A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

# At First **GLANCE**

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE General Motors Corporation doubled its annual dividend. Besides an extra dividend is also to be presented to its stockholders who will thus receive total of \$32,000,000 in handouts. What better sign of "recovery" could

the Roosevelt administration ask for? We venture to say that the Democratic National Campaign Committee will, in the coming presidential elections, utilize this fact not only as an "accurate" economic index but as a means of getting handsome contributions.

Of course it is silly to accept the General Motors dividend as a feather in the wind of returning prosperity. In so far as the great mass of the workers is concerned, huge corporation profits often confirm the lack of prosperity. But why the sudden flush in the profits of the auto kings? For sometime we have believed that a major factor in this automotive boom is the ever increasing war preparations by the American as well as preparations by the American as well as because of the so-called unemployment other governments. The latest statistics insurance bill sponsored by Lehman and covering the production of trucks for passed by the State Legislature. home and export consumption are revealing in this respect. And the next months will see this phase of automotive of labor saw no contradiction in the

TE are not far removed from the conviction that people in general tend to underestimate the extent to which military preparations in the capitalist countries are aimed at the do-mestic "enemy" rather than the foreign

In substantiation of our opinion we cite the recent declaration of Major Gen. C. E. Brigham, chief of the chemical warfare service of the U.S. army. The latter frankly declared: Industrial unrest in various parts of the U. S. has had the effect of increasing the efforts of the National Guard units toward better training in the use of chemicals in civil dis-turbances and has further tended to fix the attention of the guard on chemical combat as a feature of its war mission."

Strikes apparently are the target. American coal diggers and textile weavers, lumbermen and longshoremen are to be drenched in gas at least as much as are Nipponese soldiers. Profits must be preserved, now with the covering shibboleth "law and order," then "democracy and civilization." That worker or revolutionist who makes the slightest mistake about the character and objectives of big, capitalist military preparation, at any time, willy-nilly, is guilty of conduct most detrimental to the basic interests of the working class at home and abroad—in the U.S.S.R. as well as in the U. S., in Germany as well as in France.

OW much Mussolini is up against it can be seen from the kind of arguments and appeals his henchmen have to make in order to keep the home stew hot. All the world knows that economic strain in Italy is heading towards the breaking point. Ballyhoo cannot replace the lack of capital, the flight of which is evermore painfully impressive. Noise is no substitute for an active trade balance; it is no cure for an evermore anaemic gold reserve. Patriotic hot air has never served to check an ominous

What's Mussolini doing about it? He sets about to discover a great substitute for everything big and small that's lacking. The very character of this substitute reveals not only the flimsiness of the fibre of this appeal, but also the shakiness of the entire foundation of Italian economy today. By way of illustration we cull the following gem from one of Mussolini's most feverish and raucuous mouthpieces, Il Popolo d'Italia:

"... In England it is much easier to arrive at the truth thru the costly path of practical experience than by the easy method of intuitive foresight. This is proof of the supreme justice Sy of the Divine Providence which has given gold to some and the Great B. Light of intuition to others."

So it has come to pass that Mussolini Ha is now relying on that great, intangible Sai "feminine virtue"—intuition. One thing Ev is sure: Italian Fascism, regardless of B. the noise its vociferous spokesman may E. make about the "Great Light" that Providence has given it, will have to rely Ra much more on gold and its equivalents Sin rather than on intuition for fighting the I. Ethiopians. And here precisely is the S. rub. It's gold and other metals that are S. so necessary for modern warfare which Ro Mussolini doesn't have and which "Pro- B. vidence" hasn't given him.

# U. S.-SOVIET RELATIONS IN DANGER

## NY Labor Meet For WPA Strikes

Labor Party and Industrial Unionism Defeated; Nazis Are Sharply Condemned

The recently closed convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, undoubtedly the most conservative in the country, showed once again that the hand of Tammany Hall still lies heavy on the labor movement of the Empire

Governor Lehman and President Roosevelt came in for very high praise from these official leaders and even Wiliam Green, stepping out of his role of labor leader, read Lehman's fortune by telling him that great national tasks await him and that labor's support is pledged to him in advance. what he was being praised for was not clear but it is understood that it was

Having squarely placed themselves on record for Roosevelt, these wise leaders production much accelerated. Modern adoption of a resolution unanimously armies move on trucks 22 much as on their bellies.

disapproving the "security wage" and authorising the extension of WPA strike activity for the prevailing wage.

In the matter of war and fascism the State Convention tagged along after the position of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. by regretting the growth of the military spirit; by approving the A. F. of L. stand against Italy's role in Ethiopia; by calling for a boycott against Nazi Germany and condemning any and all dictatorships.

A resolution for the liberation of Tom and Warren K. Billings was also car-

when it came to issues which divide the organized labor movement now, the real character of the convention was brought out. The resolution for industrial unionism was overwhelmingly defeated. Similarly the resolution for a Labor Party, introduced by delegate Charles Zimmerman, of Local 22 I.L.G.W.U., and defended by Zimmerman, Murray Gross, and Dr. Lefkowitz of the Teachers Union, was bitterly fought against. It almost came to blows during the speech of Dr. Lefkowitz. Strangely enough, the latter, who is himself guilty of considerable red baiting in his own union, was attacked by Meany and Ryan as a Communist and a borerfrom-within.

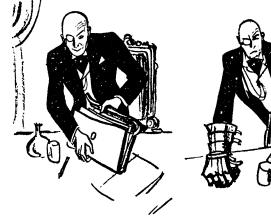
Despite the reactionary stand of the State Convention on most of the live issues before the labor movement it is important to note that there was a of the Comintern on war, bourgeois degroup of progressives, fighting the mocracy and coalition governments, has policies of Meany, for the first time in been discussed in the press and in all

# UNITED FRONT

The Executive of the Socialist and fronts with Communists. Labor International, meeting in Brussels, turned down a proposal for meeting a this attitude by the LSI can come only delegation from the Communist Inter- from the supporters of the Revolutionnational, to discuss the formation of a united front. Adler was authorized "to make a study" of the position of the Comintern and report back to the Noember session of the Executive.

With this decision as an excuse, right vingers of the type of Waldman have rushed into print with an "I told you so." t bears out, they insist, their own posi- have solved all difficulties.

Development Of Peace Conference On Ethiopia



FIRST WEEK



SECOND WEEK



THIRD WEEK



THE END

# C.P.O. CONVENTION TO MEET **AUGUST 31 TO SEPTEMBER 2**

Condition Of Revolutionary Movement Will Be Analyzed; Present Comintern Course Estimated And Program Of **Action Worked Out For The Communist Opposition** 

ecent decisions of the Communist International have aroused keen interest in every section of the labor and revolutionary movement. Even more so is this the case with the Communist Party Op-position which has been conducting a running fire of criticism against the whole tactical course of official Communism. The attitude towards the position organizations of the CPO. The final attitude of the CPO will be determined by the Fifth Convention of the CPO which opens in New York on Saturday, August

At the moment the only opposition to ary Policy Publishing Ass'n since the Militants have tied their own hands thru the decisions of the last meeting of their National Executive Committee. American controversy was not taken up at the Executive of the LSI since the agreement reached between the "Old Guard" and the "Militants" was held to

There is hardly a doubt but that the 31 and will continue thru September 2. The convention will be opened at 10 A.M. with a report by Jim Cork on "The Situation of the International Labor Movement and the Condition of the In-

ternational Communist Opposition." This will be followed by a report by Jay Lovestone on the "Present Situation and the Tasks of the CPO." Lovestone will deal in detail with our estimate of the present line of the Comintern.

The last of the three major reports will be delivered by Charles Zimmerman on the "Problems and Outlook of the American Labor Movement." Zimmerman will deal in detail with the condi-tion in the trade unions and will outline

Attendance to all sessions is confined Attendance to all sessions is confined to delegates and members of the CPO in the stamping ground of populist to delegates and members of the CPO in

The immediate release of Charles Krumbein, labor organizer, was demanded of the United States Board of Pardons by Charles S. Zimmerman in the name of the thirty thousand members of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. of which he is the head. In his telegram to the board, Zimmerman points out that Krumbein was imprisoned on a trivial technical charge and was given an unprecedentedly heavy sentence which "can be interpreted only as persecution for political views." The telegram follows

U. S. Board of Pardons

Washington, D. C. In name of thirty thousand workers organized in Dressmakers Union Local Twenty-Two I.L.G.W.U. I want to urge your Board to release Charles Krumbein now eligible for parole. Charge against .00 Krumbein is trivial and technical one .00 and unprecedented severity of his sentence can be interpreted only as persecution for political views against which our organization protest most vigorously We add our voice to growing protest against miscarriage of justice and to 45 demand for Krumbein's immediate re-

### State Department Cites VII Comintern Congress As **Basis For Action**

At last the untiring and persistent anti-Soviet crusade of the National Civic Federation, Hearst and Woll appear to be beginning to bear fruit. Relations between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union having become very strained with the submission of the note from the State Department to Nicolai Krestinsky, Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs for the Soviet Union.

The note submitted by Ambassador Bullitt, couched in the most "undiplomatic terms" and bristling with threats and warnings, bases itself upon the pledge signed by Maxim Litvinoff in 1933, in which the Soviet Union pledged itself to restrain organizations from propaganda having as its aim the bringing about by force of a change in the political and social order of the whole or any part of the United States." The charge is then made that the speeches and decisions at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, especially the speeches of the American delegates, constitute a breach of the above pledge.

Altho no names of speakers are mentioned and no citations from speeches it became known that action was taken on the basis of the reports published in the Soviet press.

Characterizing these speeches as a "flagrant violation" the note proceeds in part as follows:

"The Government of the United States anticipates the most serious consequences if the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is unwilling, or unable, to take appropriate measures to prevent further acts in disregard of the solemn pledge given by it to the Gov-ernment of the United States.

"The development of friendly relations between the Russian and American peoples will inevitably be precluded by the continuance on territory of the Union of Soviet Republics of activities involving interference in the internal affairs of the American people."

Altho political observers in Washington do not expect an actual break in diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union yet friends of the Soviet Union would do well to be on guard and to be prepared to make the government in Washington hear voices other than those f William Randolph Hearst and Matthew Woll. Now is the time to strengthen the drive against the anti-Soviet campaign.

## "UTOPIA" WINS IN ALBERTA

The unprecedented sweep of William Aberhart's party into control of the Alberta provincial government reflects the widespread mass discontent of Canada's unemployed workers and impoverished wheat farmers. Driven by hunger and agrarian ruin to grasp at any economic straw the Alberta voters have placed their faith "on faith" in a queer mixture the tasks necessary to strengthen and of the Townsend Plan and the "money" economics of Major Douglas.

fallen for the evangelistic bunk and All delegates are urged to come not pseudo economics of Reverend Aberhart later than 10 A.M. on Saturday, Aug. 31. Essentially this new faith cure is based on a scheme of government price control LOCAL 22 DEMANDS thru production taxes (shades of the AAA). The proceeds of the tax is to be KRUMBEIN PAROLE distributed as a "basic dividend" of about \$25 per month to every citizen. This dividend must be spent within the year or else converted into government bonds. The scheme also calls for "just wages." But what is "just" will be left to be determined by the boss class who owns and controls the means of production and distribution.

The discontented farmers and workers of Alberta will soon learn that wheat prices are determined on the world market and not by planners within the capitalist framework at Calgary. They will learn, and even sooner, that wealth distribution without wresting that wealth from capitalist ownership and control cannot be achieved by chasing rainbow crackpots like Aberhart.

### **Auto Unions Convene To** Form International

DETROIT, Mich.-The convention to organize an International Union of Auto workers got under way here on Satur-day, August 25. Approximately 300 delegates representing about 50,000 workers are expected to attend. From the very opening of the convention it became clear that progressive forces would challenge the conservative leadership of Dillon.

# Age Summer Fund Nears Closing

7	CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED	S. Mesnil 5.0
	(As of August 14, 1935)	DETROIT—Simms 3.0
•	Sylvia Attenzon\$ 2.00	Miller 2.5
3	B. Herman10.00	Bennish 2.5
t	B. Brandon 1.00	McCarty 2.0
	Ida Halpert 2.00	HARTFORD—Young 2.5
i	Hassenberg 1.00	Gordon 2.5
9	Sam Richman 1.00	MONTREAL—E. M 5.0
5	Eva Schlachter 2.00	Sympathizer
f	B. S10.00	M. Potovsky
	E. Stone 2.00	
-	Julius Stone on list 1.00	Assoc. of Lithuanian Workers 5.0
7	Ray Michael 5.00	J. B. A10.0
3	Sinensky 2.00	
9	I. Steinberg 5.00	TOTAL\$ 115.5
9	S. Steiglitz 1.00	PREVIOUSLY LISTED\$1,310.9
9	S. S. Vivian 5.00	PREVIOUSEI DISTED
1	Rose Brill 5.00	GD 437D MOTAT 91 496
-	B. Broder 3.00	GRAND TOTAL\$1,426.4
ļ	R. Macklin and L. Michael15.00	STILL TO GO\$ 73.8

HAS COMINTERN GONE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC?

# "LEFT GOVERNMENT" AS FRENCH C. P. SEES IT

This is the second installment of an exhaustive article on the present opportunist course pursued by the French Communist Party. This course has since become the official policy of the Communist International—as expressed in the decisions of its Seventh Congress.

Seventh Congress.

This article is reprinted from Gegen Den Strom, central underground organ of the German Communist Party (Opposition) .-

On May 13th, the day after the muni cipal elections had registered the left-ward swing of the masses, high finance, allied with the most reactionary forces, launched its attack on the franc and the national treasury causing a severe panic. THE GOVERNMENT (Flandin's cabinet asked for authority to "NATIONAL UNITY" break the panic, to save the franc and to replenish the national treasury. He wanted to use such authority to further deflation, reduce wages, salaries, pensions and social legislation in general, thus helping the nation to regain its financial

On May 30th, Flandin was overthrow by a vote of 353 against 202. Ex-Social-Bouisson, President of the Chamber. was asked by the President of the Republic to form a new cabinet.

It was as this time that the Communist fraction in the Chamber raised the question of the formation of a "left government." To quote Vaillant-Couturier in the "Humanite" of May 31st: "It is to the ever-lasting honor of

our Party that in this complicated sitof appealing to the Peoples Front in the Chamber itself." What about this "bold initiative"?

What about "the appeal to the People Front in the Chamber itself?" The Communist fraction in the Chamber asked the Socialist fraction to issue a joint call for a meeting of the "Left Groups" meaning the fraction of the Radical Socialist Party and the small groups between it and the Socialist Party (Neo-Socialists, PUP'ists). According to the report of "Humanite," Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the CPF and the leader of the CP fraction fused to grant full power." in the Chamber, said the following at the

PLEAS FOR "LEFT GOVERNMENT"

session of the "Left Group."

The CP continues to fight for Soviet power; however, no efforts must b spared to protect workers of hand and brain and defend democratic rights. He asked for an increased tax on capital in order to cover the national deficit; the dissolution of fascist leagues, and the arrest of Fascist leaders.

"Oeuvre" (Parisian organ of the left wing of the Radical Socialist Party) reports the meeting of the "Lefts" on May 30th as follows: The representative of the Radicals,

Delbos, asked the SP to participate in the government. Thorez then stated that the CP was ready to support a government which will dissolve fascist leagues, and save the franc thru repressive measures against high nce. Leon Blum, representative of the SP, said that the conditions of entering into the government laid down by the SP had remained unchanged. He proposed a compromise

Thorez thereupon explained that the CP was not interested in ministerial portfolios, but that it was ready to fight devaluation by means of measures such as, capital taxes, nationalization of the key industries, of insurance companies, etc.—measures taken directly from the programs of the Radical Socialists and Social Democrats. Thorez went on to say that he himself could see no harm in perpresident of the committee of investigation of Febrary 6th, to enter the has come out ag

"Whereupon," the bourgeois paper continues, "Leon Blum declared that it was impossible for his party to work together with elements that were to the right of the Radicals."

"grand Republican coalition."

spects will correspond to the wishes of the French people exists. Should of the French people calcol. Should such a government decide to fight such a government decide to fight. First, it cannot be said that the Cominceed with new elections."

apply its radicalism in accordance Social-democracy.

In The Series "Opportunism Of The French Communists"

WORKERS AGE

tion of participating in a government;

In its introduction this program ention of a "left government" came to dorses the "plan" of the CGT—socializanaught. The Radical Socialists preferred

THE GOVERNMENT OF

"Left Groups" were taking place, Bouis- no minimum wage laws. son conducted his own negotiations. The majority of the Radicals decided to participate in a new government of "Naional Unity" with Bouisson at the head The ministers under Bouisson included right wingers such as Louis Marin, Generals Petain, Maurin and Denain as wel is Radicals such as, Herriot, Caillaux, etc., the Socialist, Frossard who resigned rom his party and the Neo-Socialis Lafont who likewise left his party. Th Bouisson regime was a government of 'National Unity" with a stronger les ving element. The strengthening of the left wing was the result of the pressur

Bouisson's cabinet lasted exactly on uation it has taken the bold initiative day. The Radicals once more yielded to pressure from the left. In the Chamber Ramette told the Radicals:

of the municipal elections.

"Many of your members are agreement with our proposals for ac tion. Why hesitate to form a govern ment which will aid the unemployed support the petty bourgeoisie, force the rich to pay, dissolve the fascis leagues and pursue a genuine peac policy alongside the Soviet Union?" Humanite carried the following head

ine in the issue after the overthrow of Bouisson: "The Peoples Front (!) re Vaillant-Couturier stated in an article

"A government that is opposed t the Peoples Front can no longer stand. . . . As far as we are concerned are ready to support any government decree as long as it expresses the will of the Peoples Front. . . are ready to support the united ac- working masses." tions of all lefts all over the country in all stages in order to aid in th speculators and to dissolve all fascist organizations, the "active minorities which are planning another February 6th putsch.'

After the overthrow of Bouisson th S.P. wrote in its press:

"The immediate solution must b sought in the formation of a government by a loyal, solidified and aggresganizations and the democratic forces of the nation.'

GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

porting a policy which will really de-tion of key industries, etc .- without to enter a government of "national unifend the workers and will force the which the crisis cannot be overcome. The ty" this time headed by Laval. Finally speculators to give up their prey, program itself contains demands that are Laval's powers were formally restricted which will preserve democratic rights not even reformist. The chief of them be- In reality, his powers are the same a and peace in the face of fascist dan- ing the demand for large state loans for were Flandin's. At the voting on the Roosevelt's because it contains no gua- Laval's experiment for the time being While these negotiations with the rantees whatsoever on wage rates and

> The program assumes that the CP regards the formation of a left wing gov- in regard to the formation of a governmore this government would have the influence on the future tactics of the support of the masses and the CP in the Party itself and the development of the Humanite commented on this program

absolutely necessary that all left wing parties fully accept it so that a milithe whole accomplished its end.

The formation of a "left" government is referred to indirectly, as shown by the liament from the start."

"It is entirely conceivable to have

in practice.... The indispensable parliamentary contacts must be translated peal of June 7th demands: in the city and the village into large, permanent and fraternal organiza tions forming the last guarantee o freedom in our country.'

At the meeting of the left wing in the Chamber, Vincent Auriol asked Thorez whether or not the Communists would vote for the budget of a "left" governour position remains unchanged. We ment. Thorez answered as follows: We Communists, "are ready to take all measures to prevent fascism and to gua-

At the negotiations of the "left deleapplication of the old Radical Social- gation" Thorez explained why the CP

> "By staying out of the government the Communists are reducing to a minimum the possibility that reac- A CENTRAL COMMITTEE tionary agitators will raise the red WHITEWASH scare. I repeat, tho we are for soviet demands of the Peoples Front."

opinion that the bourgeoisie will put up valuable "development" of the Peoples sive majority based on workers or- with a "left government" if it appears Front. pretty harmless in its composition and program and if the Communists which support it appear rather harmless. In reality, the opposite is true. The bourgeisie will tolerate a left government

The SP was ready to participate in a only when it is the lesser evil as comeft wing government. The "left dele- pared with the possibility of a more revrations" met once more in the Chamber. olutionary government, if in other words, The Radical Socialists put a few ques- the Communists act like true revolutionions to the SP in reference to their govaries instead of having the "courage" Here's what the resolution says: ernment program. The SP very quickly to urge a government of Radicals and formulated a government program. (It Social Democrats with a program far

assume responsibility for such a gov- was actually drawn up by Vincent Au- more backward than Roosevelt's. All maneuvers in regard to the forma-

> the stimulation of public works. Thus Laval regime, the left wing of the Radit corresponds to Roosevelt's New Deal, icals abstained and announced thru its being however, far more reactionary than representatives that it would observe

> > THE CONSEQUENCES

The the "bold" initiative of the CPF ernment as necessary and that further- ment had no results, it had a deep-going

practical inefficacy of the formation of cialists and Radical Socialists to the ex-"We realize that this program which a left government by stating that: "The tra-parliamentary field. we must formulate corresponds in new government as represented by Laval general to the interests of the people but we emphasize again that it is not ber but recently overthrew." This is an

tant government can be formed. Just | The most important consequence of the as it is not necessary that all parties abortive attempt to form a left wing Laval. During the cabinet crisis the come out for the dissolution of par- government was the attempt to transfer the left cartel policy to the exra-par-Duclos, secretary of the Party, writes liamentary field, to adjust the political the following in Humanite on "Unity Against Full Power":

and organizational line to the left cartel policy entitled the "Peoples Front."

a government with a program that corresponds to the will of the people. In the second of those who demanded even during the however, only speaks of the support of measures which would be in the interest This government would have the support of the working masses to the extent to which it applies its program on this became the official policy of the control committee in an any of the control Party. The Central Committee in an ap- Party. But instead of openly discussing

And it is only logical after this that check on the leadership. acques Duclos, the secretary of the Party, puts the class struggles of 1935 methods on the question of national dein the same category with the bourgeois fense and war. This regime enables the revolutions of the past: "This is the class enemy to create the greatest constitution of the party." struggle of the whites (!) against the people... Once upon a time, the French people defeated the whites (!)...etc."

What progress! The CP is taking over tions. application of the old Radical Socialist program of putting special taxes was ready to support a left government the historical mask of the Radical Soperation of the Radical Soperation of the Radical Soperation of the historical mask of the Radical Soperation of the starting over the historical mask of the Radical Soperation of the old Radical Soperation of the ol

The resolution of the Central Commitpower, we are ready to support a gov- tee of June 7th not only approves the ernment determined to carry out the action of the Party leadership and the ing demands fraction in the Chamber during the The Communist fraction then is of the crisis; it recognizes this activity as a

of the Peoples Front."

'Development of the Peoples Front"? "The Party is occupied with the

he himself could see no narm in permitting a man like Bonnevay, the mitting a man like Bonnevay, the mitting a man like of investi-

# gation of Febrary oth, to the bourgeois state of the bourgeois right wing parties but the bourgeois right wing parties but composition of Chamber of the bourgeois right wing parties but the bourgeois right wing parties but the bourgeois right wing parties but the composition of Chamber of the composition

By EDWARD SAGARIN

the right of the naticals.

Delbos asked for the realization of a of the Communist International on the questions of war, bourgeois democracy. grand Republican coalition.

In the Chamber itself Ramette stated: coalition governments, etc., and decide "The Communists are not ready to its policy accordingly. There are some "The Communists are not ready to who maintain that now that the Cominenter into such a cabinet at the presenter into such as the presenter into such a cabinet at the presenter into such as the presenter into su enter into such a capital at the pres-ent time. They say, however, that tern's errors have been on questions of ent time. They say, however, that principle, and these errors have been the possibility exists now to prevent the possibility exists from the provided given the official seal of the Seventh the formation of a government whose whose the ometar sear of the Seventh sole purpose it is to smash the prolesole purpose it is to smash the professional sole purpose it is to small sole purpose it is to tariat. 100ay, the possibility of total ary International, but that it is socialing a government which in certain re-

such a government of the disso-against the speculators, for the disso-against the speculators, for the disso-ter has become a reformist Internationsuch a government, for the disso-against the speculators, for the disso-lution of the fascist leagues, it would lution of the fascist leagues, it would la. The mistakes of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late the leagues of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late the late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late the late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the could leave the late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues, it would late of the late of the CI have been lution of the fascist leagues. The lution late of the late of th gain the support of the entire Peo- deviations from the principles of Marx- our group to be that force, inside the made up of those who agree on fundas Front which would then consti- ism, but the errors have not been sys- Comintern, to change these errors, to mental principled questions, nevertheless ples Front which would take the possibility and the importance of reformism. a philosophy government cannot be found to exist, government cannot be found to exist, and pro- las is that of social-democracy. In this way save the Soviet forming the Committee is too great, and overnment cannot be found to exist, a philosophy of betrayar, cult, and in this way save the Soviet forming the Comintern is too great, and tuning dissolve the Chamber and proas is that of social-democracy. In this Union and the Comintern for the world the effective work in this direction can way we see the CI still talking of soviet revolution. way we see the OI still taking of solved power and proletarian dictatorship, and coming out at the same time for bournew party. A new party had a different it is the task of the CPO to build itself coming out at the same time for boursion of the Chamber:

we say to Mr. Herriot and the geois coalition government. This line is aspect, a different outlook than a group as an independent force in the class

with the wish of the majorny of the proletariat. It is inconceivable gle for Communist unity as the only people, we will support you not only the only world revolutionary proletarian that any new party, appearing on the scene now or at any time in the near parliament. The chairman of the proletarian that any new party, appearing on the scene now or at any time in the near future (that is before some world-will be capable of the tremendous tasks) parliament. The character we will the previous struggles of the working shaking event, like a new war, or the ahead of it in America.

to declare that the Comintern is hopeless found only in the C.P. pecause of the present line than to have | Today it is not necessary, in fact it i said so in the midst of the union-splitting harmful, to put forward new conditions and united front from below campaigns. for unity with the CI. Just as, in the A genuine struggle for the reform and midst of a union-splitting campaign, i reconstruction of the Comintern will was possible to say that the basis for really begin with unity with the ICO. unity was democratic centralism, and We need not be afraid of our revolutionary virginity, of being soiled by entering side the party, so now we can put for-

"We say to Mr. Heriot and the goods control government. This line is aspect, a different outlook than a group. Radical leaders: If you will take over the leadership of a radical government the leadership of a radical government which will actually a government whi apply its radicalism in accordance with the wish of the majority of the with the wish of the majority of the with the wish of the majority of the wish of the

The Communist Party (Opposition) must evaluate the new opportunist turn of the Communist International on the these forces for the world revolutionary movement must be made.

the labor movement, help it move toward the left. Such is the function of our In this situation, can the CPO give up the perspective for unity with the Comintern? No. There is no more reason the working class, and that force can be

freedom of the people and peace. This work is absolutely necessary." On the question of a government the "With this purpose in mind the CC believes that the present situation in France offers room for a policy which expresses the will of the people. The French people do not need Tardieu, Flandin or Laval. . . . The CC again

repeats that Communists will support

both in and out of parliament all

measures that are in the interest of

The following points are noteworthy

1. The complete approval of the CC

the policy pursued by its fraction in

2. The official endorsement of the tac-

tic of extending the alliance between

3. The equivocal statement on the

people do not need Tardieu, Flandin,

Communist fraction in the Chamber

openly urged the formation of a "left

government. More than that. The frac-

tion promised to support such a govern-

confusion and deprives the Party of a

The Party leadership is using the sam

At the time this resolution was pub-

ished, the CGTU (red trade unions) is

sued an appeal for trade union unity and

for the strengthening of the Peoples

Front. The appeal contained the follow

1. Against reduction of wages, for in

creased wages, against dismissals, for

the improvement of the social insurance

3. For a 40 hour week without loss

4. Public works financed by taxation

f capital and public loans. The type

f work to be determined by the popula-

5. Unemployment insurance; purchase

6. Elimination of all deficits at the

7. Support of small peasants; change

composition of agricultural chamber

now under the influence of large landwners; reduction of mortgages, taxes;

expense of the owning class. For the

protection of small savings.

of foodstuffs from small producers fo

tion in each locality.

2. For the equalization of taxes.

question of a government.

the people."

this resolution:

lages of France for the purpose of

ternal organizations of the people

for united action guaranteeing the

establishing huge, permanent and fra-

The CPF itself openly admitted the

ment. Humanite approved the program We have already recorded the opinions proposed by the SP. The resolution,

of June 7th demands:
"Big demonstrations of all parties,
the question of a "left government" in
the Party and before the labor movement groups and organizations must be in general, the Party writes in vague, formed in as well as outside of par-unclear, equivocal terms and continues to liament, ready to defend democratic freedom, ready to fight against full cratic and opportunist regime cannot but power and for the fulfillment of the harm the Party because it tends to create

cialist petty bourgeoisie playing the role C.G.T.U.

"The parliamentary fraction by applying the decisions of the CC which led to the meeting of the left groups, by formulating concrete proposals corresponding to the wishes of the people has added in the development

Just what does the CC mean by the distribution among unemployed.

extension of contacts made in the par-

8. Small dealers and petty bourgeoirs of Commerce and commercia courts; security for the majority of small roducers and small dealers thru reducclass and the highest achievement of organic unity of the CI and LSI, both tion of taxes, rents, etc., emergency of the big department stores.

9. The CGTU states, "that it will

(Continued on Page 4)

Soviet Foreign Policy And The World Revolution

By JAY LOVESTONE

discussion of the diplomatic policies of the proletarian state and their relation to the policies of the Communist International and its

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

In The Pre-Convention Discussion Of The Communist Opposition posed this wrong position towards bourgeois democracy for Communists? In-

minimize or reject even the smallest from the deliberations and decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the conversion of the CI to our position for above condition against which we long the organizational reform of the world ago registered such a sharp warning. As To fight for bourgeois democracy as getting access to this meeting ground. party of communism; to our position that the strategy and tactics of every bourgeois democracy and parliamentar-like France, England, U. S.—to fight SOUNDING AN ALARM CP must be decided on the basis of ism now generalized by the Seventh Conthe concrete situation and specific congress for all sections of the CI, has aldictatorship. We do not for a moment ABC of the Communist position as work"real democracy."

towards "exceptionalism" and democ- front and turned it into an appendix of ratic centralism as a sort of contrition the old Left Cartel. for the past destructive inner party course and outer strategic and tactical DEFENSE OF line—provided vigorous efforts are to be "DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS" taken forthwith to translate this newtice by the sections of the Comintern.

By B. BARAZ

cently held in the furriers union it will |

Furriers Progressive League which was

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THE ELECTIONS IN THE FUR WORKERS UNION

TOUR SHARE IN

**Fur Workers Show** 

To analyze the special elections re- ACHIEVING UNITY

the Industrial Union forged ahead. The against the Progressives.

organized in 1930 in opposition to the ELECTION STRATEGY

ditions obtaining in each particular ready led the CP to do precisely what country"; to our position for revolution- the French reformist SP has been doing. Ercoli when they assure us that they the Communist International on the GOGLAL PRIVACE. ary transition slogans such as workers' On this basis the French Communist still cling to the proletarian dictatorship question of bourgeois democracy. Just SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC?

defense of "democratic rights" in genafter the split of our party in 1929 by tion must be drawn here along the following lines: The fight for the democ-"Of course, it is clear for any Marx- ratic rights of the workers is a phase in general instead of specific rights of of Social-Democracy and by their little to join with the Social-Democracy and ist that if the revision on matters of analysis, policy, strategy and tactics working class prowess for the establishis permitted to continue without resisment of the proletarian dictatorship, this basis that the ACLU has defended by it comes with ill grace from those geois democratic system as such of a tance and goes far enough, then, it Such a fight not only does not prevent the democratic right of the Nazis to meet who have for years been hibernating in defense against Fascism. In defense of will ultimately lead to an undermin-ing of the fundamental principles of more easily to propagandize simultane-Father Coughlin to secure Soldiers' Field recently been converted backwards from with Marxist-Leninist principle, the movement and to the eventual ously for Soviets and the proletarian in Chicago for a monster rally in behalf communism to reformism, to label the official Communists as traitors on this present conditions, the objective logic of loss of the Communist character of dictatorship. But, the defense of democ our Parties . . . " (Crisis in CPUSA, ratic rights in general—especially in the fully developed capitalist countries—is candidates that appeared on our united very position to which the Social-Demo- eral, for bourgeois democracy as such We cannot underscore too heavily the not at all a phase of the struggle for bloc slate. The confusion created around cracy has been clinging. fact that particularly in its new line to- sufficient proletarian strength to estab- the election place made it almost impos-

Comintern. Though it is still only on wards bourgeois democracy, the CI is lish a proletarian dictatorship. In fact, of anti-Semitism and against organized paper, yet we hasten to welcome and perilously treading a course which if this fight in itself is in conflict with and recognize as no small achievement for put into practice, if tried in the life of excludes even propaganda for, let alone Chicago district of the CP joining hands himself when he first advocated this line the ICO the very tardy first signs of conversion of the CI to our position for above condition against which we long tarian dictatorship.

| Almost two years before the Seventh Congress. | Seventh Congress.

The new Comintern demand for the for the proletarian dictatorship.

sible for the honest voter to make up his mind since so many lies were being spread about the progressives. Instead Gold and the defeat the Progressive people who only make their appearance Desire For Unity before elections and disappear afterwards, these Sorkin elements were praised and the left wing advised workers to vote for them

WORKERS SHOW

When the fight sharpened and every- INDEPENDENT THINKING directed against us by the dual union election shows clearly that the fur work convention discussion of the pertinent conceivably possible for the policies that ter. This policy led to a sharp division in the ranks of the fur workers and the in the ranks of the fur workers and the strike called in 1927 ended with a defeat for the left wing. The left wing then the recent convention held in Toronto. Our part in this successful and Kass, Cooperman, The thesis of the National Buro states, our National Convention will have to

divisions and dual unionism and for into a bloc with the right wing (trade unity in one union with affiliation to the union league) and Socialist elements, LESSONS LEARNED

> campaigns against contracting, out of and mobolizing all of our resources to wrong in capitalist countries. It may be stated here that in spite town shops and also the coming struggle prevent this new line from becoming an With this objective situation of the relation of the fact that the right wingers were for the renewal of an agreement with organic part of the CI. We must even tonship between the CPSU and the particular to the coming are incompanied in the companied in the coming are incompanied in the coming are incompanied in the companied in the companied in the companied in the co known in the past as unstable elements the closed shop and the thirty hour week in so far as agreements and understandincluded. The left wing in order to resolution and practice. But the 7th our position be? First we will have to ings were concerned, this time the right carry on the work will have to find a Congress of the Comintern has raised declare that the Communist International wing elements were faithful to the united way to give expression to all constructive certain perspectives that are dangerous is no longer the revolutionary International bloc and turned down all proposals, elements in the union. It will have to, to the world revolutionary movement. nanouvers and machinations of Gold, once and for all divorce itself from the Our group must not only discuss these the formation of independent Communist The "left wing rank and file" under the past and conduct the affairs of the union questions but it is imperative that we leadership of Ben Gold then mobilized all on a realistic and constructive basis in take a position and adjust our perspectors of the Communist Party and their the interests of all the fur workers, tives accordingly.
>
> The "left wing rank and file" under the past and conduct the affairs of the union questions but it is imperative that we groups and where we are organization-take a position and adjust our perspectors ally strong enough Communist parties based upon Communist principles and sympathizers and concentrated their thereby preserving the unity, democracy A factor has already entered, that our upon our correct tactics. On the internaand non-partisanship in the union. For convention will have to take cognizance the discount of the elections they issued a special leaflet the achievement of these aims, the Pro-

Party has given unconditional support to as a goal while they are in the very against any further continuation of this against this beginning of a deviation in ungrateful as to pooh-pooh these posi- the recent municipal elections, has cracy. Such loyal but merely subjective policy the logic of which can lead only principle by the CI, it is absolutely tively worthwhile steps taken by the declared its readiness to support a bour- adherence to the proletarian dictatorship to the adoption of the full Social-Demo- necessary to make clear the differences Congress in the realm of policy. Why, geois-social democratic government—in and Soviet power vanishes into thin air cratic theory on this principle question. Where the latest position of the weare even prepared to hail this bow short has distorted the proletarian united in the very defense of bourgeois democracy. cracy. This defense does not in the least least as much vigor, fight against this and the continued and time-dishonored undermine the confidence of the masses trend towards deviation in principle as classical position of world Social-Demo in capitalist democracy, as a bourgeois it has fought against the crudest and cracy. A cardinal principle of the entire dictatorship; this does not help win the most destructive of the old ultra-lef. Second International-but not of the masses outside the CP for Soviet power, tactics of the CI. To conclude that the Comintern—is that the socialist society beginning of this tendency, on the part can and is to be secured thru the medium Pursuing the above false course, the of the Comintern, towards a Social- and on the basis of bourgeois democracy eral instead of a fight concretely for the French CP has come forward with a con- Democratic position in regard to demo- The whole idea of the proletarian dictadefense of the democratic rights of the crete program for reforming and vitaliz-cracy is already the full adoption by the workers can spell only support of bouring bourgeois democracy in France. On CI of the attitude of the Second Interpower is foreign to, is incompatible with, However, as we review the new posi- geois democracy as a system of capitalist the same basis, General Secretary national would be the worst of folly. To and is outlawed by international Socialtion taken by the Seventh Congress on domination, of the bourgeois parliament- Browder dangled before the Seventh react in this fashion means desisting Democracy. Centrist Socialist Partie such vital questions of principle as bour- ary republic as such. This is the policy World Congress a program for reform- from the struggle against this devia- may play with revolutionary phrases and geois democracy and imperialist war, of Social-Democracy with which we Coming and "democratizing" still more the tion by the CI in the direction of Social-toss about red hot words, but in subwe are, after more than six years of struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, reminded of a declaration we made right munist International. A sharp distinction of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, reminded of a declaration we made right munist International. A sharp distinction of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, reminded of a declaration we made right munist International. A sharp distinction of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, reminded of a declaration we made right munist International. A sharp distinction of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, reminded of a declaration we made right munist International. A sharp distinction of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, social reformism and founded the Communication of the struggle a

leed, our criticism of the new CI attitude

towards bourgeois democracy is identical

Congress, Trotsky demanded that the

tion of the Weimar Constitution, that

score, on the ground of approaching the the very struggle for democracy in genwill lead to a fight for and the success

of raising trade issues the left wing concentrated mainly on the election of Ben IN THE C.P.O. PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

With equally poor grace comes the

# We, the progressives were denounced as a "clique," while the Sorkin elements, which were never a principled group— **Communist Opposition**

We are very fortunate, in that, with today, would require an open repudiation cently neighborhood in the furriers union it will be necessary for a moment to go into the history of the past eight years.

SOME HISTORY

When the reorganization took place in 1927, the left wing pursued a policy which advised the workers not to regist directed against us by the dual union left to the necessary for a moment to go into body gave up hope in the possibility for unity it was again the Progressive hody gave up hope in the possibility for unity it was again the Progressive confusion, the fur work incorrectness of the position adopted by the Comintern on the attitude to bourgeois democracy, imperialist war, and replied to the functional of the unprincipled stand of the CI on Despite this confusion, the fur work incorrectness of the position adopted by the Comintern on the attitude to bourgeois democracy, imperialist war, and replied to the functional of the unprincipled stand of the CI on Despite this confusion, the fur work incorrectness of the position adopted by the Comintern on the attitude to bourgeois democracy, imperialist war, and replied to the functional of the unprincipled stand of the CI on Despite this confusion, the fur work incorrectness of the position adopted by the Comintern on the attitude to bourgeois democracy, imperialist war, and replied to the functional of the unprincipled stand of the CI on Despite this confusion, the fur work incorrectness of the position adopted by the Comintern on the attitude to bourgeois democracy, imperialist war, and replied to the functional of the unprincipled stand of the CI on Despite this confusion, the fur work incorrectness of the position adopted by the Comintern on the attitude to bourgeois democracy, imperialist war, and replied to the functional of the unprincipled stand of the CI on Despite this confusion, the fur work incorrectness of the position adopted by the Comintern on the attitude to bourgeois democracy, imperialist war, and the union incorrectness of the position adopted by the Comintern on the attitude to bourgeois democracy, imp one slight exception, there is no con- of the unprincipled stand of the CI or

of the CPO.

I day this can no longer hold true. Unity

continued the fight for reinstatement convention as well as the resulting unity Farber, Sarah Gross and Lena Greeninto the AFL. Along came 1929, the are part of the records of the Internaberg to the joint council, the fur workComintern, "Such a policy would be open cipled adherence to the CI. This is no revolutionary "third period"—the period of widespread and deep going radicalization of the American masses, from which the furriers were not exempt. In the leadership of the furriers were not exempt. In the leadership of the furriers were not exempt. In the leadership of the furriers were not exempt. In the leadership of the Progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated that to them, a coalition means by follow that the left wing would have strated that to them, a coalition means by in danger of breaking with revolu-less than a pointy would be open crossing and effect to the Cir. This is no crossing and effect to the Cir. This is no crossing and effect to the Cir. This is no crossing of bridges before the confidence in the leadership of the progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence in the leadership of the progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence in the leadership of the Progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence in the leadership of the Progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence in the leadership of the progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence in the leadership of the Progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence in the leadership of the progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence in the leadership of the progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence in the leadership of the progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence in the leadership of the progressive what I have stated their confidence in the leadership of the progressive what I have stated here it should logical-strated their confidence of the late what I have stated their confidence in the leadership of the Progressive what I have stated their confidence in the leadership of the progressive what I have stated their confiden Revolutionary unions were set up, the to appreciate the role played by the a leadership that is all inclusive, may tionary principles." (Workers Age Aug. tern make the reformist resolutions of furriers becoming part of them. Since Progressive League in helping to bring they be Lovestonites or any other "ites." 10) And Comrade Herman in his discussive Seventh Congress its pratised policy that time the furriers battled on with about unity, but, the actual facts and In this sense the "left" has suffered a bit- sion article in the Age states "the lead- then we have no choice but to declare the result that at one time the A. F. of behaviour of the left wing was quite difter defeat. It was proven to them that another time ferent. A new attack was launched all their years of agitation and campaign deserting the most elementary principles. Third International. However, the questions are the communist International is deserting the most elementary principles. against us was fruitless. It should be a of class struggle and is proposing a tion is not fully answered by such a lesson to them that the fur workers want real unity and have no sympathy for the truce. . ." All of this is true but not lem of what next. Any proposals of a dual unions started the fight against | Before the last elections we entered sectarian line of the Communist Party. one takes up the question of this deser- Fourth International must be rejected. tion of principles in relation to the future We cannot consider any action for the A. F. of L. It was the Progressive The bloc with these elements was based The lessons learned from this fight When Pieck in his keynote address to not include the CPSU. As long as the League that proposed a resolution, in on a minimum program which aimed to 1931 in the famous Webster Hall meet ing, for unity based upon the referendum. This proposal was rejected by Gold. amongst the mass of fur workers was the progressives were correct in agitat- port such a war, when the Czecho- The Bolshevik Party as the leader of this that in order to solve the problem coning for one one united A. F. of L. union. slovakian delegate's justification of working-class state has not deviatfronting the fur workers it would be It was also proven to the left wing coalition governments is given approval ed from Communist principles inside of pest to set up an all inclusive coalition that its theory of a possible betrayal and by the Congress, and when the French the Soviet Union and in the foreign leadership to consist of representatives sell out by the right wing, this time Communist party pledges all support to policy of the Soviet Union. But the of all the factions and all shades of proved false. The right wing had its less Deladier, then it is time for the CPO CPSU, as part of the Comintern is at opinion—but the left wing gave its own son and it learned to know who is sincere to do more than point to the incorrect-least equally guilty with the rest of the in the application of the united front consist of the left wing and communists and the right wing and socialists, thus outcome of this election shows a majorexcluding all the progressive elements. Ity for the "left" it must however be the roll wing all kinds of concessions if the right understood that without the help and aswing would only agree to part with the majority will not be able to lead the necessity of utilizing every opportunity tactical questions, correct in Russia,

alling upon the fur workers to vote gressive League will continue to fight, differences between the C.P.O. and the qualifiedly pro-Soviet and their internadown the "clique" candidates mentioning in order to bring about one united pro- C.I. have been tactical and that, "We do tional objective to bring sufficient pres the names of all the Progressive League gressive movement, not only amongst the candidates. Simultaneously, through another leaflet they called upon the fur workers to vote for some right wing United States.

In order to bring about one united protect. have been tactical and that, we do to have open tactical and that, we do to have been tactical and that, we do to have open tactical and that, we do to have op

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Saturday, August 31, 1935

# **Emergency Decrees Test** Peoples' Front In France

By August Thalheimer

the French government has issued a second set of emergency decrees. This makes 80 decrees todate. It is impossatisfied and enraged while the consusible and unnecessary to discuss each of mers will not be able to benefit from them in detail, suffice it to indicate their price reductions and will also remain disgeneral character and the perspectives satisfied they lead to.

### THE FIRST DECREES

The first set of emergency decrees issued by Laval shortly after July 14th considerably reduced the salaries of civil service and government employes—the pensions of war veterans, the incomes of small bondholders-in short, social legsuffered. The total amount thereby was about 11 billion The second set of emergency decrees recently issued is a sort of balm for those hit by the first set—the small bondholders and peasants. Living costs and interest rates are to be reduced and a program of public works has been decided upon.

### THE PRESENT DECREES

Considering the plan as a whole, it reminds us of the plan Bruening carried out in Germany. He, too, cut the salaries of government employes in response to the cry of the bourgeoisie which campaigned against the extensive and expensive state apparatus. (In the Reich the state apparatus has become much bigger and swallows up far greater amounts but the bourgeoisie is more than compensated for this loss thru the increased exploitation of the working class.) As in France, so also in Germany the reduction of government wages was to provide the basis for corresponding action on the part of private industry. By first cutting the wages of government employes the German as well as the French government intended to successfully prevent the working class from waging a joint struggle with the government employes. To counter-balance the reduction of wages, Bruening promised to reduce food prices. He appointed "Price-Commissar" by the name of Goerdeler who was to put such reduc-tions into effect. The same Goerdeler has again been appointed Price Commissar by Schacht. He failed miserably because of the resistance offered by the great trusts and large landowners. His activities were mere pretense aimed at deceiving and pacifying the working class. The net result was a considerable lowering of the standard of living of the workers. Prices remained the same or rose even higher.

### THE FRENCH PLAN

Laval did not appoint a price commissar. He called a meeting of the 80 prefects of all French departments and ordered them to use full initiative in FINAL TEST carrying out price reductions. It is quite IS COMING clear that this attempt, made in an effective fashion will fail just as Bruening's similar attempt failed. The underlying cause is exactly the same in France as in Germany. In order actually to control prices thru the state two fundamental pre-requisites must be pressent. The state must freely dispose of all production, or at least of decisive sections of it. This, again, is possible only if the state is the owner of the decisive means of production and distributionin other words, if the basis of a socialist economy is created. The broad working masses, in organized form, as well as the state employes must participate in this action. These pre-requisites exist in the Soviet Union and we can easily see how the Soviet state effectively controls the price system. In Germany and France such is not the case; both governments are the instruments of capital and stubborn opponents of all socialst measures.

### EFFECT ON

MIDDLE CLASS In France a particular situation exists inasmuch as the small producers, espe cially the small peasants, are separated from the consumers by an exceptionally broad and parasitic class of middlemen. What will the emergency decrees of Laval, calling for a reduction of prices, result in? Big business largely responsible for high prices will not be effected in the least. Small dealers and small pro-ducers will bear the brunt of the bur-

With the return of Laval from Geneva | den. These constitute a broad mass of

If the proletarian united front or the Peoples Front does not succeed in getting rid of the entire system of emergency decrees and in shifting the burdens of the crisis to the owning class, fascism will be able to gain a mass basis among the petty bourgeoisie and among sections of the working class—a basis which it lacks today.

#### RADICAL SOCIALISTS BLOCK ACTION

What is the outlook for such action on the part of the Peoples Front? The Radical Socialist party has todate refused to fight the emergency decrees under all sorts of pretenses. It is doing its utmost to prevent and sabotage such struggles. It has refused to help reconvene parliament in order to overthrow Laval, tho the parliamentary groups belonging to the Peoples Front have the necessary formal right to do so. It has made use of the Brest and Toulon events to warn against "excess" of the workers, to arouse sentiment against strikes, tocall upon workers and public employes to keep "order" and preserve their "dignity," in other words, to deprive the workers of the only effective weapon they possess—the right to strike.

This attitude of the Radical Socialist Party is of course linked up with the fact that the leader of the party and several of its outstanding members are part of Laval's cabinet and helped introduce the emergency decrees. Furthermore, since Laval separated the attack on the wages of public employes from that of the workers, the bourgeois press has succeeded pretty well in arousing a section of the petty bourgeois against the employes who are, fighting wage cuts.

The CGT (reformist trade unions) the other hand, has shown very little inclination to make use of the strike as a weapon to fight the emergency decrees Following the events of Brest and tem of capitalist dictatorship known as Toulon criticism was directed at the bourgeois democracy. What the Comin-"provocateurs" who victimized the workers (undoubtedly, fascist provocateurs did have a finger in the pie) and the issuing of a call for a sympathy strike was completely forgotten. A parlia-mentary investigation committee was appointed and there the matter rests.

Thus the united front and the Peoples Front are actually hampering mass action against the decrees.

Need we add that if this condition persists, things will take a fatal turn.
The CP of France must realize that the united front and the Peoples Front has missed its purpose if it acts as a brake on mass action and that it is necessary when such hindrances arise to appeal to the membership and the broad masses of unorganized workers over the heads of their leaders, to organize them into Shall we Communists pit or fight against broad united front organs and thus to counter-revolutionary anti-parliamentar-

exert pressure against the leadership. The future form of the struggle against Laval's emergency decrees will be of decisive importance to the antifascist struggle in France. A successful struggle against the decrees will be a test of the power of the united front and the Peoples Front in the eyes of the urban petty bourgeois masses and the small peasants who still cling to the traditions of bourgeois democracy—it The Workers Age receives 10% commis geois democracy.

# Books of the Age

### By Bertram D. Wolfe

by John L. Spivak. Covici-Friede, 287 that he brought to the task.

This is a book made up of what the New Masses editors are now affectedly calling "reportage," i.e. human interest news stories written from a radical view point. It is as superior to the average sob sister" story as the radical viewpoint is to that of yellow journalism, yet the insubstantial character of "reportage" becomes pitilessly clear when the stories are bound together in the permanent form of a book.

Many of these interviews with workers, officials, chamber of commerce secretaries and miscellaneous Americans, were originally printed in the New Masses. Even there such reporting (and not all of it is as good as Spivak's) gets tiresome when encountered week after week basis. Some cults tried to solve the probunless it is sufficiently significant by virtue of its representative character or sufficiently informed with solid theoretical interpretation. All it tells the reader that there is a depression, that there is confusion and discontent. "There needs on the subject, but the author is a Docno ghost come from the grave, to tell us this." A few weeks of such stories will convince even the least conscious reader. As steady fare, and the New Masses dished it out with the regularity and persistence of a lumber camp diet, it is enough to dull any appetite.

A whole bookful of it makes one feel that here is "too much of a good thing." To make matters worse, Spivak's gifts of theoretical illumination, and hence of significant selection, are not equal to his skill in reporting.

Much the best part of the book is the section which retells Spivak's account of American fascism and anti-semitism. Here he used the work of a skilled investigation agency in a concentrated and significant field. His "Georgia Nigger" was still better. Which suggests that in covering America Comrade Spivak took too big an assignment. And one which

AMERICA FACES THE BARRICADES, requires more preliminary preparation

#### MODERN RELIGIOUS CULTS AND SOCIETY, by Louis Richard Binder. Badger, Boston.

This book claims to be "a sociological interpretation of a modern religious phenomenon," namely the multiplicity of religious cults and sects in America. It never raises the question of the social roots of religion, does not begin to see the economic basis of millenial sects, and is convinced that "the sex impulse is godgiven" and that the Mormons and other

cults "cater to sex perversions."

All utopian cults that originated in a rejection of private property were per plexed by the problem of the family with its private property and inheritance em by forbidding sexual relations (the Shakers, the monastic brotherhoods) others by promiscuity or communa families (the Oneida Community). All is that there is suffering in America, this should be a matter of common on the subject, but the author is a Doctor of Philosophy and a Master of Theology, and his lengthy bibliography doesn't mention a single basic work in his field.

### PRACTICAL EVERYDAY CHEMIS-TRY, by H. Bennet. The Chemical Publishing Company of N. Y. \$2.00.

In this very complete little work ther are gathered together directions and formulas, for making almost anything you can want or think of in a factory or kitchen.

You can make, at home or in the shop adhesions and electrotypes, food-products and photographs, inks and emetics, sunburn remedies and soaps, and hundreds of other handy things. In short this book will tell you how to mend, mix, patch or polish almost everything except a false tactical line or a dying social system.

# Has C.I. Gone Social-Democratic?

joined in one chorus with their Social-Democratic brethren and the followers of the bourgeois Radical Socialist Party to cry "Daladier in Power." Thru such a coalition government—SP, CP, and Herriot's Party which is itself responsible for Laval's emergency decrees against the workers—, thru this People's Front, the CP of France tells us the French proletariat will arrive at Soviets and Socialism. Here we have a limited but none the less dangerous deviation from principle by the CI.

#### WHAT IS NEW ON BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY?

What is really new in the problem of bourgeois democracy today, the new position of the Seventh Congress does not meet at all. What the Comintern fails to understand is that the germs of thus hampering effective mass action. Fascism are imbedded in the very sysbourgeois democracy. What the Comintern, willy-nilly, forgets is that the growing menace of Fascism is rooted in the very decay of capitalist democracy which is, of course, organically bound up with the decay of capitalist economy. Under these conditions, the problem confronting us is the following—the disillusionment with the capitalist dicta torship, known as bourgeois democracy, from being transformed into faith in and support of the Fascist system of capitalst dictatorship?

The decisive task we now face-in view of the rising threat of fascismis how to answer the growing menace of this new weapon forged by big capital for the purpose of preserving its dominaion. This new weapon is counter-revolu-

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will be a test of their own faith in bour-sion on all reservations made through

(Continued from Page 3) ism with the decadent system of bourgeois democracy? No revolutionist can answer this question affirmatively. It is sad reasoning, the French Communists have indeed to note the amazing faith in the vitality of bourgeois democracy so sud-denly displayed by the Seventh World Congress. It should be obvious even to the most politically purblind that above all the very declaration of war would instantly mean the wiping out of all remnants of so-called democracy, of Shoe to about 600 today? democratic rights in general, in those countries which are today still living under the capitalist parliamentary dicta-

#### THE EFFECTIVE ANSWER

It is our conviction that the most effective answer to the counter-revolutionary anti-parliamentarism of the Fascisti is, not useless and suicidal efforts to revive the faith of the masses in bourparliamentarism, in capitalist democracy, but rather reliance on revolutionary anti-parliamentarism. To this Communists must adhere rigidly. And to achieve the support of the masses for this principle is an absolute prerequisite for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship based on Soviet power. It is not the job of the Communists to provide new oxygen pumps for capitalist democracy. It always was and still remains the task of masses are losing faith in democracy, the Communists to work out the necesmasses are losing faith in democracy, the communists to work out to recommunists to work out to recommunity to recommunity the same of the work out to recommunity to recommunity the recommunity to recommunity the recommunity to recommunity to recommunity the recommunity that the recommunity the recommunity to recommunity the recommunity that the recommunity the recommunity that the recommunity the recommunity that the recomm torship—parliamentary democratic, Fascist, monarchical, and military dictatorial and for winning these masses over to victorious struggle for the proletarian dictatorship as the vehicle thru which all class society is to be abolished and the socialist society is to be built.

## "Left Government"

(Continued from Page 2)

support all measures which will carry out the above mentioned program. . . The CGTU proposes that at the first at tempt to resist the application of the measures decided upon, those guilty be removed from their offices and that the organizations which they lead (banks, corporations, individual enterprise, etc.) be confiscated and placed under the control of workers and their organizations.

### ADVANCE OVER C.P. STATEMENT

It strikes us immediately that this esolution is quite a deviation from the political line of the Party. It proposes a program of action for the trade unions and the Peoples Front which differs fun- CPF in general and which was issued so damentally from the program of the SP which the CP fraction in the Chamber unless the tactical line as a whole is was ready to accept. It also differs from changed. The fact that such a program the program of action of the CP itself appears side by side with fundamentally because it advances for the first time different programs is proof of the comthe slogan of workers control of produc-tion (see point9) the in a limited and cal line of the leadership of the CP. undeveloped form

This is no accident. This program of contradictions and equivocations.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

The thousands of men and women in the shoe industry are in a difficult position. The "factory on wheels" constantly on the move to escape unionization, has left a trail of disaster. Not only in the sense that they leave hundreds of workers totally disemployed but also because it creates such a condition of insecurity that the remaining manufacturers have but to drop a hint that cost of production is too high and unless lowered they would have to move, for cuts to be granted.

This is the condition existing in many sections of the industry including New England, the largest centers of trade union organization. There is not an important shoe center that has not made some concessions to the employers. What is still worse it has led to keen competition between districts and to shop snatching—inducing employers to move by offering lower wage scales. All this undoubtedly is endangering the very existence of the trade unions—and we have all of them in mind. It is equally certain that dissatisfaction in the industry is widespread and it is in these troubled waters that the members and the sup-porters of the Communist Party attempt

#### 'BETRAYAL"

They level an accusing finger at the General Executive Board of the United Shoe and especially at their pet anti-pathy—Israel Zimmerman and yell BE-TRAYAL. According to them the G.E.B. is deliberately selling out the workers every time a cut is granted anywhere within the jurisdiction of the United Shoe.

One could, of course, point out to the Biedenkapps and Klarfields that no one was more insistent on setting up a decen-tralized organization with full local autonomy than these very same C.P. members and supporters. In fact the central organization has practically no powers whatever when it comes to agreements (there is no national agreement) or understandings between the districts and the employers.

### CONDITIONS HERE

Be that as it may, the following question still remains to be answered: Suppose we grant your contention, for the sake of argument, how then do you, Comrades Biedenkapp, Rosenberg, Magliacano et al, explain the condition in New York? Surely the General Executive Board has religiously abstained from any interference in your affairs despite the most severe provocations on your part. How do you explain that your membership has declined from 9,000 (your own figure) when you joined the United

How do you account for controlling no more than about a dozen shops now while you had about 60 shops a year ago and 90 when you joined the United

How do you account for the fact that these dozen shops and about 600 workers you are retaining because you have given reductions in all cases? Even the shop now on strike (the Elmore) is out because the employer wants a 20% reduction while you granted only 5%.

How do you account, my good comrades, that it was you and not the Boot and Shoe in New York that began this business of reductions because you were frantically trying to hold on. You know very well that of the four firms working for Ansonia you controlled three. What happened to your united front with the Boot and Shoe that no reductions were to be given in these firms. broke the agreement. The Boot and Shoe refused to give a reduction and the Septum moved out to New Jersey. But you granted reductions to all of them. strike because they duction that you are granting at the moment.

How did these things come about? Heaven forbid that anyone should point a finger at you and whisper "treason"! But how do you explain it? You will say that economic circumstances, crisis, ctc., etc., combined to create the condition. We doubt that that answers everything in your case but why are you unwilling to grant that the same reasons apply with equal force in New England?

The shoe workers are indeed in a dif-

ficult spot at the moment but factional machinations, and embittered prejudice are not going to help solve the problem. You have perhaps discovered that in your own way, on the basis of your own experiences in New York.

action is almost word for word copied from the program worked out by the CPO and the united front committee in Strassburg and submitted to the Party

It is obvious that this program which is at odds with the political line of the suddenly will have no effect whatsoever Their line is subject to improvisations,

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