Berlin to discuss working class resistance against the reactionary offensive, should be the guide for today.

2. The anti-war sentiment of the petty bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals should be stimulated and organized but systematically and effectively criticized by the Communists and the movement thoroly subordinated to the anti-war movement of the working class. Only in this way can the petty bourgeois protest be turned into a valuable contribution to an effective struggle against war.

3. The burocratic dead-hand that paralyzes every form of mass activity undertaken by the official Communist movement today, must be lifted.

The Communist Opposition and the Communist International

Resolution of the International Conference

We publish below the main resolution, "The Relation of the International Union of the Communist Opposition to the Communist International and to Its Sections and to the Soviet. Union," adopted at the second International Conference held in Berlin in July 1932.—Editor

1. The organizations affiliated to the International Union of the Communist Opposition comprise an internationally organized tactical tendency of Communism, which arose in the struggle against the ultra-left course of the Comintern and its sections. The basic aim of the I. C. O. is to overcome the ultra-left course in the C. I. and in its sections, in the political, organizational and inner-party fields and to replace it by really Leninist tactics, i.e., by the correct application of the fundamentals and aims of Communism to the international class struggle of the proletariat and of the other oppressed and exploited classes.

An extremely effective means for the achievement of this end is for the International Communist Opposition to win a broad mass influence. By winning the support of masses of workers not belonging to the Communist Party, we are creating a broader basis for winning the Communist International. By winning the support of masses of workers not belonging to the Communist Party, we are creating a broader basis for winning the non-Communist masses for our aims, for

Reflecting the conditions under which they work, the organizations of the I. C. O. can be divided into three main types: (a) Where the organization of the I C. O. is the Communist Party, as in Sweden; here our task is to extend our role as the party of Communism, to liquidate the existing split organizations of the Comintern and finally to bring it about that in the respective country only one Communist Party should exist. (b) In countries, such as Germany and the United States, where the organization of the I. C. O. is only a group; here our task is to win the Communist Party but also to take over the role of the Communist Party in every case and in every question possible. (c) In countries, such as India, where the official section of the C. I. exists only on paper; here our task is to build up a real Communist Party on the basis of the tactical fundamentals of the I. C. O.

The Communist Opposition clearly understands that in any single country only one Communist Party must exist. The official bodies of the C. I. are splitting the Communist movement. The Communist Opposition desires to reestablish the unity of the Communist International and to strengthen it.

The organizations affiliated to the I. C. O. stand on the basis of the principles developed by Marx and Lenin, that is, on the basis of the section an fundamentals of the program of the Communist International, as well as on the basis of the tactical and organizational decisions of the first three congresses of the Communist International.

2. The decisive aims of the struggle of the I. C. O.

I. ON THE POLITICAL FIELD

(a) The reapplication of the tactics of the united front, which have been abandoned in fact by the ultraeft course. The sphere of the tactics of the united front is the leadership of the daily struggles of the working class and the bringing of the whole class to the struggle for power. The tactics of the united front demand the combination of an appeal to the members of the lower organizations with an appeal to the district and central leaderships of the reformist, centrist and, in various circumstances, Christian labor organizations. The application of the tactics of the united front requires the setting up of such partial demands and revolutionary transition slogans as correspond to the necessities and the understanding of the working class at the particular moment. it requires the spread of these slogans, worked out with the greatest care, among the masses of the proletariat and the toiling people. The agitation and propaganda of slogans of action must always be connected up with the propaganda of the fundamentals and aims of Communism. The objective of the tactics of the united front is to break the ideological political and, ultimately, organizational hold of reformism, etc., over the workers and to win them for Communism on the basis of their experience of struggle.

Communist leadership of united front actions cannot be placed as the prerequisite or condition for such actions but must be the result of correct and carefully planned Communist direction in struggle. The tactics of the united front do not aim to set up permanent alliances between Communist and non-Communist organizations nor to fuse them organizationally; they aim to set up alliances of struggle for concrete, temporary purposes. The tactics of the united front demand, for the Communist organizations, the full possibility of defending their fundamental principles and of criticizing within the bounds of the discipline of action. These tactics, as a means of winning the majority of the working class in the struggle for Communism, reach their limit as soon as this aim is achieved. They are an indispensible means of drawing the majority of the working class into the struggle for power and of making the influence of Communism decisive among the workers. The struggle for

power itself presupposes that these results have already been achieved. It (the struggle for power), therefore, falls outside the bounds of the united front tactics but bases itself on their results.

(b) The liquidation of the ultra-left trade union course of the C.I. of the R.I.L.U., and of their sections, i. e., the course involving the creation of "revolutionary" trade unions outside of and against the already existing reformist and other mass organizations, the immediate leadership of economic struggles by the C. P., the setting up, in the trade unions, of dual strike leaderships embracing only a section of workers involved in the struggle, etc. The ultra-left trade union course must give way to the struggle for winning the reformist and other organizations to the revolutionary struggle of the working class for power, for the triumph of Communism. In order that this may be achieved Communist fractions must be organized under the leadership of the Party and its organs.

The already organized "Red" unions must, after an open and complete abandonment of the policy of splitting the trade unions by the C. P., fight for their admission into the mass unions. The Party must at the same time urge and organize, on the basis of the slogans of the revolutionary class struggle on the trade union field, the entrance of all those ready to fight for the revolutionization of the trade unions into the trade unions, for the purpose of strengthening them organizationally, defending them against all reactionary attacks and reestablishing and defending

(c) The same holds good for the tactics of the Communist Party in all other proletarian mass organiza-

(d) The abandonment of the false and dangerous "theory" of "social-fascism", which is only a pseudo-Marxist repetition of the liberal theory of Fascism, according to which Fascism cannot supppress the traditional bourgeois parties, including also the reformist parties, but must always constitute an auxiliary for them. The theory of "social-fascism" is able only to prevent any real analysis of Fascism and of the Social-democracy and to weaken the recognition of the real danger of Fascism. It constitutes an obstacle in the way to winning the Social-democratic workers

(e) The abandonment of all deviations in the direction of petty bourgeois nationalism ("national-bolshevism," etc.), of all ideological adaptations to Fascist ideology in place of a struggle against it on the basis of the Communist conception of the subordination of the national to the social struggle for the emancipation of the working class and the other sections of the toil-

II. ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL FIELD

The reestablishment of democratic centralism and of inner-party democracy in the Comintern and in the sections. This includes:

(a) The conducting of discussions on disputed tactical questions with the participation of the entire membership. These discussions must be limited only by the fundamentals of Communism and by the necessity of assuring discipline in action.

(b) The election of functionaries, under legal conditions, by the membership and a constant and effective control (supervision) over their activities by the membership. The complete liquidation of the burocratic distortions of democratic centralism.

(c) The active leadership of the C. I and its sections on the basis of collective collaboration of the representatives of all sections in the Executive of the Comintern and in its organs.

Already in March 1930 the German Communist Opposition (and other organizations of the I. C. O.) addressed an Open Letter to the Comintern in which it was declared:

"The C. I. finds itself in a crisis threatening its existence, making it incapable of fulfilling its histori-

And further:

"The danger is threatening that the Communist Parties will be completely destroyed as political mass factors in their countries, that nothing will remain of them except sects, Party apparatus, stagnating outside of the great movement of the working class.'

Subsequent development has not only fully confirmed the correctness of this estimation but has even sharpened to an extraordinary degree these dangers. In order to overcome these dangers and to provide

the conditions for a victorious struggle of the revolutionary class, the C.P.G.-O., at that time, placed the following demands: The immediate withdrawal of all expulsions and

disciplinary measures against the opponents of the ultra-left course. An immediate international discussion on the basis

of democratic centralism for the purpose of working out the political course of the Communist Interna-

The new election of Party leaderships and Party functionaries, including the Executive of the C. I., on the basis of this discussion.

The carrying out of the fundamental idea that the sections of the C. I. are bound, under legal conditions, to raise the necessary means for their regular work out of the contributions of their members.

Subsequent developments have only emphasized the indispensability of these demands.

(Concluded in the next issue)

AND LABOR

(Continued from Page 3)

tality and general significance only if as a natural development of a pro-

THE NEGRO MASSES the leadership of the Negro proleta- gle against lynching, jim-crowism and discrimination. The Communists and its Negro agents (the Negro bourgeoisie). The Communists must throw all energies into breaking down of the capitalist political parties over all barriers between the Negro and the Negro masses and to win these white workers and into strengthening masses to the cause of labor, which is it can be shown in life itself to emerge the bonds between the white workers their cause as well, and to labor class and the Negro people. The Commu-political action (the Labor party as nist program must champion the the champion of the oppressed Neassociated with every phase of Negro abolition of peonage and the serf conlife under the caste oppression of ditions of the Negro farmers in the Negro masses in these struggles (and American society. The Communists South, the organization of leagues of of Negroes and whites side by side) must defend and represent the basic share-croppers and tenants and unions thru the development of these struginterests of the Negro workers, of of farm-laborers. The Communists gles to ever higher and higher levels the Negro peasants and of the Negro must stand for the complete equality the road will be opened for the reali petty bourgeoisie, to the degree that of the Negro in industry, the smash- zation of the far-reaching perspective the latter constitutes a progressive historical force. The Communists must try to weld together the masses of the Negro people (workers, peasants, city petty bourgeoisie) under of the Negro in industry, the smasn-tation of the Negro in industry, the smasn-tation of the smasn-tation of the Negro in industry, the smasn-tation of the final emancipation of the Negro people from their submerged caster position as a phase of the general emancipation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capitalism.

demand the complete social and political equality of the Negro race. The Communists strive to break the hold



THE MODERN QUARTERLY, Summer 1932, volume VI, no. 2.

For one reader at least this issue s the best the Modern Quarterly has dependent on charity, reveals that the ever put out. So many of the articles former are considerably better fed. invite a thoro examination that it is a thankless job to attempt to do full justice to any within the scope of a single review.

For the evidence it offers of the lefinite left trend amongst American ntellectuals to-day, the questionnaire got jealous and wanted to eat at the Whither the American Writer," answered by writers of various atitudes, naturally occupies first place stalls, dry bedding and oats. in timely interest. The above-the-battle attitude of the ivory tower is on the wane. These intellectuals are toward the relation of propaganda worrying about the bankers. and art. Significant also is the almost unanimous viewpoint expressed in regard to the Socialist party as a party Dos Passos's remarks (page excepionalism!):

"Somebody's got to have the size to Marxianize the American tradiican worker on the social revolution. Or Americanize Marx."

rey's compact article "Monopolistic Capitalism and Imperialism." Characterized expectations of the special appetite is better. acterized especially by its grasp of the fundamentals of the theoretical aspects of imperialism as well as by wills with his own," so he kicks out its richly detailed concrete applica- the producer as an alien but he oils tion to American imperialism, it is a and protects the machinery because very satisfying performance. It is unfortunate that the general excellence of the article is marred by the author's unhappy formulation of "inner imperialism" (applied to the role er rusts and rots he can always get of the North East industrial interests another. in their relation to the South and West) which can make for theoretical unclarity, if not downright confusion.

Briffault's interesting article, Fellow Travellers" exhibits the same rirtues and faults that characterizes his "Breakdown" and his recent articles. The author shares with other intellectuals an over-simplified and able-bodied and capable of producing too abstract conception on certain ehey live in millions in the Hoovermatters of great importance (strategy and tactics, for instance, and the painful everyday development of a movement) sharply symbolized perhaps in his statement: "There are no out of the soil he enriches it with fellow-travellers." There is no mistaking, however, the eloquent sincerity taken too much out of a worker he of the man, his cataloguing of the plants the worker himself for fertilizill-pervading rottenness of capitalist er. ivilization, his enthusiasm for the Soviet Union and the philosophy that gave it birth, his vitriolic scorn of the trivialities of the timid intellectuals worrying about their sacred lot of money recently but he remains about their ears.

The articles "Literature and Social Change" by Newton Arvin, "Literary Criticism and Marxian Method" by Granville Hicks and Calverton's editorial comment on Edmund Wilson's recent articles in the New Repblic continue to thrash out the pros and cons of proletarian art, Marxism miles is not delicate enough to measand literary method, Mike Gold versus Thornton Wilder, Hazlitt versus Cal-

Calverton's "Open Letter to Wm. Z. Foster" answering the latter's charge of "social-fascism" would have been even more effective had it been sharper in tone and had it gone beyond the rather narrow personal attack objectively the sectarian sterlity of which the "theory" of "socialfascism" is the symbol.

Will Herberg's excellent article 'The Civil War in New Perspective," supplying needed Marrist reorientation on this important period, Calverton's article, "Lefward analyzing the reasons for the leftward drift amongst American intellectuals and indicating similar tendencies in the past, Schmallhausen's article "Psychoanalysis and Com-munism," and Sidney Hook's second installment of "From Hegel to Marx," complete the list of articles. The last named article merits serious consideration, but in view of the fact that the columns of the Age will soon have an estimate of Hook's entire position, the very inadequate consideration that could be given here most remain unsaid.

A review of the theatrical season 1931-32 and the "Literary Caravan" (book review section) are excellent and a real advance over the same sections in recent issues.

Jim Cork

We reprint the following item from the New York Times:

"SEAGIRT, N. J.-Clad in blue dungarees, 200 guardsmen, posing as rioters, supposed to have been inflamed to direct action by soap-box oratory advanced upon the Governor's cottage, howling for higher

"From the opposite direction appeared the infantry platoon with gas masks and shining bayonets. The forces of law and order and the strikers clashed. There was a considerable fuss. 'Cossaks!' shouted the 'strikers' and their opponents used the tear-gas candles.'

It is only necessary to add that Governor Moore of New Jersey, under whose direction and at whose estate this edifying exercise took place, was elected with the support of organized labor in New Jersey as a "friend of



A comparison of the diet of prisoners in the public jails, and workers

Of all the animals kept by the wealthy, the jobless worker is incomparably the worst housed and fed.

Aesop tells a fable of a horse that be jealous of horses and envy their

The bankers have presented themselves with several billions from the becoming politically and socially conspublic treasury, voted, of course, by cious and are changing their tradi-tional attitude toward literature as Billion Dollar Unemployment Relief. independent of time and space. It is interesting to note the new attitude cause it relieves the unemployed of

When a farmer can't make profit gard to the Socialist party as a party which . . . "has become too deeply implicated in the capitalistic outlook to provide a firm direction." Particularly significant and timely are local party significant and timely are passes's remarks (page exceptions). The Passes's remarks (page exceptions) out of a horse, he feeds and nouses him anyhow. But when a factory owner can't make any more profit out of a worker, he kicks him out to starve. What the workers need is out of a horse, he feeds and houses some horse sense!

It's bad enough under capitalism when we are sweated and exploited. tion before you can sell the Amer- But it's even worse when we get a rest.

The able-bodied worker is worse

"it costs something."

Wear and tear on machinery involves expense but there's no expense in wear and tear on the worker.

villes, jungles and city dumps of America.

When a machine is really worn out

Timely advice for voters: "Beware

loyal to the Administration.

The Akron may be a gas bag, too. bue it's not running for re-election.

No, dear reader, the intsrument which can measure the heat of a candle flame at a distance of twenty ure the enthusiasm of Governor Roo-

Society Sport

sevelt for the "forgotten man."

Europe's leisure class has gone in for a new sport. At Juan-les-Pins. famous watering place and gambling resort, the idle rich have gone in for cockroach racing.. The roaches, which imits which it obviously set itself, to abhor light, are driven along glasscovered tracks into dark holes, spurred on by a powerful electric light. Hundreds of thousands of francs change hands at the races. It is a strange perversion when the human parasites find fun in the vermin that capitalist filth and poverty maintain. Instead of going to Juan-les-Pins let them move into the slums of any big city. There they can see all the cockroach racing they want.

Soft Soaping The Land
The Democratic Campaign Com-

mittee has decided to raise campaign funds by selling a bar of soap wrapped in red-and-blue paper stamped with the legend: "Democratic Soap— Let's Clean Up America.'

How about starting in by cleaning up the mess made by the Tammany Tiger in New York City? Cleanliness like charity, should begin at home!

Gassing Their Comrades To entertain Governor Moore and

to get some "practice" Jersey National Guard dressed up 200 of their number in blue dungarees and had them masquerade as strikers demanding a living wage. Then the guardsmen tossed tear gas bombs and dispersed the "strikers." The Governor was in tears at the sight because a little was wafted his way. Such are he pursuits of "our" army practicing to carry out its "democratic" funcions!

While this rehearsal was going on, American delegates to the arms conference were pretending to negotiate a treaty to outlaw the use of gas in war time! No gas for "foreigners"! Keep it all for B. E. F. veterans, strikers and the unemployed! Gassing begins at home!

'Two things," said Kant, "fill me with breathless awe: The starry heavens and the moral

But I know a thing more awful and

obscure-The long patience of the plundered

-Edwin Markham

B. D. W.