

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Robbing the Poor to Feed The Starving

On Monday November 27, 1934, the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York has after several days of bickering and political maneuvering passed a 2 percent sales tax and a 3 percent utility tax, in an effort to raise the necessary amount of money needed by the City of New York for unemployment relief during the year of 1935.

The bankers have constantly threatened to stop all loans to the City administration for relief, unless "adequate" guarantees are made that their loans will be fully protected and repaid with interest. Each month the city administration was faced with a new crisis in unemployment relief, and each month, the axe of starvation hung over the starving unemployed of New York. The passing of the 2 percent sales tax and the utility tax is supposed to do away, for the immediate future, with the danger of a stoppage in unemployment relief.

Only the Poor Will Carry the Burden of the New Taxes

Although both the sales tax and the utility tax will not be collected directly from the workers and consumers, yet it will all be paid not by the utility concerns nor by the business men, large or small, but by the workers. They, the underpaid workers, and even the unemployed themselves will cover the entire income of the next taxes. The utility concerns, even though they charge exorbitant rates as it is, are already planning to increase their rates, so that the \$15,000,000, that will make up the 3 percent utility tax, will not come out of the treasury of the utility concerns but rather out of the pockets of the millions of consumers, who are

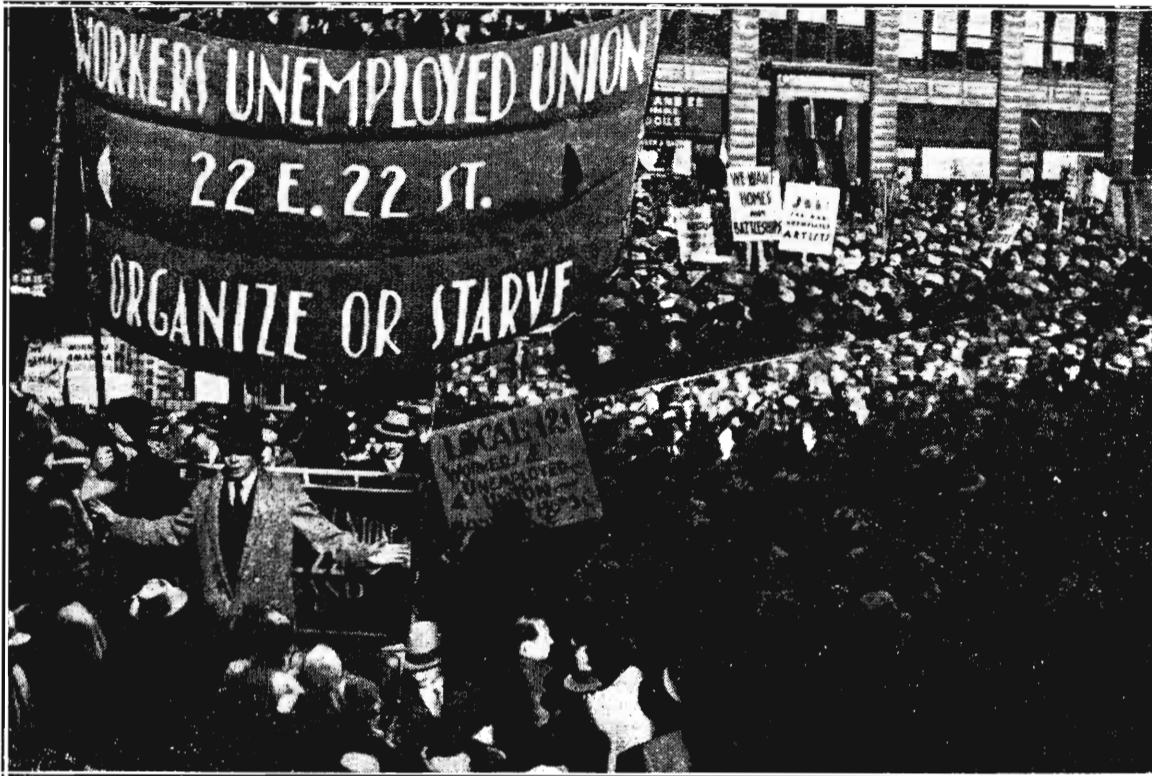
(Continued on Page 2)

Pier Workers In Injunction Fight

Alleging that a working agreement entered into between the longshoremen and truckmen, not to handle freight brought to the piers by scab truckmen, is in restraint of trade and conflicts with and violates the Sherman and Clayton acts and the Shipping Board Act. Two internationals and thirty-two local unions are in the Brooklyn Supreme Court. These unions are all members of the American Federation of Labor, and in their defense they have secured the services of Senator Burton K. Wheeler, of Montana.

The suit against the union men is brought by the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association of New York who are seeking an injunction against the workers to keep them from defending their interests on the piers against trucking firms who claim the right to have scab truckers bring freight to the piers and have the union men handle it.

Let it be understood from the start that if this case goes against the workers it means the death of unionism on the piers. That this is the purpose of the injunction is patent on the face of it, and is in line with all the moves of the bosses who are very much interested in keeping workers from interfering with the profit system,



Composite Photograph of the Demonstration of the Unemployed on November 24.

Jobless Demonstrate Against Hunger

Seven thousand unemployed workers and members of A.F. of L. trade unions rallied to the call issued by the Workers Unemployed Union to demonstrate on Saturday, November 24th. Marching through the streets of New York, they protested against the drastic cuts in relief being put into effect everywhere, and shouted their demands for winter clothing for the unemployed, for jobs, unemployment insurance and for the passage of a thirty hour work week bill. The demonstration was arranged by the Workers Unemployed Union as part of a series of demonstrations held on the same day in many towns and cities throughout the country.

and from organizing and striking.

In this case we have something which will bear watching by every union man and union official in the country. In this case lies the right of any union to enter into an agreement with their fellow workers not to handle scab goods, which is one of the inherent rights of organized workers. This is an attempt on the part of the bosses to revive in a new form the old conspiracy laws—in the disguise of an injunction. Many unions throughout the country have such agreements and this case if won will abrogate and render null and void all such agreements and will open the way for every such union to be taken into court under an injunction and such agreement dissolved. It is this phase of the case which makes it so important.

The Workers Age predicts that in the loss of this case it will mean one of the biggest strikes that the water front has seen for years. The men involved will then be forced to use their mass strength as is always the case when such vital issues come to the front and they come to grips with master class.

Ludwig Lore:

Demands of the Unemployed

After a brief mobilization meeting at Union Square, as which David Lasser, Chairman, W.U.U., outlined the demands, the demonstration proceeded to move up past the office of Frederick Daniels, State Relief Administrator, while a delegation consisting of representatives of the unemployed and trade unions presented to the T. E.R.A. officials a resolution containing the following eight point program of demands: 1. That the government undertake an extensive system of Public Works to provide work for the unemployed upon a basis of \$30 a week for a thirty hour week, with the payment of skilled or trade union rates where such are higher. 2. The passage of the Lundeen Worker's Unemployed Insurance Bill. 3. Pending the passage of unemployment insurance, direct cash relief at the rate of \$10 a week for a single person. 4. The right of all workers on public works to organize and engage in collective bargaining. 5. Recognition of the representatives of organized unemployed before Relief Administrations. 6. Federal adequate disability compensation on all public projects to and from work. 7. All war funds to be turned over to unemployment relief. 8. Passage by Congress of a thirty-hour work

week bill—with no reduction in pay.

Battleships Mean Graves For Workers

As these demands were being presented and discussed with the relief officials, the walls of the room vibrated as the militant shouts and demands of the workers in the street below came pouring through the windows. The answers of the relief officials were, as usual, hesitant and vague. When the question of turning over of war funds to the unemployed was discussed, one of the officials asked—"Does not building battleships provide work?" The spokesman for the delegation replied "So does digging graves."

The workers then marched back to Union Square where a mass meeting was held and a report of the delegation was made by the chairman, Lasser. Other members of the delegation, and representatives of a number of participating organizations also spoke. These speakers included: Murray Baron, Suitcase and Bag Makers Union; Saul Parker, W.U.U.; Rev. James Meyers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches; Herman Woskow, Vice-President Local 51, Printing Pressmen's Union; Murray Gross, Dress Joint Board I.L. (Continued on Page 2)

SERGEI KIROFF ASSASSINATED

Sergei M. Kiroff, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, an active member of the Bolshevik group since 1904, was assassinated in Moscow by Leonid Vasilievitch Nikolaev, a former employe of the Workers and Peasants Inspection.

A tremendous wave of resentment swept the Soviet Union on

announcement of this murder. Resolutions call for "blow for blow" against the enemies of the Soviet Union.

The full implications of this murder, it is yet too early to estimate. Investigations are still proceeding to determine Nicolaev's political connections.

SP Old Guard Threatens To Split Party

The old guard in the Socialist Party, defeated at the last national convention of the Socialist Party in Detroit and outvoted in the referendum on the Declaration of Principles, is making a last stand, using the New York State Committee of the Socialist Party as its base of operations.

In the name of the New York State organization, and backed by a caucus representing ten other states, kept in session to meet an expected "emergency," Waldman submitted what amounts to an ultimatum to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in session in Boston.

The statement scores the N.E.C. for its "indefinite and ambiguous dilly-dallying" on united front work with communist organizations and calls for a definite end to all negotiations. This openly anti-united front stand is camouflaged by the statement that "the future of the Socialist Party lies with the organized labor movement . . ."

The statement further demands and end to the "infiltrating" of Communists into the Socialist Party. It is proposed that former communists who want to join must publicly repudiate the fundamental premises of communism before admission into the S.P. In relation to this matter it is of considerable interest that the old guard considers the Revolutionary Policy Committee, in the S.P., as a communist organization and demands their expulsion on the ground that in the S.P. "there cannot be fundamental division on basic purposes and tactics."

An additional demand of the old guard is the revision of the Declaration of Principles and a new referendum on its revised text.

The question of a possible split (Continued on Page 2)

Paterson Dyers Settle Silk Strike

Paterson, N. J. The hard fought strike of the Paterson silk dyers, lasting over four weeks, has just been settled. The proposed agreement, which represents a partial victory for the workers, is being placed before the membership for approval.

As against the 30-hour week demanded by the workers the agreement calls for 36. This represents a cut of 4 hours from the weekly working time. Hourly pay was compromised at 66c an hour as compared to 57½c in force before the strike.

The closed shop, the main issue over which the 25,000 dyers struck was not secured. The agreement, however, stipulates that union members must be replaced by union members in cases of shifts in employment.

Apparently in an effort to insure themselves against any further general strikes the manufacturers wrote into the agreement a provision that strikes are permissible in individual shops only, which refuse to comply with the agreement. A general strike is prohibited.

The agreement is to be in force for a period of two years, as against the previous agreement which was for a one year period only.

"HITLER ON TOP OF THE WORLD"
December 9, 8 P. M., 51 W. 14 St.

Robbing Poor to Feed Starved Jobless in Mass Demonstration

(Continued from Page 1)
made up of workers and the same unemployed who rely on relief. The utilities will cover the fifteen million dollars levied on them as taxes by simply relieving that amount on its customers by either raising the price of their service, or by directly transmitting the tax to the consumers, and charging three percent extra on each dollar used up by the consumer.

The same, and even in a worse form will happen with the sales tax. Instead of being a 2 percent sales tax paid by merchant it will become a ten or fifteen percent tax levied on the consumer. The recent State Sales Tax of 1 percent has clearly shown who pays that tax and who carries the burden of it. When the tax was passed, prices on all commodities were immediately raised. This was felt by everybody. But apart from this each buyer that purchased any commodity had to pay the tax to his storekeeper, which tax was above the price of the article purchased. The reason for it was simple. Each and every intermediary and seller of an article sought to protect the prices paid by him, by raising the price of the commodity to cover that amount, and a little extra. So that until a commodity reached the retail store-keeper, the amount of the tax was raised several times, each store keeper raising the price so as to cover his sales tax. The ultimate consumer was therefore forced to pay the taxes paid by all merchants that handled the goods before it was paid to the store-keeper. From the standpoint of purchasing power, the sales tax is equivalent to a direct wage cut.

The Tax Question—
A Political Football
The same La Guardia who argued so fluently in Congress, in 1932, against the sales tax becomes now the proponent of the same tax as the Mayor of New York.
"A sales tax . . . is odious," said La Guardia then, "a family spending \$1,000 for subsistence means that family will pay a \$22.50 tax."
But it is not so "odious" now that La Guardia finds it necessary to fix his political fences by robbing the poor to guarantee the interest of the bankers.
In passing this tax both Tammany and the Fusion Administration were fighting their political battle at the expense of the masses. Had McGoldrick been elected as Comptroller, the Tiger, who still has a majority on the Board of Aldermen, would have bared his fangs against the sales tax and would parade as the "friend of the people" and the defender of the "tax-payer." It would have been good politics in order

to embarrass the Fusion Administration. But Taylor, a member of Tammany, was elected and as Comptroller the failure to dish out the meagre relief does would react against Tammany as well as Fusion. Therefore the change of front. The Tammany Alderman declared they were ready to back the tax provided La Guardia claims it as his own and under these circumstances it was passed. Tammany can now sit back and take it easy. The odium of the sales tax falls upon La Guardia who claims it as his own and the praise for continued relief is claimed by Tammany for its own Taylor. The fact remains, regardless of this political trickery, that both Tammany and Fusion are quite agreed that the masses shall pay and the bankers shall be paid.

JACK SMITH

Zimmerman Protests College Expulsions

A vigorous protest against the expulsion and suspension of thirty-four students at the College of the City of New York for participating in a recent anti-Fascist demonstration, was voiced in a telegram sent today to Mayor La Guardia by Charles S. Zimmerman, in the name of the New York Dressmakers Union, an organization embracing over 80,000 workers. Mr. Zimmerman, who is acting manager of the Educational Department, stated that the students involved should have been "publicly commended and not driven out of college" for their opposition to Fascism. The union's telegram concluded with an appeal to Mayor La Guardia to effect the reinstatement of the expelled and suspended students, to bring about the removal of Frederick B. Robinson as president of C.C.N.Y. and to put a stop to "the spread of Fascist propaganda in the city's educational system."

The telegram follows:
The eighty thousand dressmakers organized in its ranks Joint Board of Dressmakers Union of International Ladies Garment Workers Union vigorously protests against outrageous expulsion of twenty-one students from College of the City of New York. These students have been brutally punished for manifesting opposition to Fascism which has crushed popular liberty outlawed labor unions and degraded culture and education. For this anti-Fascist action which Dean Gottschall declares was spontaneous students should have been publicly commended and not driven out of college. Action of college authorities and provocative conduct of President Robinson can be interpreted only as unashamed support of Fascism. We appeal to you as Mayor of City of New York to take immediate action in reinstating suspended and expelled students in effecting the removal of Frederick B. Robinson as president of C.C.N.Y. and in stopping spread of Fascist propaganda in city's educational system.

(Signed) Charles Zimmerman
Acting General Manager
Joint Board Dress & Waistmakers Union.

F.E.R.A. Workers Face Starvation

Fort Wayne, Ind.
With winter right at our door, along comes the proverbial wolf of starvation. Generally speaking, being on poor relief means slow starvation, malnutrition, rickets, etc. Thanks to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his alphabetical jobs the F.E.R.A. workers will not face slow starvation this winter. Instead it will be much faster starvation than ever before.

Now that local elections are over the relief officials are clamping down on the paupers. They have arranged a new budget system whereby they tell you precisely how to spend your money. For food a man with five dependents besides himself, is permitted to spend the magnificent sum of four cents per meal, per person. Out of this allowance must come such necessities as soap, thread, light bulbs, school supplies and many other things one has to buy. They then figure one ton of coal per month for which they allow six

dollars and the cheapest it can be bought for is \$6.70 a ton.
The figure six dollars per month for house rent and there are no houses in town renting for less than fifteen dollars per month that will pass a Board of Health inspection. One thing which is conspicuous by its absence is medical and dental allowances. There is not a cent for either. Of course, a pauper is not supposed to get sick. In the latter part of October it was announced that FERA workers were to receive fifteen dollars per week. Immediately following election, which was November 6th those with three dependents were cut to \$8.50 per week.
The only thing that will save the unemployed is a strong, militant organization, embracing all the unemployed, those on direct relief as well as those on FERA. If ever an unemployed organization was needed it is now.
Recently a bulletin was issued to the FERA workers very plainly informing them that less than half the persons on relief were on FERA and they made any kick about the budget they could be replaced at once. They also stated that it is a privilege that can be extended to only a few and that it is a compliment to be chosen to work on the project. Imagine the audacity of that statement.

JACK A. MORPHEY

BUILD THE AGE FOR UNITY

S.P. Right Threatens Split

(Continued from Page 1)
has been raised both directly and also by implication. The statement in the memorandum that "worse than a split is the great danger of the party's disintegration" leaves no doubt that this is an open threat to split.

The decision of the N.E.C. on these matters, continues the policy of equivocation. Actual setting up of a united front on a national scale was defeated and consideration postponed until the 1936 convention. The decision, however, permits local united fronts within very circumscribed limits.

The threat of a split from the right shook a number of members of the N.E.C. since a number of decisions were carried by a majority of one and on other questions the committee was tied.

Jay Lovestone and Charles S. Zimmerman, appearing as a committee of the C.P.O. to place a proposal for united front action (see page three) were given a hearing but action was postponed until 1936, on the basis of the aforementioned resolution.

Despite the Daily Worker announcements that Hathaway, Ford and Sparks were appearing before the N.E.C. in the name of the C.P. they failed to put in an appearance. Nor did they request to be heard. Apparently it was a maneuver to offset the delegation of the Communist Opposition.

The old guard is now in conference in New York where the decisions of the N.E.C. will be con-

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New Workers School FORUM
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Dec. 9, Ludwig Lore
Hitler on Top of the World
Dec. 16 Dr. Haim Kantorovitch
A Socialist Estimate of Bolshevism
Sun. Nights at 8 Admis. 15c
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NEW YEARS EVE BANQUET - DANCE
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IRVING PLAZA HALL
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Sponsors
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Anti-War League Marks Time

The grisly spectres of War and Fascism were completely ousted from Irving Plaza for a whole afternoon on Saturday, Nov. 24 when the New York conference met. Somewhere outside of the immediate vicinity of Union Square imperialism plots wars, capitalists may scheme for fascism but the American League is happy because it had a minister, a rabbi, a pacifist and a socialist who all agreed with it.

The conference reported 537 delegates present representing 322,058 workers—exactly. The basis of representation was something like this: 15 delegates from A.F. of L. locals, 29,190 workers, 28 from the TUUL representing 65,000, 26 from rank and file groups, representing 80,890, total organized New York workers 175,180. Is there anybody in the audience who believes that 20% of the unionized workers of the city are behind an organization which is so obviously tied hand and foot to the Communist Party? Neither do we.

All the speeches at the conference were made by enthusiastic people who thought the American League was wonderful, that war and fascism were very bad, that something ought to be done about it. The item "what ought to be done" should have had a place on the agenda under these circumstances but it didn't. In the place of general discussion, were short pep speeches by American League stooges—for example the Socialist who said: "I'm a Socialist. I'm for the United Front. I don't care if I get expelled from the S.P. I'm still for the united front." The delegates cheered to the echo this profound analysis of the problems facing the American workers.

The "disruptive" elements from the CPO were welcomed effusively by the Credentials Committee but refused the floor. On the agenda under organizational problems the point of involving A. F. of L. unions in the League was raised. A CPO delegate took the floor for discussion and started pointing out the present isolation of the League. He was ruled out of order. Any discussion of the approach to trade unions was out of order to the League. Another delegate tried to get the floor on the adoption of resolutions. She was ruled out of order too and the resolutions passed without discussion.

The conference got through an enormous agenda in a very short time. The rabbi, the minister, the pacifist and the socialist were very happy. The chances of a war in Irving Plaza—or at least on the second floor of Irving Plaza—are reduced to a minimum. Thus far the influence of the American League reach—and no farther.

C. L. U. to Answer Roosevelt

An answer to President Roosevelt's request last spring in a radio speech for evidence that anyone's liberty had been abridged will be prepared at the conference on "Civil Liberties Under the New Deal" in Washington, Dec. 8 and 9, sponsored by the Civil Liberties Union.

Four thousand members of the Civil Liberties Union throughout the country, spokesmen for liberal and reform organizations, and labor unions, progressive legislative and administrative officials have been invited to attend the meeting and prepare the answer, according to Roger N. Baldwin, director of the Union.

A tentative program of subjects and remedies to be discussed includes:
"The Rights of Labor. Opposition to any effort to curtail the rights of labor to organize and to strike; and particularly to compulsory arbitration and anti-strike tendencies; effective enforcement of government orders requiring elections and compelling collective bargaining; against the recognition of company-controlled unions."
"Radio Censorship. The policies of the federal government in regard to freedom of the air; censor-

Communist Opposition Proposes United Front to Socialist Party

The following statement of the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition), incorporating its proposals to the Socialist Party for a united front, was placed before the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, meeting in Boston, Mass. on December 1 and 2.
The delegation of the Communist Party (Opposition) consisted of Jay Lovestone and Charles S. Zimmerman.

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA:

Dear Comrades:
We appear before you as a delegation of the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) to make certain proposals for Joint action on a number of issues of vital significance to the American Workers.

The attitude of our organization to the Socialist Party is well known to you. Between us there are many serious differences in program and policy, those differences of principle that have traditionally divided the Socialist and Communist movements and have gained added weight from the recent developments in Europe. At the same time, however, we have always emphasized that, on a wide variety of questions and precisely on those of the most immediate concern to the workers, effective cooperation between Communist and Socialist organizations is not only possible but is absolutely essential if the working class is to be in a position to meet and cope with the grave problems facing us today. Such cooperation between our two movements would in all probability have changed the whole tragic course of events in Germany and might have prevented the menacing advance recently made by Fascism and reaction in so many parts of the world. Never was the need for united action in this country as great as it is today; never was the demand for it among the class conscious workers as pressing as it is at the present time.

It is well known that one of the issues leading to our separation from the official Communist Party was our outright rejection of the false and vicious theory of "social fascism" with all that it implies. We have always strived to establish comradely relations of cooperation between our organizations, such as should properly exist between two working class organizations both opposed to capitalism, and on the most effective policies to be pursued. We have never slackened our agitation in favor of the united labor front, and especially in favor of the closest possible collaboration between the Communist and Socialist movements in the class struggle. Today, we are convinced that conditions make possible and urgently demand such collaboration between our respective organizations in a number of important fields.

We, therefore, propose that you choose a sub-committee to confer with our committee for the purpose of working out an agreement for cooperation with the following objectives:

1. To develop an effective movement against war and fascism on a broad and non-partisan basis. At a time when the danger of war is so acute and Fascism and reaction are making such headway, it is hardly necessary to emphasize the need for such a movement while its possibilities are indicated by the attention given to this question at the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor. The utterly narrow and sectarian way in which the American League Against War and Fascism was conceived and organized has naturally turned it into a virtual puppet of the official Communist Party and has rendered it utterly incapable of ever serving as the organizational vehicle of a real movement against war. If we agree as to the necessity and possibility of a broad, non-partisan movement against war and Fascism, based on the trade unions and

embracing all tendencies in the labor movement, then it should be possible for us to get together to work out ways and means of stimulating its development among those sections of organized labor where we have influence.

2. To effect the cooperation of our members and supporters in the trade unions for the furtherance of progressive unionism. We propose specifically that agreements for joint action should be worked out in the following fields: textile, needle trades, shoe, teachers, mining and automobile. Such cooperation already exists in more or less systematic form in a number of fields but we feel it would be of great advantage all around if it could be extended and officially encouraged. As a program in this direction we would suggest: militant class struggle tactics as against class collaboration; industrial unionism; trade union unity inside of the A. F. of L.; against dual unionism; democracy within the unions; against racketeering; independent political action and against the so-called "non-partisan" policy of the A. F. of L. Of course, a more specific and concrete program would have to be worked out in each field but we believe that it should certainly be possible to bring about the cooperation of our forces along these lines.

3. To help build up a genuinely non-partisan labor defense organization. Beyond question some organization to come to the aid of workers suffering legal persecution because of their participation in the class struggle, is badly needed today. But if such an organization is to be effective it must be genuinely non-partisan, always loyal to the labor movement but neither dominated by nor discriminating against any working class tendency. No such organization exists today, although there are some, such as the International Labor Defense, which, though as "non-partisan," are really auxiliaries or agencies of some particular party or group. It should be possible for us to get together to work out plans for building up such a labor defense organization, at first perhaps locally and later on a national scale.

4. To stimulate the movement for independent working class political action in the form of a Labor Party. We surely agree that the big job ahead of us is to break the political hold of the capitalists over the workers, to unite the workers as a class on the political field under the banner of their own party. A Labor Party, organized as a federation of trade unions and other workers organizations, is the great need of the hour. Many important international unions, locals, and city and state federations, numbering hundreds of thousands of members, have already gone on record in favor of a labor party and there is considerable sentiment for it in the ranks of the workers everywhere. What is lacking is mainly a driving force in the labor movement, consistently fighting the delusive "non-partisan" policy of the A. F. of L. and systematically pushing to the fore the idea of independent working class politics in the form of a Labor Party. It is for the purpose of creating such a force that we propose the collaboration of our respective organizations on this field.

We make this offer of cooperation to you because we are convinced that it would be of great benefit to the workers movement, to the furtherance of which both of our organizations are dedicated. Experience in the unemployed movement and in a number of trade unions has demonstrated the great possibilities of such cooperation. We hope that, putting to one side all factional prejudices and narrow partisan considerations, you will see your way clear to acting favorably upon our proposals, thus greatly advancing the consolidation of the forces of the class conscious proletariat in this country.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. (OPPOSITION)
JAY LOVESTONE, Secretary

The Workers Pay For Farm Relief

That the whole burden of relief extended by the Government through the AAA to the farmers is borne by the working class is now frankly acknowledged. How great this burden is, and how it was foisted upon the workers is clearly revealed in the following paragraphs from the "United States News" October 15, 1934.

"Since the money angle of the Government's farm program is in the limelight, an outline of its scope may be in order. There already has been paid out to 3,000,000 farmers who signed contracts to cooperate with the AAA crop control plans, a total of \$406,339,000. This money has gone to wheat, cotton, corn-hog, and tobacco growers.

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The International Front

Socialists Reject World United Front

The attempt of the C.I. to come to terms with the Second International front against Fascism and capitalist reaction not only in Spain, but on a world scale, has brought about the following situation:

The Second International Executive is dilly-dallying and delaying a definite decision, thus holding up united front action on a world scale. Great pressure has been brought on the Executive of the Second International, particularly by its Spanish and French sections, for a united front with the C.I. On the other hand, equally great pressure is being brought to bear on the Second International Executive by its Swiss, British, and Swedish sections against unity of action with the Third International.

Caught between these two streams the Executive of the Second International has taken a compromise position, which is significant and new. The Second International hitherto blocked united front action with the C.I. in the various countries on the ground that such action must not be undertaken on a national scale, but on an international scale only.

The Second International tried in this fashion to prevent the united front between Socialists and Communist Parties.

In its latest decision in relation to the insistent proposals of the Comintern for a united front, the Second International has declared that it leaves the question of whether such united front is to be entered into, to its various national organizations in the different countries. In this way the Second International has retreated and has sought to avoid conflict over this issue with its own ranks.

This leaves a class with the British Labor Party, which is anti-united front, and with Spanish and French Socialist Parties, which are pro-united front. Objectively, even this is a forward step for the Second International, although it is far from a satisfactory position.

It is unfortunate that the Second International has not seen fit to change its position on the United front and thus continues in one form or another its opposition to it. This is particularly true in view of the fact that after years of opposition to the united front the C.I. has now been compelled to reverse itself, largely by the pressure of events, the activities of the International Communist Opposition, and, very recently, by the revolt of the rank and file membership especially in the French Communist Party against the Comintern bureaucracy's opposition to the united front.

It is now up to the members of the various Socialist Parties to force their own National Committees, which may still be in opposition to the united front, as well as the Executive of the Second International, to come around to the position of favoring united front with all Communist organizations on an international scale.

Trotskyites Continue On Road To Right

The Trotskyites parading for the last few years as the Bolshevik-Leninist-International Left Communist Oppositionists are continuing their forced march backward. The French Trotsky group has broken up into three factions: two have entered the SP of France and immediately thereafter they have begun to fight each other. The Belgian Trotskyites have just issued a declaration in opposition to Trotsky's demand for joining the Social Democracy. The Trotskyite "Centre organ" in France is now sort of busily engaged in reviewing history. To them the issues from which the Second International collapsed and around which the C.I. arose (1914-1919) are now merely petty quarrels.

The "Centre organ" in France October 19 says: "They (the young people) will not fall into the perille illusion of a quarrel of generations." The Trotskyites do not talk much about the united front today. What they are after is unity and real unity with principles

of course not being in question. The same issue of La Verite goes on to say: "And if certain comrades, in the provinces, would not admit for example the Soviet form of proletarian power, we do not think that that ought to be an obstacle to unity." Of course, this literary mouthpiece of Trotsky hastens to prepare thus for the future which they fear "might prove" them wrong by excusing this anti-Communist position with the following closing phrase: "For experience will very rapidly teach our comrades the correctness of this slogan."

Another Trotsky organ, La Voix Communiste in issue no. 235 says: "We, Marxists, must acknowledge that at the given moment the merging of the two parties would be progressive not in comparison with Lenin's slogan."

Dual Unions Dying Out In Anthracite Region

by Frank

Another dual union in the anthracite, organized to free the miners from the tyranny of the Lewis machine, is ending its days in a welter of confusion, legalism and super-bureaucracy.

Only a year ago Rinaldo Cappellini organized the United Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania, based on the expelled members of District 1 of the United Mine Workers of America. The union failed to win recognition of the large operators and the NRA and dissatisfaction rose high in the ranks.

To solve this situation a convention was called in Wilkes-Barre. For weeks prior to the convention negotiations with Washington kept the union leaders kept the telegraph and the railroads to Washington busy, trying to win political support to quell the rank and file. When the convention met the union's president, Maloney asked for a week's recess for further negotiations with Washington and to lay peace proposals before the UMWA. These "peace proposals" were based upon a non-existent equality of the Anthracite union and the UMWA—that is they demanded union elections with ballots presented in two columns the Cappellini slate and the UMWA slate, headed by Boylan.

With the reconvening of the convention the delegates learned that nothing had come forth from the Washington maneuvers and that the UMWA had refused to even receive mail from the dual union. Maloney offered two explanations. First, that the union could not show the NRA labor boards credentials from the local secretaries, that is, that the union does not have a majority of the miners, second, that the union hadn't provided its officers with enough money for extended tours to the capital.

Maloney made three proposals. First, the union was to seek remedy and recognition from President Roosevelt. Second, it was to engage an attorney to take the minor's grievances against the companies to the civil courts, and, third, if the courts failed a strike was to be called.

Only a week after the convention the union was called upon to test its strike strength. The Susquehanna collieries, under pressures from the UMWA, discharged five men who had begun to organize for the United Anthracite Miners. The strike was one of the tragedies of dual unionism. The Anthracite Miners organized their forces and managed to shut down two collieries of the Susquehanna. The UMWA mobilized their strength in the District to fight their way through the pickets. A bitter fight ensued, with many workers from both unions injured and all grievances against the coal operators forgotten in a vicious factional struggle. After two days Maloney called off the strike and took the matter to court.

Maloney's hope for redress of grievances through the courts is a thin one. The judges in Pennsylvania are self-confessedly heavy owners of coal mining stock. In

gans of 1914, not in comparison with the Tours Congress but in comparison with the present situation. As such, the merging of both parties would signify the possibility of beginning anew. This is the essence of the entire question.

"The working class movement has been driven into an historical impasse . . . and this beginning of the impasse, this 'capitulation' is turned into a progressive factor!"

In the United States the most experienced theoretician of the newly inflated (united) Trotsky sect, Ludwig Lore, has come out for the freeing of the Mensheviks who have taken up arms against the Soviet Union and who are still opposed to the Soviet system. This position of his, Lore wraps up in the following vagary proposal: "The course they are fundamentally in accord with the workers and peasants government."

Dual Unions Dying Out In Anthracite Region

by Frank

these courts there can be but one side to any dispute between the operators and the miners.

The course of the United Anthracite Miners is run. At one time it would have been possible for them to return to the UMWA as an organized rank and file group, demanding and winning new elections in the union. But this possibility was discarded by Cappellini, and Maloney and even by the Progressives, Socialists and Communists who preferred to build their new union nearer to their heart's desire.

Now with the weaknesses of the Anthracite miners becoming obvious the opportunity of an organized return has passed. But it is not too late for locals to apply for reinstatement in an organized fashion and to build up a district opposition within the UMWA.

Difficult as it is to work in the United Mine Workers of America under the domination of the Lewis machine it is the only road for the miners. The sins of the UMWA are not all at the top. The fight of the miners must begin by cleaning out corrupt local officials within the UMWA, up through the district officialdom and then to the International leadership.

There is no royal road to clean, aggressive fighting unionism. The United Anthracite Miners Union is only another of a long series of proofs of this truth that the miners must learn.

THE FLINT AUTO CONFERENCE

In the automobile industry the Communist Party today faces a situation where its entire policy needs overhauling from spark plugs to differential.

The conference of a group of Federal Auto Locals which held its second meeting in Flint early in November demonstrated this bankruptcy. At one time the CP had a strong base in Detroit and other auto centers due partly to the Auto Workers Union, partly to the militant activities of the Unemployed Councils among the starving auto workers. But when it called the first conference of Federal Unions in Cleveland only a meager number of delegates responded while at this second session even fewer locals were represented.

This falling off from the first to the second conference is attributable to the decision of the A.F. of L. San Francisco convention to organize an Automobile International. Recognizing this the conference leaders, many of them Communist considerably. The Cleveland conference was taken up with vituperation of the A.F. of L., the Flint conference presented resolutions couched in much milder language calling for a Constituent convention for a new international union in March, 1935 and insisting on an industrial union. In spite of a commendable restraint in language the resolution still approached the problem in a sterile fashion, failing to include the vital economic issues affecting the auto industry, the issues that

must be raised to rally the auto workers into a mass movement behind the building of a single, militant, industrial A.F. of L. auto union.

It was on this that criticism was raised by the delegates from the Detroit Progressive Group for One Union in the Auto Industry. These delegates insisted that the problem facing the militant Auto workers was not primarily that of resolving but of fighting on trade union lines to organize the workers behind them in the struggle for a fighting union. The Progressive Group won so large a minority in the conference that after the passage of the resolution the Cleveland group promised a program on the basis of the Progressive proposals.

The leaders of the meet fell into one trap in the course of the conference. Four delegates, sent in by the bureaucracy of the United Auto Workers Union, raised questions as to the purpose of the Conference expressing the opinion that the union officials were doing everything possible. This match set off the fire. The C.P. sympathizers attacked them in a vicious fashion, denouncing the officialdom of Flint, San Francisco, etc., and demanding the the next strike be entirely rank and file controlled. The discussion had a bad effect on many of the delegates who got the impression that this conference was a union splitting rather than a union building move.

The Detroit Progressive Group emerged as the most constructive force in the auto situation. It had a positive program of action with a definite, clear-cut trade union approach which will enable it to rally the workers in the auto industry for the impending struggles.

What's Doing in the Party?

by D.

Member Section Comm., Section—, Dist. 2

What is happening in our Party? What is the inner life like, what do the Party members and functionaries think of the situation in Germany, of the theory of Social-Fascism, of the trade union tactics and the united front tactics? These are pressing problems, and only a realistic discussion of the situation will give us an idea of what is wrong and what must be done?

As a member of a Section Committee of District 2, I have come into contact with numerous party members, to hear their complaints, and likewise to sit in on meetings of various units and unit bureaus (executive committees).

The first thing that strikes you is the very poor inner life of the unit. The meetings are extremely dull, members who will go out on the picket line will seek all excuse for not attending unit meetings. The meetings themselves consist of nothing but a few organizational matters—sale of the Daily Worker, running an affair, collecting money for this or that, election of delegates to some conference or other, announcements, etc. Occasionally there is a discussion.

When there is a discussion in the unit, the whole rottenness of the inner-Party life comes out in sharp form. Someone has been assigned by the Unit Bureau or the Unit Agit-Prop to lead a discussion, either on a current issue, or on some fundamental question, or on a thesis or resolution. The speaker is not supposed to think the problem out, and give an analysis of it. He is expected merely to give a rehash in his own words of what we have all read in the party press.

If, within the unit, there is disagreement on any question, the comrades know from experience that it is very dangerous to voice it. It means "clarification"; that is, after a few talks with the Bureau and sometimes with the Section Committee, the comrade either accepts the line he has been told to accept, or he is expelled.

But, unfortunately, there is

seldom any disagreement, any healthy conflict of opinion, within the unit, or in the Section. Our Party is a Party of Communists who are supposed to think alike. They are told something from above, and automatically they think it is correct, that it is the only possible correct line, that anyone who disagrees with it is breaking the discipline of our Party, is objectively helping the counter-revolutionists, is capitulating to Menshevism, is a renegade and what not! And then the next day they awake and find that the new issue of the Daily Worker has the new line, exactly as the whole unit had condemned. And automatically the whole unit favors the new line, without a frank statement that there had been a mistake, but with a magic ritual-like formula "changed conditions."

And yet, despite this adherence to the line of the C.I., there is a growing feeling within the Party that all is not well. Large numbers of Party members realize that the united front tactic of the International was incorrect and has been changed, that the Party has a very definite dual unionist line, that the Negro people of America do not constitute a nation and do not aspire to "national liberation." They realize that the theory of social-fascism antagonized millions of Social-Democratic workers.

At the present time, they are looking forward to the Seventh World Congress, five years overdue without any explanation to the membership on why it was not called earlier. They feel that after five years of defeats and set-backs, the Party leaders, at this Congress, will examine the line and make a turn towards organizational tactics.

A few of us will take advantage of the fact that the pre-Congress discussion has been opened, in order to force a real discussion in the press and in the units. But will the Party line be able to stand such an examination and such discussion? Decidedly, not, and that is all the more reason why the burning need of the moment is to have a thorough discussion.

A WORKER WRITES

The excerpts printed below are taken from a letter by a comrade who has long been a militant fighter in the labor movement. He is now serving a sentence for his active participation in the class struggle.

The two letters in the current issue of Labor Action by Swabek and Muste respectively, interest me a great deal. It reminds me slightly of a Jewish matrimonial agency. The fellow is introduced to the girl and vice versa and they then proceed to check their assets, each on the other and finally they come to a satisfactory arrangement and the date for the great event is set. In the letters we read about the formation of the fourth international within the Soviet Union as well as without. In the next paragraph we glibly are informed that this is the best method of defending the Soviet Union.

How the dickens the defense of the Soviet Union can be improved by forming within it, a counter-revolutionary organization, passes my comprehension. For certainly any organization formed within the country, having for its purpose the disorganization and abolishment of the present structure can be nothing but a counter-revolutionary one, no matter what the errors of the Third International might have been outside of the Soviet Union itself. However, in as far as these two groups in the U.S.A. are concerned, or what is left of them, I think that the brain child of Muste, Swabek et al will be a still born one anyway.

Reading Muste's letter I frequently came across the abbreviation for Party Organization Communist (POC). It had me confused for a while. You see, here too, we have a POC and it is considered a very important department. It stands for Psychopathic Observation Company. But the POC in Muste's letter could hardly mean that. Or could it?

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A Program for Finance Capital

MORE than half a million dollars of public and private funds have been spent in the preparation of the Hutchins Commission report. This committee headed by the former president of the University of Chicago has at last completed the assignment given it by President Roosevelt and various foundations. The result is a book of solutions for the crisis—and for the relief of finance capital in the United States. It is realistic enough to pose its conclusions in a short of flexible fashion by insinuating and insisting that there are no final solutions. Rather expensive wisdom for college professors. The Germans had a word for it—Broffersers. Our economists and sociologists of the chair have become realists and internationalists. They admit that some of their "solutions" are bound to hurt some people. Of course, they are selective economists. They have selected the least hurtable ones not to hurt. They break with the proponents of economic, national self-sufficiency. They see further than their noses and have progressed to the point of attaining world dimensions for their vision—the internationalism of American international bankers. We must "restart international trade." Morgan would say; great, but how? What about the competitors? How are our customers to be financed in order to enable them to buy the goods. This question involves exactly these little things which this big commission either looks over cursorily or overlooks completely.

Marvelous insight and expansive foresight bound the achievements of this commission. Thus Hutchins favors the cancellation of war debts, so does France, England and the rest of the war debtors and these war debtors have been practising what they preach. War debts have not been paid for some time and world trade has not been getting any better. Joining the world court is another panacea. This is like filling a morgue with wrestlers in order to show that the morgue is a living institution. Immediate withdrawal from the Philippines is advocated in order to stabilize the situation in the Pacific. What would follow thereafter in so far as Japanese-American relations are concerned the Hutchins commission chooses not to discuss. The fundamental, imperialist antagonism this board of studious sociologists chooses not to see or face.

But the commission isn't only skin deep in its approach. It even dares to plumb the economics of the American and world crisis. The gold standard must be restored; exchange dumping must be replaced by stable gold policy. No restrictions must be placed on foreign lending (export of capital) and on the establishment of branch factories abroad. Restriction of production as a road to raise agricultural prices thru the A.A.A. is to be ended forthwith. Tariffs are to be reduced.

Well, these are the solutions at last. Let the professors learn one thing so that they will then be able to unlearn many things.

If the Hutchins investigators feel satisfied that they have at last worked out a program of stabilization they are harboring crushing illusions. The stabilization that their remedies would produce would at best be stabilization on a see-saw. Sooner rather than later the capitalist economic machine as well as its professors would be coming down to earth with a bang. All of their newly discovered remedies were widely applied for years before the present crisis. It is the flourishing of precisely these practices which have served as strong stimuli and decisive precipitants of the present crisis. The fact that this commission has worked out in great detail the application of some of these specific solutions does not challenge one bit the following conclusions that we arrive at on the basis of its findings. 1. The Hutchins board does not deal with capitalism as a system; does not face or comprehend its organic features and inherent contradictions. 2. It approaches the myriad of difficulties growing out of the very process of capitalist production and accumulation in an eclectic, empirical manner and suggests concrete immediate steps entirely in the interests of finance capital, entirely in the interests of the big bankers in the U. S. whose interests are internationally far flung. In one sense this report does give relief. It does not mince pious words or shed crocodile tears over the fate of sections of society (lower middle class) doomed by capitalist evolution.

The workers should approach this report in an additional sense, recognizing it in its true nature and fight its "solutions" as steps which in their very essence are at the expense of the working class, steps which breed imperialist rivalry, conflict and collision.

In Coming Issues:

In the forthcoming issues of Workers Age we will print two articles by Will Herberg. Both deal with questions which are agitating the revolutionary workers today. In the first article entitled, Workers Democracy or Proletarian Dictatorship, comrade Herberg deals with the recently expressed theories of Sidney Hook and proves these to be a continuation of the reformist denial of the revolutionary working class. The second article Herberg analyzes Hook's plea for a many-party system under the proletarian dictatorship and discusses the real nature of Soviet Democracy.

We are quite certain that readers of Workers Age will welcome the news that August Thalheimer, one of the foremost Marxian thinkers, and one of the leaders of the International Communist Opposition, will become a regular contributor to Workers Age. His first article will appear in the issue of January 1st.

The most recent shift in the trade

Book Reviews

NEGRO AMERICANS, WHAT NOW?: by James Weldon Johnson, Viking Press, New York. One picks up this book with a sense of expectation. The very title sounds promising, as if a departure from the narrow outlook of traditional Negro leadership might be forthcoming.

But the ties and ideas of the past hang heavy upon the author. The middle class program stalks triumphantly through. Only the old husks are offered us anew. That they are offered by one who has not stood with the most conservative wing of Negro leadership makes all the more painfully manifest the bankruptcy of the old type of leadership.

The author writes with dignity and literary persuasiveness. These commendable qualities are, however, put to the service of convincing the Negro people that the old tried methods of approach still suffice. But literary dignity cannot sleight-of-hand away the stark challenge of Fascism which looms as the chief danger for the oppressed Negro masses, as well as mankind generally. It is the inability to understand the disastrous implications for the Negro masses of a developed Fascism in the U. S. that constitutes the decisive failure of the book, a failure which is not merely literary.

Dr. Johnson thinks that the Negroes in the U.S. have always faced Fascism, that there is consequently nothing new in it for them.

"Most of us, it is true, have for long years lived in the Fascist South; so it is hardly possible that we could fare worse under a national Fascist government."

Such innocence! For it follows logically (from the author's viewpoint) that nothing new is therefore needed to combat something which has been an old story for the Negro.

And so the radical solution to the menacing challenge of Fascism is rejected, as well as Communism generally as a solution of the problems of the Negro.

It is significant to note that the author does not reject force or revolution principled grounds, but on practical ones:

"The resort to force remains and will doubtless always remain the rightful recourse of oppressed peoples. And our own country was established upon that right; condemn physical force because I know that in our case it would be futile."

As to why it would be futile (the vital question) is not argued—it is simply stated, the implication being that the Negro would stand alone. Rejecting the radical approach, what remains?

"The solving of our situation depends principally upon an evolutionary process along two parallel lines: our own development and the bringing about of a change in the national attitude towards us."

It is in concretizing these nebulous generalities that we get the whole system of the traditional middle class shibboleths: peaceful evolution, legalism, development of our own business possibilities, use the church ("the most powerful agency we command for moving forward the race as a mass"), legislate share-cropperism out of existence, etc. We have heard these things before, things which have proven to be snares and delusions for the Negro masses. In offering them as potent today in the face of advancing Fascism, Dr. Johnson has become a futile voice of the past. For the future he has nothing to offer.

JIM CORK

WHEN TIDEWATER INVADED THE VALLEY, by Lucy Johnson Ammer, Spirit of Jefferson Press, Charlestown, West Va. 12pp.

A curious little pamphlet describing how the men of lower Virginia came to the rescue of Charles Town when a lover of bloodshed, John Brown" was held there and executed. The author doesn't know the war is over—that is, the "War between the States."

Stage and Screen

by Robert Arthur

In "The Children's Hour," at the Maxine Elliott Theatre, Lillian Hellman has made a stirring story of the tragic effect of willful and malicious gossip upon the lives of two people. It is not, as some of our myopic critics have suggested, a study in abnormality. The stories which little Mary Tilford told her grandmother about Miss Wright and Miss Dobie concerned, it is true, the alleged over affections of these two. The tale Miss Hellman has chosen to tell, however, is not of this affinity, but rather of the terrible results of the dissemination of stories of a relationship, regardless of their truth.

It is no refutation of this point that the playwright gives a certain ironic credence to the gossip when one of the characters involved finally admits her spiritual guilt. Neither do we contend that that admission is a wayward caprice rather, the cream of the jest, and affords "The Children's Hour" its major triumph of character over situation. Literally to fight for one's moral life, and to discover that fight is a delusion, compounds a pitiful futility that is the essence of tragedy.

Karen Wright and Martha Dobie have skimped and labored side by side for eight years to build up their school for girls. No gold mine, it is true, but something more than a mouse. The presence of a sadistic little miscreant, little Mary Tilford, is their biggest problem. She is a vicious child who has skimped and labored side by side for eight years to build up their school for girls. No gold mine, it is true, but something more than a mouse. The presence of a sadistic little miscreant, little Mary Tilford, is their biggest problem. She is a vicious child who has skimped and labored side by side for eight years to build up their school for girls. No gold mine, it is true, but something more than a mouse. The presence of a sadistic little miscreant, little Mary Tilford, is their biggest problem. She is a vicious child who has skimped and labored side by side for eight years to build up their school for girls. No gold mine, it is true, but something more than a mouse. 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August Thalheimer Joins Workers Age Staff

The Weekly Workers Age will boast the best foreign staff of any American paper—and we don't exclude the New York Times.

August Thalheimer, one of the leading Communist theoreticians formerly editor of the "Rote Fahne" during its really influential period, will write a column of international news for the weekly. As one of the leaders of the International Communist Opposition, Thalheimers' finger is on the pulse of the Communist and radical movement throughout the world. As a former teacher in the Marx-Lenin School, as the author of the standard work on "Dialectics," as a co-author of the Program of the Communist International he has a wealth of equipment for interpreting the events of these times from a revolutionary standpoint.

The Workers Age greets August Thalheimer with enthusiasm. We are sure that in the course of a few months his column will become one which no class conscious worker can afford to miss.

LOVESTONE JOINS COLUMNIST RANKS

What does the week's news mean to the class struggle?

That's the question that Jay Lovestone will answer week by week in his column "At First Glance," a front page feature in the Weekly Workers Age. What is the significance of this strike and that demonstration, an assassination in Marseilles and a thousand starving miners in Hungary, in the large picture of the trend of history? Fitting these pieces into the picture will be the function of "At First Glance."

Lovestone is probably better qualified than any other writer in America for such a job of Marxian analysis of current events. As a participant and a leader in the labor movement since 1916 he has had unexcelled opportunity to study the main currents and the side drifts of the American and international struggles of the workers. Jay Lovestone's course in Current Events given at the New Workers School, very similar in content to the coming column, has always been the most popular course in the curriculum.

"HAMMER AND ANVIL" TO BE REVIVED

One of the scintillating features of the old "Revolutionary Age" was the column of comment on the lighter features of the class struggle under the title of "Between Hammer and Anvil."

With the advent of the Weekly the Hammer and Anvil makes its reappearance with a new conductor, a heavier hammer and a chromium plated anvil. There will be nothing sissy about the column. It expects to test on its anvil everything from the NRA to its fellow columnist Jay Lovestone.

When last seen a large army headed by Westbrook Pegler, Heywood Brown and FPA was heading for exile and oblivion. Marching at the tail of the parade trying

very hard to stay out of step with everybody else was a pathetic little figure. It was Mike Gold.

WOLFE TO REVIEW BOOKS OF THE WEEK

Bertram D. Wolfe, associate editor and reviewer for the Weekly, is a prominent figure in the field of "left" literature. He has written many Marxian commentaries and controversial pamphlets as well as the text to Diego Rivera's "Portrait of America." He has reviewed books for practically all of the radical and liberal journals and is noted as a teacher of Marxian economics.

The policy of the book column

of the new Age will be to cover as fully as possible all books of sociological and economic importance. Arrangements have been made with publishers to receive advanced copies so that the reviews will appear at the same time that the book is published. This will not be a non-partisan column. It has a definite viewpoint—the viewpoint of revolutionary Marxism, applied as a critical criterion but not in the mechanical fashion popularized by the New Masses and the Daily Worker.

Wolfe's first review to be published in the January 1st issue will be a critical review of Max Eastman's "Art and the Life of Action" and John Strachey's "Literature and Dialectical Materialism." In reviewing these works Wolfe will present the program of his column and the policies it will follow.

PAGES FROM PARTY HISTORY

by A. M.

Mr. Oneal, editor of the "New Leader," has been deaving about in the dirty clothes hamper of the Socialist Party emerging with a particularly odorous collection of soiled linen. This smelly collection he has hung out on the line in his pamphlet "Some Pages of Party History."

Mr. Oneal represents the Panken-Waldman-Gerber wing of the S.P. His ideological position is best indicated in the pamphlet when he warns of the dangers of a united front with the Communists because the A.F. of L. leaders are beginning a red scare. That is, the Socialist party of Mr. Oneal would be a tail to the kite of Green and Wolf, denouncing Communists when they denounced Communists, selling out strikes when they sold out strikes.

But Oneal's Pages contain little on his own position. He is chiefly engaged in lambasting the "Militants" and doing it in a damning and well documented fashion. And though much of it may seem to be kicking the stuffing out of straw men Oneal has unwittingly done service to the radical movement by aiding in demonstrating that the "Militants" are no more fundamentally revolutionary than is his own exploded old guard group.

Oneal flips the pages back to 1928 and the organization of the League for Independent Political Action. The LIPA was organized by a group of liberals—Paul Douglas, John Dewey, Oswald Garrison Villard etc.—and by such leading Socialists as Norman Thomas, Paul Blanshard and Devere Allen. Its function was to foster independent—not class—political groups on a vaguely reformist platform and to give aid to such groups as already existed. Its appeal was chiefly to college students, liberals, cranks and reformers.

The history of the LIPA was saved from viciousness only by the fact that it was completely ineffectual. It supported Farmer-Laborites in Minnesota and various other paper Farmer-Labor groups—lacking both laborers and farmers—in other sections. In 1932 it endorsed Thomas' candidacy.

This is obviously not a group with which a Marxist could affiliate. Even Oneal who is far from Marxism points this out. But the Norman Thomas of 1928 or, for that matter, the Norman Thomas of 1932 failed to understand this. Did Thomas and Blanshard confuse this medley of pen pushers and pedagogues with a Labor Party? Were they purely opportunistic enough to look for support at any price? Or did they simply fail to understand the proletarian basis which any party calling itself Marxist must have?

The answer in the case of Blanshard, now commissioner of accounts in the La Guardia administration, is clear enough. He wanted a job and kept amnating and re-amnating with every pot-pourri party that emerged until he found one. One may retain an honest doubt however for Thomas, charging him only with confusion. The implication here is that Thomas, with unparalleled speed, developed from the confused liberal of 1932 to the ideological leader of the "revolutionary" left wing in 1934. Oneal finds this hard to believe. So do we.

Oneal takes up several other S.P. phenomena—the congratulatory telegram sent by Shadid, Militant NEC member, to Sinclair on his nomination as Democratic candidate for governor of California, the wanderings of the Militant "American Guardian" which veers from revolutionary socialism to EPICISM, from Social Credit to Oklahoma Populism all in the course of a twelvemonth. From all of these he builds his thesis which is that American Socialism is suffering from an influx of "collegiates"—declassed intellectuals who have taken the party away from the proletariat.

All of Mr. Oneal's indictments together do show the utter lack of ideological clarity in the Socialist Party. The only positive group is Mr. Oneal's old guard who have taken their stand on Parliamentarism and stick there. With a correctly functioning Communist Party in this country we could well afford to leave Oneal and his cronies to die at their posts, completely cut off from the labor movement. Such was the

ONE MONTH MORE TO THE WEEKLY AGE!

Still two-thirds of our three thousand dollar sustaining fund is to be raised in that month. That means increased effort, increased sacrifice on the part of every comrade in the CPO, intensified activity in securing funds from friends and sympathisers of the CPO.

Try to answer "Yes" to these questions:

Have I given all I can afford to the Weekly Age Fund?

Am I circulating a collection list, getting donations no matter how small, from all my friends?

Have I gotten subs for the Weekly Age from all contacts and fellow workers?

Have I tried to get other people to circulate collection lists?

If you're doing these things then you're helping to

BUILD THE WEEKLY AGE!

(The figure in parenthesis is the amount previously contributed)

Anonymous	1.00	R. H., Buffalo	3.50		
Alpert Ida	1.00	Rubin Hy	2.00		
Boston Unit C.P.O.	17.00	Richman Sam	(3.00) 1.00		
Brent Alice	(3.00) 2.00	Roland Sylvia	(1.00) 1.00		
Bell Albert	(2.00) 5.00	Rubano Julius	10.00		
Bail Abe	(3.00) 2.00	Robbins Philip	10.00		
Bail Sam	(9.00) 1.00	Scharf K.	50.00		
Bleecker H.	(5.00) 5.00	Stewart M. C.	(5.00) 5.00		
Baldwin Stuart	1.00	Steinberg Sophie	(6.00) 4.00		
Cohen Mary	2.00	Schiller Leonard	(1.00) 3.00		
Crane Paul	1.00	Sumner R.	2.00		
Connors Dick	5.00	Solomon B.	5.00		
Detroit Unit C.P.O.	10.00	Stillman M.	2.00		
Dodd James	20.00	Turner Bill	(10.00) 15.00		
Edwards Nellie	3.00	V. S. Vivian	5.00		
Epstein Albert	25.00	Wright Edward	1.00		
Farber Joe	10.00	Winters June	5.00		
Fishman N.	5.00	Youth Unit CPO	2.50		
Gilbert J. P.	5.00	Stone Julius on List	No. 1274	.75	
Goldberg Pauline	1.00	I. Goldstein	.25, Joe Fishstein	.25, L. Segal	.25
Hinsdale Rachel	(45.00) 5.00	Howard	2.00		
Hall Lee	(1.00) 2.00	Halpern George	(5.00) 5.00		
Halpern Pearl	(5.00) 5.00	Intrator Mike	(3.00) 2.50		
Jones Cora	(3.00) .50	Jenkins Clarence	(1.00) 1.00		
Jacobson Lena	1.00	Kass Sam	(5.00) 5.00		
Lifshitz Gertrude	(1.00) 2.00	Lane Jesse	5.00		
Los Angeles Unit CPO	20.00	Los Angeles Unit CPO	20.00		
Michaels and Macklin	(5.00) 5.00	Michaels Ray	(20.00) 15.00		
Mesnil Sophie	15.00	Martin M.	5.00		
Montreal Unit C.P.O.	(35.94) 52.00	Miller Morris	10.00		
Newmark Leo	3.50	Pittsburgh Unit CPO	10.00		
Price Jeanette	5.00	TOTAL	\$427.65		
		Previously listed	490.55		
		Grand Total	\$918.20		
		Still to go	\$2,081.80		

situation until 1929. But since 1929, with the Communist Party pursuing a course of ultra-leftism, many honest radicals have been driven to the S.P. There they have sought some line of activity floundered about with liberalism, with third partyism, with every conceivable philosophy except the one they were seeking—that is, Communism.

Mr. Oneal's work should do a lot toward clearing the air in the S.P. The bankruptcy of the old guard was apparent. If, as a dying gesture, the old guard can demonstrate the bankruptcy of the Militants to even the most backward elements in the party, a receivership can be established and the assets disposed of at auction prices.

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