

WORKERS AGE

A Weekly Paper Defending the Workers and Farmers

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At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE "temporary and relatively stabilized" regime of the official C.P. is developing a sense of humor, even if it is losing all other senses in doing so. Browder now conducts a "Questions and Answers" column in the Daily Worker. It appears that the cataclysmic turn made by the official C.P. on the labor party question has confused and nettled many a party member. A disturbed comrade asks: "If the workers today are still not ready for the full revolutionary program of the C.P., then, why wasn't the labor party set up a few years ago, when the working class was even less militant?" Says Browder rather soberly in reply: "Just a few years ago the workers were not even ready for a labor party. They supported Hoover . . . and Roosevelt . . . But today a different situation exists. The masses are engaged in mighty class battles. . . . Their experiences have disillusioned them with the two old capitalist parties. . . . They are as yet not ready to accept the full revolutionary program of the C.P."

Of all the rancid unprincipledness and rank political dishonesty flowing from the loyal oracles of the official C.P. leadership, this reply takes the cake. "Just a few years ago" (1929) Browder, Stachel and puppets of their kidney dropped the slogan for a labor party because "nation-wide, deepgoing, genuine radicalization" was then sweeping the labor movement. "Just a few years ago," we (now the C.P.O.), were denounced and expelled from the C.P. for challenging this fantastic evaluation. For saying this six years ago and not six years later—about the actual conditions of the labor movement in 1929—we were branded as "renegades from communism," as "class enemies." Now, because the C.P. officialdom says it six years too late (about the situation in 1929), it asks the working class to follow its leadership and policies. Of course, today labor is far more militant than in 1929. If Browder and his friends were right in dropping the labor party idea then, they are totally wrong in making goo-goo eyes at it today. If they are right in their belated and pitifully confused indorsement of the labor party today, then, they were fatally wrong in 1929. Plainly they could not be right both times. Actually they were wrong both times.

By arguing the way the Daily Worker does, the C.P. leadership betrays its contempt for the masses and indicts itself as unworthy of the slightest confidence of the workers. Apparently the C. P. bureaucracy thinks that the masses of workers are just plain dumb cattle who must select their own butchers. Otherwise, the present party leadership would never stoop to such gutter methods, to such sub-sewer mentality. Or, perhaps we are wrong after all. Maybe the above-mentioned gem of a reply shows that they require no stooping at all, that they are just in their proper place when they answer that way? When convinced, we are always prepared to admit and correct our mistakes. We do.

SOME workers might give way to the illusion that because all peace conferences are now taking place in Europe, therefore, we in the U. S. are out of the danger zone of war. Than such folly we know no worse. Next year's military expenditures by the Roosevelt government will exceed \$800,000,000. This is the biggest war budget of any country in the world. Not a penny thus expended will be for bayonets to serve as tooth-picks, for machine guns to constitute an orchestra, or for battleships to serve as cruising yachts for unemployed and overworked laborers and poor farmers. Business is business and it must be protected for all customers, against all competitors and disturbers of the peace of profits and dividends. Page Japan, Germany, Great Britain and other friendly countries of today. Watch the awakening labor movement. Hence the giant war appropriations.

Here are some grains showing the dust storms of war and union-smashing in the making. Secretary of State Hull warns all countries discriminating against American business. New militia units are being formed and new armories are being set up—especially in the big industrial centers. For instance, at Fort Wayne, scores have just been sworn in to serve as Machine Gun Company "M" of the 152nd Indiana National Guard. Troops are being held in readiness for the big rubber centers which recently took a strike vote. The Good-year Tire and Rubber Co. at Akron alone has 1000 special deputies at its call. The Firestone Plant is now guarded by 250 "specials" equipped with helmets, tear gas, night sticks and other such potent

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GAS UNION STRIKES FOR RECOGNITION

St. Louis Federal Local Out
As Gas Company Scorns
Labor Board Decree

A new daily has just appeared in St. Louis—the Daily Strike Bulletin of the Gashouse Workers Union, Local 18799, A. F. of L. The first number appeared on the streets just as the workers struck against the Laclede Gas Company in a walkout that was notable for its completeness and its swift secrecy.

This federal local after months of struggle for recognition finally won a decision of the National Labor Relations Board ordering the Gas company to deal with the union. But the workers soon found that such a decision meant nothing unless backed by the strength of labor. So they struck.

The Laclede company has installed strikebreakers in its plant under the direction of Al Ahner, notorious as the proprietor of a rat detective agency in St. Louis.

The Daily Strike Bulletin, a remarkably well edited little two page paper has been invaluable in conducting the strike. It serves the double purpose of rallying the strikers on the picket lines and of keeping the public of St. Louis informed of the reasons for the walkout. It has responded quickly to an attempted bomb frameup by giving the details of the incident and making it apparent that a company provocateur and not a union man had planted the explosive.

The Gas House Workers' strike is symptomatic of a spirit that is growing in the mid-West—a realization that the rights of labor must be won, not through the decisions of this or that governmental agency, but by exercising the power of the workers to force concessions from the employing class.

KNITGOODS PICKET FIGHTS INJUNCTION

Thirty workers were arrested when the Knitgoods Workers Union began its struggle against an anti-picketing injunction last Monday morning, including Louis Nelson, manager of the Union. A mass picket line had been called in front of the Klein Knitting Mills at 54 Canal Street. As soon as the line formed the police swooped down and seized a number of these militant workers.

The union will continue picketing despite the injunction.

THE WORKERS HAVE STAYED THE SWORD— NOW THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS MUST GO FREE!



EUROPE TODAY

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

With Or Against The Soviet Union?

Germany clearly and emphatically stated its attitude on the problems confronting European diplomacy at the Berlin negotiations, the first day of which was taken up by Herr Hitler's monologue. Hitler's announcement of universal conscription was accompanied by open attacks on the Soviet Union. In the speech delivered for the benefit of Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden he stated unequivocally that Germany would not participate in any security pact which includes the Soviet Union. He thus placed the question of the formation of a counter-revolutionary coalition against the Soviet Union officially before England. (Unofficially this had been done repeatedly before the Berlin negotiations and it seems that Hitler Germany had made sure that it could risk the coup de force of March 16th without incurring England's wrath).

Nor is Germany ready to join the Danubian pact. Hitler's demands for an explanation of "non-interference" and his insistence that Austria's "right of self-determination" must be guaranteed point to the fact that Hitler wants to secure a completely free hand in Austria. The questions directed to the English representatives aimed to assure Germany that England would not interfere even if Germany would turn Austria into a Reich colony.

Hitler Germany is avoiding any real security pact. Everything else is just a maneuver.

Its readiness to conclude an armament pact is only apparent; Germany is giving up demands which it could not get anyway and granting these as concessions. At the same time, Germany would like to prevent the other powers from arming themselves more rapidly and vigorously than Germany. Germany is ready to accept armament control provided it is general and not linked up with sanctions. Such control is no control. Nothing will prevent Germany from emasculating such an agreement just as it emasculated the military clauses of the Versailles treaty.

France And The Others

The French government, put to the choice between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, is vacillating.

An expression of this vacillation is that the trip of Laval to Moscow will be made only after the conference in Stresa and the sessions of the League of Nations.

The reaction of the Little Entente nations is clearer and more decisive. The Little Entente is in immediate danger because of the frank manner in which Hitler Germany is aiming to attack the East and the South. The Little Entente is therefore urging the conclusion of the Eastern pact and has further indicated

that it will mobilize for war if Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary follow the German example and scrap the military clauses of the Versailles treaty.

Italy has already drafted the class of 1931 and has declared publicly that at present 700,000 men are armed. France forbids export of war materials. Thus negotiations are carried on amidst the roar of guns!

Abyssinian War Draws Near

Italy has noted a new "incident" at the Abyssinian border and again demands an indemnity. Troops are being dispatched to Africa continually. Abyssinia has now formally applied to the League of Nations but England and France are exerting strong pressure in order to spare Italy the trouble of appearing. Thus Italy, protected by England and France, can continue to prepare for imperialist war in Abyssinia. The responsibility for this war lies with England and France no less than with Italy. It's to be expected that the consequences of this war will effect also the other two powers.

Reports from Italy indicate clearly that the sentiment of the people is against the African war. It can be safely said at this time that Fascist Italy by waging the Abyssinian war is hastening the revolution in Italy and releasing unfathomable revolutionary forces in all of Africa.

England fears that the revolutionary flame will leap from Abyssinia to the Sudan and Kenya and the North and middle African colonies of France are a powder magazine. All of Africa has been undermined by the effects of the world economic crisis so the defense of the independence of Abyssinia can easily become the collective slogan of all the oppressed native peoples of Africa against the European powers.

The international working class must in its own interest aid the struggle of the native African peoples in every possible way.

The De Man Plan In Practice

The new Belgian government includes 5 Social Democrats, among them the leader of the Party, Vandervelde, Hendrick de Man, the author of the famous de Man plan and Spaak, the leader of the left wing of the Belgian Social Democracy.

The Belgian experiment is of international significance in two respects. First of all, the de Man plan is now being put into practice. It might be said, however, that Premier Van Zeeland did not accept the de Man plan 100%. That is true. But Leon Blum, the leader of the French Social Democracy writes correctly in "Populaire": "The program of the coalition will very probably be in the direction of the de Man plan." In other words the de Man

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SUPREME COURT FORCED TO REVERSE SCOTTSBORO VERDICT ON JURY ISSUE

Freedom For Nine Negro Youths Framed In Alabama Is Next
Step As International Labor Defense
Faces Possible Re-Trial

By a unanimous decision the United States Supreme Court on April 1st reversed the legal lynch verdict of the Alabama courts which had condemned Clarence Norris to death for the second time and Heywood Patterson for the third time.

Not only is this a tremendous victory in the struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, but the decision also dealt a staggering blow to the illegal

practice of excluding Negroes from jury service and was a striking challenge to the whole barbarous system of caste oppression existing for the Negro, especially in the South, since the Civil War.

From the time that it first stepped into the case four years ago the International Labor Defense has carried on a relentless battle in the courts of the land that the Scottsboro boys might go free. At the same time it has focused the attention of the entire world on the situation in the South, exposing the cynical violation of every democratic right supposedly guaranteed by the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments.

While both the Norris and Patterson cases were sent back to the Alabama courts for further proceedings, the status of the two cases differs. The Court found no doubt of its right to set aside the death sentence in the Norris case on constitutional grounds, but it sent the Patterson case back for decision as to whether the lower courts will grant him a new trial. However, the fundamental question of Negro rights covered in the Norris decision is made by the Supreme Court to apply to both cases.

Four years ago, these nine Negro youngsters, none of them over twenty years old at the time, were slapped into jail, tried, convicted and sentenced to death for "raping" two white prostitutes. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, including the changed testimony of Ruby Bates, one of the "victims" who confessed that the previous story of being raped was a lie, the boys have been incarcerated in an Alabama dungeon, while the white ruling class has exerted every ounce of its energy, planning, scheming, preparing for a lynching—legal or illegal.

The stage was all set for the mass murder of the nine boys four years ago. There was never any other as to the guilt of the defendants. In less than three weeks after the boys were arrested, they were convicted and condemned to death. It was this point that the I.L.D. entered the case and exposed the lynch frame-up of the Alabama courts, halted the execution verdict, won a new trial for the defendants, launched a campaign in the courts and outside the courts through mass action that has so far succeeded in staying the hand of the lynchers and saving the lives of the boys. The recent victory in the Supreme Court brings the Scottsboro boys a step nearer to complete freedom.

The verdict of the Supreme Court was due to the overwhelming mass interest in the case and to the skillful manner in which the defense constructed the basis for an appeal by proving the systematic and arbitrary exclusion of qualified Negro citizens from service on the jury, solely because of their race and color.

The principle involved in this case was recognized by the Supreme Court as having been summed up in a previous ruling in relation to exclusion from service on Grand Juries, in the case of Carter vs. Texas.

The decision, therefore, concludes: "although the State statute defining the qualifications of jurors may be fair on its face, the constitutional provision affords protection against action of the State through its administrative officers in effecting the prohibited discrimination."

In examining the evidence, Chief Justice Hughes found that the names of negroes had been forged after the jury list had been made up in order to make it appear as though Negroes had been called, when as a matter of fact "it appeared that no Negro had served on any grand or petit jury in that county within the memory of witnesses who had lived there all their lives. There was abundant evidence that there were a large number of Negroes in the county who were qualified for jury service."

After thoroughly reviewing all testimony pertaining to this matter, the decision sharply criticizes the Alabama Supreme Court for its complete disregard of all evidence on this point declaring in conclusion: "and in view of the denial of the Federal right suitably asserted, the judgment must be reversed and the cause remained for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

It is so ordered. This decision is of far-reaching importance for the Negro masses of this country, and especially in the South. It establishes a precedent that now makes it possible for all Negroes brought for trial in a lynch court to demand that Ne-

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ORGANIZED LABOR BACKS HIGH COURT BRESLOW APPEAL

But Canadian Labor Defense
Tries To Blacken Record
Of Canadian Leader

The case of Comrade Frank Breslow, convicted for six months hard labor and three additional months, or a fine, and W. Rudin convicted for four months, on a charge of "conspiracy to intimidate", took on a new turn last week. While the case is being appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, it draws the attention of ever wider circles of the trade union movement. A delegation of the I.L.G. W.U., headed by the local manager, appeared before the Trades and Labor Council, and enlisted the support of this body for the case. This, of course, means that the case is becoming the concern of the whole organized trade union movement in Montreal. In Toronto as well, the local leaders of the A. F. of L. are beginning to take an interest in the case. It is hoped that the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will take up the case at Ottawa.

But what is the attitude of the Canadian Labor Defense League to the case of Comrade Breslow? The C.L.D.L. conducted the case in the Lower courts. Frank Breslow was then a Party member. The case was lost. The then Independent Dress Cutters Union, of which Breslow was manager, called a conference of trade unions to defend Breslow and Rudin. The C.L.D.L. representative proposed a plan of action, which was rejected by the majority of the delegates. It then withdrew from the conference, but instructed Breslow, then still a loyal member of the Party to remain in the conference. In the meantime, the union decided by a majority vote to affiliate to the I.L.G.W.U. Comrade Breslow was expelled from the Party for his stand on the question of affiliation. The C.L.D.L. completely withdrew from the case while the C.P. started a slanderous campaign against Breslow.

In the "New Commonwealth", C.C.F. organ, of March 23, a week before Breslow's conviction by the Court of Appeals, J. S. Wallace, District Secretary of the C.L.D.L. stated: "Frank Breslow and those now surrounding him associate themselves with the same line of defense, i.e., that the courts should clear him because it was the rank and file members of the union who were responsible for the many violent scenes. It is bad enough when an untrained worker squeals on another. It is unspeakable when one who has been lifted to leadership squeals on his followers to save his own spotted skin. The Canadian Labor Defence League is proud that it is not associated with such a line of 'defence'."

We challenge Wallace to show one instance, one phrase in Comrade Breslow's testimonial or even the lawyer's brief

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THE AMERICAN APPROACH LEADS BUDENZ TO FOLLOW PATH OF FASCISM, REFORMISM

There Is No Royal Road To Revolution Even Via The Modern Monthly

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of the Constitution (see the Federalist)? Madison and Hamilton were sure that the Constitution would be an excellent safeguard against "the mob"; that the amendment system (and time has proven them to be correct) was so excellently knotted up that nothing could be passed, except as a last resort of the ruling class. Moreover, the Constitution as a whole is a bourgeois document, based on capitalist property relations, capitalist political structure etc. The essence of reformism is to amend capitalist government structure. The essence of revolution is to scrap it and create a new structure. For Budenz, Marx and Lenin have lived in vain; the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution are as if they had never occurred. But, of course, this is only necessary to "safeguard its integrity." Now in good American language, that means be so good that "they" won't be able to say you're bad. Or in the bad, bad "other-world" language, sacrifice the right to revolution, deny the class-struggle, for the crassest concepts of the German Social-Democracy.

But Budenz will read in his American history and ables of its "Marxist" interpreters, has made an epochal discovery. "This amendment will strike a death blow to the Profit-System, even as the Thirteenth Amendment did to Chattel Slavery" (emphasis mine). The smouldering of the years 1820 to 1860 is forgotten, the progressively bitter Civil War (yes, Comrade Budenz, Civil War not constitutional amendments), the decade of revolutionary dictatorship of a military character in the South of overthrow slavery by the victorious North of bourgeois capitalism,—this is conveniently forgotten in the "American Approach," in our "revolutionary traditions" as Budenz sees them. "In a word," he continues, "we will in this way, in good proletarian parlance, (sic) 'Let up on hot air and get down to brass tacks.' Will we?"

Of course, it follows that, basing itself on an amendment ("essential for any real revolutionary movement in these United States, in my opinion," Budenz informs us), the state machine is OK for—not constructing socialism, which is a wicked unAmerican way of talking—but a "non-profit making 'Advance America' government." And here it is that Budenz begins to involve himself in a strange anti-working class concoction. Budenz may be, probably is, a sincere

anti-fascist fighter. But how far is it from fighting for a "non-profit making system" (which of course doesn't have to be socialism or communism) to fighting against "interest slavery"? And what about the memories evoked by that "Advance America" slogan? How will this "revolutionary" party differentiate itself from the Fascists who shout "America Awake!" (as the Khaki Shirts did)? Why should the masses sooner follow an advancing America than an awaking one? No matter what Budenz's intentions are, here he definitely reflects the pressure of Fascist ideology. And this is not my discovery, for he says "Fascism has learned much from the externals of the Soviet Revolution, and the time has come for revolutionists to learn from the externals of Fascism." The revolution, Comrade Budenz, is such precisely because its essence is not demagogy, but reality—and it happens that demagogy, deception of the masses, are the "externals" of fascism.

The four point program which Budenz submits as a starter sparkles with the brilliance of a gem. If he gets power in any state he will "use the national guard and police against employers with strike bound plants." Budenz's American experiences seem to be confined to Toledo, but perhaps his Trotskyite friends can inform him about the Farmer-Labor governor Olsen of Minnesota who also called out the national guard and police "to protect the workers." Of course, once you shoot a worker, he is forever "protected."

Here is the end of the "American Approach." In the jumbled quagmire of extreme reformism, even outright bourgeois ideology, tinged with fascist phrases. Out of such nonsense can never grow a revolutionary party of the proletariat. What do we mean by American approach? Briefly, the application of the Marxist analytical method to the specific problem at hand. Not a general statement that the history of America is a history of class struggles, but a concrete review of our development, showing the social roots of American phenomena. But—and this is essential—it must be an analysis of the specific, leading to the general form of the Proletarian Revolution, armed insurrection, soviet power, proletarian dictatorship. The American Approach cannot be imposed, it cannot be molded in advance. The American Approach means the application of the international essence of the revolution to the national form—not a hodgepodge of traditions used for no purpose, without plan, without arrangement.

Budenz wants to speak in the popular idiom—but he overlooks the small item of having something to say.

EUROPE TODAY

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plan will be put into practise to the extent to which it can be realized under bourgeois conditions at all. It was never intended for other conditions. It is the de Man plan therefore which is being tested and this is of importance to international reformism and not only to the Belgian Social Democracy. The French Socialists don't like the formation of a "Union nationale" in Belgium since they are opposed to the formation of such a government in France. Hendrick de Man in a speech in Brussels found a loophole which will make it possible for international reformism to sanction the Belgian experiment. "It is a question of national revival and not national unity," he declared. Leon Blum concludes his article on the Belgian experiment with the hope that the Belgian Party supported by its mighty organizations will overcome all obstacles.

The fact that the leader of the left wing, Spaak, participates in the government points to the bankruptcy of the lefts and gives the weak Communist Party the possibility of becoming a force in Belgium.

The Belgian experiment is of international significance from still another viewpoint. It is certain that Belgium will not remain on the gold standard. The Belgian franc fell yesterday from 3.50 francs to 3 francs. It is expected that Belgium will join the sterling bloc. Should Belgium go off the gold standard the crisis will spread to other countries of the gold bloc and even beyond that. A new international wave of money crises will follow.

AT FIRST GLANCE-

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and solid arguments against labor. War of one kind or another is closer to home than most workers realize.

A misplaced museum-piece impeding labor's progress is Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers. In the last general strike of the spindle workers, McMahon and Gorman squandered the textile workers' inspiring heroism by putting faith in Strikebreaker-in-Chief, Roosevelt, thus literally leading the union to crash headlong into a concrete wall. McMahon and Gorman have just been duly rewarded by the New Dealers. The Textile Labor Board has handed down a decision prohibiting the reinstatement of hundreds of workers who struck last September. In further support of the bosses, this Roosevelt Board has ordered a curtailment of production providing in effect for a 25% cut in wages. Really, we know of no other industry in which Roosevelt has played such a dirty double-dealing role. But what does this order evoke from McMahon? All he can do is to say: "if that is justice for the textile workers, then we ask NRA to explain it." Wow! How exciting!

It would be comic, were it not too tragic for the textile workers. What does McMahon mean by "explain"? No worker in the textile mills, no member of the U.T.W., can, after this feeble groan, any longer doubt that McMahon and his type can never learn even from the the costliest experience. An explanation is necessary but not by the NRA; rather by the U.T.W. officialdom to the membership. It's highest time that the union members awoke to the danger and began to explain to their incompetent and pussyfooting officialdom. A strengthened union dropping all faith in all government boards and relying on its own power is the way out of the mess. Then only will the NRA make the proper explanation.

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SUPREME COURT VETOES LYNCH JUSTICE BRINGING HOPE FOR SCOTTSBORO LIBERTY

Precedent For Negro Jurors Set By Decision Of High Tribunal

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gro jurors sit in their cases. New indictments to prosecute the Scottsboro boys will be sought promptly, Lieutenant Governor Thomas E. Knight, Jr., of Alabama has announced. Knight who as Attorney General prosecuted Patterson and Norris was elected to the office of Lieutenant Governor as a reward for the noble services he performed for the Alabama ruling class in winning a conviction of the Scottsboro boys in the Alabama courts.

The white ruling class of Alabama is determined to go through with the lynching, legally or illegally. The "fair name of the State of Alabama" and the "honor of white womanhood" must be preserved. All sorts of legal technicalities, appeals to prejudices and bigotry will be advanced in an attempt to obscure the real is-

ssues involved—the elementary democratic rights of the Negro masses as against the caste oppression of Negroes and its consequent terrorism designed to "keep the Negro in his place." Increasing vigilance must be maintained lest the ruling class of Alabama in its fury seek their revenge through the rope and fagot.

The complete and unconditional freedom of the Scottsboro boys rests with the success or failure of broadening the mass protest. Protest has saved the boys thus far. The completion of the job rests with those who insist that the Scottsboro boys must not die, and will take the necessary steps to work for a real, genuine, all-inclusive, broad movement which in spite of other differences will draw in all elements and groups ready to rally around this specific issue. Such a movement can stay the hand of the lynchers, and only such a movement can fling open the bars of the Alabama dungeons and unconditionally and safely release the nine Scottsboro boys.

LINCOLN PARK-

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advisory capacity; jurisdiction in all grievances of city employees; the distribution of contracts up to \$300 (the council reserving the bigger plums for itself). All city employees in the service of the community less than one year to be considered on probation. (These employees are paid in scrip). The plea for the charter was on the basis of economy and efficiency.

The lessons of the past stood the workers in good stead. A Labor Front Committee was formed from the American Legion on the right to the C.P. on the left. Mass meetings were called and the reactionary nature of the charter explained. At one meeting in which the speaker who was to explain the charter did not show up, a legionnaire who was chairman called on John Pace, Labor Ticket candidate and member of C.P. as the only person present able to do a good job of explaining the charter. During Pace's talk a woman in the audience got up and announced that she had not come to the meeting to listen to "a dirty communist." The chairman explained that Mr. Pace was discussing the charter and not communism, and that he was doing a good job. When the woman continued the disturbance the chairman asked her to leave the meeting. (Was this a "social fascist" maneuver, Comrade Browder?) In spite of the bosses' campaign slogan "A vote against the new charter is a vote for the communist Pace" the charter lost by a vote of 1061 to 632. The Labor Front is working night and day to elect John Pace and Ed Allen, Left Socialist to the council and John Sweet, Socialist to the School Board. In Lincoln Park workers do not worry too much about Party labels when united political action becomes an immediate necessity. Sectarian barriers are being broken down and a Labor Party is being freely and favorably discussed. The workers are focussing their eyes on their real enemy, the capitalist class.

BRESLOW CASE-

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to corroborate this shameful statement. A week after this letter was published Comrade Breslow began serving his sentence. The C.L.D.L. realized that in face of the implications of this trial and its importance to the trade union movement it could not remain aloof from it. They sent a letter to the I.L.G.W.U. locals in which they stated that they "have never withdrawn from the defence of these two or any other class-war prisoners."

Next day a C.L.D.L. leaflet appeared, calling a mass meeting to hail the Scottsboro decision, which also said: "William Rudin and Frank Breslow were similarly condemned by the Montreal courts. But instead of relying on the mass support of the workers, Frank Breslow repudiated his class, refused the support of the C.L.D.L. and threw himself at the feet of his enemies."

Frank Breslow "repudiated his class!" He joined the Workers' League of Canada fighting in line with the I.C.O. program. He threw himself at the feet of his enemies—he joined the American Federation of Labor Union—the very union the C.L.D.L. approaches for "united fronts", the very union where the C.P. is sending its members now.

This article is an appeal to the honest C.L.D.L. and Party members not to let themselves be fooled by their leaders. Instead of being conducted by the sectarian C.L.D.L., the Breslow-Rudin frame-up is now before the organized labor movement. The C.L.D.L. and the C.P. must stop this slanderous campaign against a class-war prisoner!

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COMMUNIST PARTY AND LABOR PARTY

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British Labor Party, the CP was (and still is) unable to explain why the Communist Party of Great Britain now supports it, albeit in a shame-faced way?

And what about the "broad class revolutionary trade-unions" basis of the Labor Party? But in this perspective is really the crux of the whole question, and it will have to be dealt with at length, later. It is enough to say at this point, that history has answered the question decisively in the negative.

When all the accounts are settled and the political balance is struck, if anything is correct in the 1929 resolution it has nothing to do with the Labor Party.

How is it, then, today? Since the CP now supports the proposals for a Labor Party are not its resolutions correct? Let us see. What are the reasons given for the about face on this question?

In brief, they boil down to the following:

1. Since 1929 the CP has not considered the Labor Party practical but now "conditions have changed". "Life itself," says Comrade Browder, "places the Labor Party as a practical question."

2. There is now mass sentiment for a Labor Party.

Let us take the several points contained in arguments 1 and 2.

1. The Labor Party is not practical. This is completely incorrect. For the revolutionary movement in this country, for the entire American working class in general, the Labor Party is the decisive means of breaking the workers away from capitalist parties, and until it has accomplished this historic task the Labor Party remains on the agenda as a practical question. We shall show what importance Marx and Engels, beginning in 1877, attached to this as a practical question. If Browder, if the leadership mean to say that conditions made it impossible, and only in this sense for the moment not "practical" to develop a Labor Party, then they must explain why instead of keeping up a general propaganda for it, they bitterly, virulently opposed the Labor Party.

Conditions have changed: What conditions? Did the Democratic and Republican parties disappear after 1929 and come back in 1935? Were the workers so politically advanced in 1929 that a Labor Party would have meant step backward, whereas in 1935 they are again backward enough for a Labor Party to mean a step forward? Not at all! The

period of the "decline" and "total decay" of the A. F. of L., of the "growth" of the revolutionary unions turned out to be quite the opposite. The A. F. of L. growing in membership and in militancy, the compulsory liquidation of the TUUL, and the sentiment for a Labor Party—these are the new factors which the CP theory could not foresee and their appearance has caused a change—in the apologetics of the Party!

2. Mass sentiment, for the Labor Party. In the first place, this is not correct. A small minority of the working class has endorsed it, although unquestionably this sentiment is bound to grow rapidly. However, supposing the mood of the masses changes? Will the theoretical position of the Party change also? It is obvious that measuring the pulse of the masses does not take the place of theoretical clarity on a basic question of aim in mass work.

Moreover, the whole approach to the question on the basis of practicality and mass sentiment, is following, not leading, the masses. When the masses thus point in the direction which the CP should have foreseen, that is to be taken as a sign of dangerous isolation, not as a justification for a theoretical course! It means that the confused, although often healthy, instincts of the workers are answering the want of Communist leadership and Marxist realism.

When the CP is surprised by "life itself"—the workers going into the A. F. of L., not into the TUUL; historical forces sending forward a Labor Party, not a revolutionary upsurge—it should begin to realize that the revolutionary movement is not made according to specifications drawn up in a blue print manual. Neither will the Labor Party arise purely according to "revolutionary" designs, but as determined by the development of the workers and of the immediate situation. Here also, so far as the analysis goes of what the character of the Labor Party will be, and what Communists must anticipate as most likely in such a movement, the Party will again be surprised by history. This we leave to the next article for discussion.

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