

WORKERS' AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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SHIPYARD MEN UNIONIZE

New York City. The strike which originated from discrimination case in the Robbins Dry Dock, a subsidiary of the Todd Dry Dock Company, spreading to other yards of the Todd and United Dry Docks of Brooklyn, Hoboken and Staten Island and developed into a general strike involving over 4,000 workers, has now been declared settled by the National Labor Board.

The case had been referred to the National Labor Board by the Regional Labor Board which declared that the Todd and the United Dry Dock Companies and their subsidiaries had flouted the labor provisions of the Recovery act by refusing to appear at a hearing. The Labor Board declared off the existing strike which they state, arose out of a "misunderstanding" and a settlement was written into two agreements.

The United Dry Docks, Inc. agreed that it would rehire within two weeks, all of its employees now out on strike, without discrimination. That any dispute would be submitted to the Labor Board and that the men are to remain at work pending a decision.

The agreement with the Todd Dry Dock Company provided that the discharged worker George Hunt, might return to work immediately and that the company agrees to post in a conspicuous place a list of all employees who went out on strike and to give them preference before any new employees are taken on. It further agreed to rehire these men as rapidly as work was available and without discrimination. The question of wages and hours will be considered on December 5 before a meeting of the National Labor Board and its fact finding committee.

The most outstanding demands worked out by the strike committee and approved by the strikers, will be submitted to the hearing. These include the 30 hour week, \$1.45 per hour for machinists, riggers and mechanics of all other crafts, \$1.00 per hour for helpers. In case of inflation or the rise of commodities, wages shall be adjusted.

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RIVERA COMPLETES MURAL SERIES

After six months of tireless labor, day and night, Sundays and holidays, Diego Rivera has completed his monumental series of twenty-one murals at the New Workers School. The public exhibition and series of farewell meetings in which thousands of workers and many leading artists and writers have participated, will be reported in the next issue. Elsewhere in this issue (see editorial, "Portrait of America") the great significance, esthetic and social, of this work is commented upon. Rivera leaves for Mexico on December 13 for a series of paintings there. By his battle with the Rockefeller and his work at the New Workers School, he has earned the undying gratitude and admiration of the workers of the United States. We wish Comrade Rivera a good trip. The workers of Mexico have one more reason to be proud of their great comrade.

BANQUET

To welcome delegates to the Fourth National Conference of the COMMUNIST PARTY (Opposition) NEW YEAR'S EVE Sunday, Dec. 31, 1933 8 P. M. IRVING PLAZA 15th Street and Irving Place Speakers :: Refreshments :: Dancing :: Admission 50 Cents

SOVIET RECOGNITION -- VICTORY OR DEFEAT?

Jay Lovestone will answer this question at the mass meeting on Sunday, December 17th, 8 P. M. at the Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place.

The attitude of the Socialist party and the Trotskyites on Soviet recognition will be dealt with. Lovestone will deal in detail with the claims that recognition means the suppression of the American Communist party and the Communist International thru Soviet diplomacy.

Admission is 15c. Questions and discussion will be welcomed.

— IN THE NEXT ISSUE —

DOLLAR DEVALUATION AND ECONOMIC DESPAIR (The Meaning Of The Roosevelt Money Program) by Jay Lovestone

SILK WEAVERS END STRIKE

Paterson, N. J. Over 8,000 silk workers returned to the mills as a result of the agreement signed on Saturday December 2 by the Manufacturers Association and the American Federation of Silk Workers. The chief significance of this settlement is that recognition of the union by the association has been won for the first time in Paterson.

The main provisions of the agreement, besides union recognition, are as follows: A base wage of \$22 for weavers as against \$17 previously offered by the employers, a proportional increase in wages for all other crafts (15%), the 40 hour and 5 day week.

The agreement though offering certain improvements in conditions, nevertheless, includes certain features which may destroy even those conditions won. The mill owners, for instance, can hire at the gate and are not required to secure help thru the union; the closed shop is not guaranteed; night work remains in use and at the same wage scale as the day shift.

The agreement further stipulates that there be a 5% differential for Paterson, i.e., the Paterson workers secure, automatically, a 5% increase in wages as soon as it is established that two other silk centers are paying the present Paterson wage scale.

Eli Keller, organizer for the American Federation of Silk Workers, stated that the ending of the strike signifies the beginning of an intensive drive to strengthen and solidify the union in the mills. That the mill committees have been set up and will be supervised thru the union to make sure that the conditions won are strictly enforced.

Lynch Murder!

The events of the last two weeks rise as a challenge to every man and woman of this country who has not completely surrendered to the degrading passions of race prejudice and bigotry. The race-colored visions of the professional optimists who hailed the early end of lynching because of the apparent decline of the number of lynch murders in recent years, are now ruthlessly dispelled by the brutal facts themselves.

On November 26, two men, both white, accused of kidnapping and murder, were dragged from jail at San Jose by a mob of 5,000, savagely tortured and finally burned to death in a public park, amid indescribable sadistic orgies. On the very next day, Governor James Rolph, Jr., who is such a stickler for "law and order" that he keeps Tom Mooney and Warren Billings in jail for a crime which everybody knows they did not commit, issued an incredibly brazen statement, condoning the lynchers, and even praising the lynchers, declaring that "no arrests would be made" and promising to pardon any of the murderers who might happen by accident to get in the way of justice!

Within a few hours, a Negro in Saint Joseph, Missouri, accused of murder but pleading his innocence, was seized by a mob and done to death. The governor of the state made a gesture of indignation but, so far, it has remained at that.

Meanwhile, the attempt of Governor Ritchie of Maryland to bring the instigators of the recent Princess Anne lynching to justice have ended in an inglorious fiasco. State militia entered Princess Anne, seized four of the ringleaders and, in spite of a hostile mob, brought them to the city of Baltimore. But just at this point Governor Ritchie was apparently over-

come by legal scruples. Making a sudden right-about-face, he released the lynch murderers in the custody of the county officials, turned over to the latter all documents and material and washed his hands of the whole business. And not the slightest attempt is made to hide the fact that the lynchers will be perfectly safe in the hands of the local officials, their own partners in the Princess Anne outrage!

As if to illustrate that lynching has its legal form as well comes the third verdict of guilty in the case of Heyward Patterson, the first of the Scottsboro boys, after a trial really unparalleled in the crudity and flagrancy of the prejudice that dominated it, a trial in which the judge actually "forgot" to instruct the jury how to find the defendant not guilty!

Lynching, in its legal or extra-legal form, for we can hardly speak of lynching as "illegal," is an integral element of the social set-up in the United States. It is rooted in the whole system of caste oppression under which the colored man groans in this country and in the poisonous spirit of race prejudice emerging from this system. So far has the capitalistic order degenerated in the period of its decay that, today, it finds a welcome place in its rotten structure for every vicious practise, for every inhuman custom, for every low prejudice. Only by sweeping away the entire stinking mess with the iron broom of revolution can an end be put to the characteristic American institution of lynch murder!

But even now great strides may be taken in mitigating the evil. An aroused mass sentiment of indignation and protest can go a long way. It can force the Federal government to make lynching a Federal offense and in this way shift the burden of responsibility from thousands of anonymous local authorities, who, more often than not, are themselves the mob leaders, to the central government itself. It can drive for the conviction and punishment of the instigators and ringleaders of lynchings. It can demand the removal of all government officials who condone lynching in any way. It can insist that an abhorrence of lynching and race prejudice be inculcated by the public schools of this country and by all other public educational institutions. And, what is extremely important, it can encourage and aid the colored people in the lynch-murder zones of the South to organize themselves for effective self-defense.

The situation cries aloud for action. The labor movement, which should be the banner-bearer of all social progress, must take the lead!

Membership Drive Forges Ahead!

Already three branches of the C.P.O. have passed their quotas in the membership drive being conducted by the organization until February 1. The Toronto and Philadelphia units have doubled their quotas, while the Harlem unit of New York lacks one to double its quota. In addition, the Detroit and Chicago units as well as the Youth unit of New York are within striking distance of meeting their quotas. The Hartford unit is not far behind.

Most of the other units, however, including Boston, Fort Wayne, Montreal, the Anthracite, Los Angeles, San Antonio and the Brooklyn, Bronx and the two Down Town units of New York, are very far behind. In many cases the latter units have not even begun to participate in the drive.

Harlem leads in the number of new members secured with nine recruits. Detroit and the New York Youth unit are pressing closely behind with seven and six new members respectively.

The following table shows the standing of the units:

Unit	New Members Secured
Harlem, N. Y. C.	9
Detroit	7
Youth, N. Y. C.	6
Hartford	5
Down Town, N. Y. No. 1	5
Toronto	4
Chicago	4
Upper N. Y. State	3
Philadelphia	2

Many Negro workers have joined the C.P.O. in this drive. Many former members of the Proletarian Party have joined the ranks. In several cases members of the Communist Party and Socialist Party have decided to join the struggle for Communist unity that the C.P.O. is waging. It is highly important, however, that the influence of Communism among the needle, shoe, textile, mining and metal workers be increased and that a stronger base for the building up of a progressive and left wing movement in the trade unions be established.

All units of the Communist Opposition on the job! All class-conscious workers, join the ranks of Communism, join the fight for Communist unity, join the C.P.O. which is waging a constructive struggle in defense of the workers interests. Join now!

COMMUNIST PARTY (Opposition)
51 West 14 St.
New York, N. Y.

I wish to join your organization and help you accomplish your objectives.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

JAY LOVESTONE "SOVIET RECOGNITION" Dec. 17, 8 p. m., Irving Plaza

NATURE FRIENDS PLAN SERIES OF OUTINGS

Sunday, December 17. Roman Baths Hike. Meet at the 242 St. Van Cortlandt Park Station at 9 A. M. Leader Harry Rubinstein. Fare 30c. Guests invited.

Saturday, Sunday and Monday, December 23, 24 and 25. Outing to Camp Midvale. Take Erie train to Wanaque-Midvale. Our bus at the station. Sleeping fee 65c per night. Meals 25c to 45c. Fare \$1.50 round trip. We invite you to spend this week-end at a proletarian camp.

Jay Lovestone Meetings in Detroit

Detroit, Mich. Comrade Jay Lovestone arrived in Detroit on Wednesday, November 8, and left on Sunday, November 12. Wednesday evening he was introduced to a small group most of whom had not yet met him but had heard plenty about him. This initial informal affair was timely and served to establish relations of a close and healthy nature.

During his stay two open meetings were held, another by card admission, and lastly a unit meeting where matters relative to members, old, new, and prospective were gone into in detail.

Following so soon the convention of the Proletarian Party, and consequent upon the results of that convention (see Workers Age of November 1) Lovestone's visit had significance for a good number of the comrades who had left the P.P. as well as some who still belong to it. This was evidenced by their attendance at the meetings, and the interest taken in all he had to say. There can be no doubt that all of these comrades were very favorably impressed by the knowledge he exhibited of the situation in Europe in general and Germany in particular; his analysis of the ferment in the international Communist movement; the present Trotsky position and the state of affairs in the C.I. and the U.S.A.

The first open meeting, at which his subject was "The Jews in Fascist Germany," held Thursday, Nov. 9, was somewhat disappointing as to attendance. A bitterly cold night, a somewhat isolated meeting place and rather inadequate advertising contributed to this, but the audience which did gather was very attentive. His talk obviously made an impression, the questions and discussion proving this.

Friday's meeting was much better. About three hundred gathered in spite of the continued cold, to hear Lovestone tell "What I Saw in Fascist Germany." At this meeting the official Party was much in evidence, their purpose obvious to all. A written request that a representative for the "Anti-Fascist United Front" be granted the opportunity to speak on behalf of that organization was handed in. Five minutes was allowed and used mainly in an attack on Lovestone, the organizers of the meeting, and other organizations which had left the C.P.-dominated Anti-Fascist Organization (it was stated that thirty-five organizations were affiliated, but who these thirty-five were was not stated). This was followed by a typical bombardment of questions, statements, interruptions, and heckling, which, however, resulted in these blind leaders(?) of the blinking, disgusting and incensing the audience, many of whom were C.P. sympathizers.

Comrade Lovestone's patient, exhaustive analysis of the many questions raised and his capable handling of the hecklers were well appreciated. The influence of the C.P.O. was considerably enhanced.

Saturday evening saw a hall packed with those to whom the movement and its difficulties are matters of deep interest. Comrades of the S.P., the P.P., Y.C.L., F.S.U. and others followed Lovestone closely as he went over the history of the Communist movement in the U.S.A.; its birth, growth, and present condition; the mistakes of the past and the present; the movement of and the problems immediately facing the working class nationally and internationally.

Much discussion of a very high order followed and vexing questions dealt with in fine spirit. The contrast between this comradely approach and that of the official Party members on the previous evening was very marked. In response to an appeal for the Workers Age a comrade promised a list of seventy-five very possible subscribers (this list has since been received) and to pay the initial cost of mailing. Some new subscribers were obtained and good prospects of addition to the Unit membership. Meetings of

this nature are valuable, more of them must be held.

A number of personal conversations Comrade Lovestone had with others outside the group served to break down prejudices, to clarify much that was distorted and hazy. His visit to Detroit ended with the local Unit increased in numbers, in influence, and with good prospects ahead for further growth. Many look forward to another visit in the near future.

T.Y.R.O.

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN CHICAGO

Chicago, Ill. On Monday, Nov. 13th, Comrade Lovestone spoke before Local 1 of the Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment to 150 workers on "War Clouds Over Europe." A number of very interesting questions were asked and illuminating discussion followed.

The Chicago unit held an open meeting on Friday, the 17th, at which party members, Y.C.L. and other elements were present. Comrade Lovestone spoke on the history of the Communist movement since its foundation with special emphasis on the development of the movement in this country. He then took up the various tendencies today. The discussion lasted far into the night.

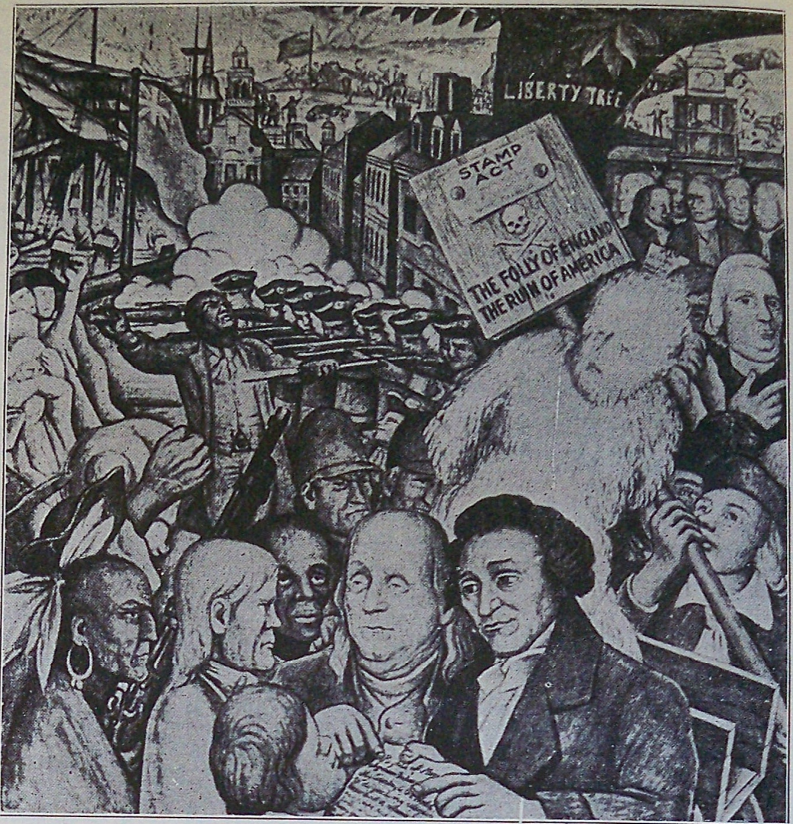
On Sunday afternoon, the 19th, Comrade Lovestone spoke at a lecture in the loop on "Rights Out in Germany." About two hundred workers were present. The discussion centered about the question of New Party and International. Party members present asked questions but made no attempts to disrupt. A collection of over \$25 was taken up for the work of our German comrades, and about fifty copies of the Workers Age were sold. Two new members joined the unit during the week.

During the week Professor Schoenemann, the Nazi propagandist spoke in the city several times. At his meeting in International house at the University of Chicago, a great protest against his lies and slanderous statements resulted in the meeting being taken over by the students and a few faculty members. The students decided to hold a protest meeting of their own, and on the suggestion of the National Students League approached Comrade Lovestone to be the speaker. The plan fell through. We have it on reliable information that the N.S.L. which had originally proposed Comrade Lovestone reversed its stand and maintained that under no circumstances could Lovestone speak at the protest meeting. This is the guidance which the older and more experienced comrades of the party give to the youth.

LARGE MEETING IN FORT WAYNE

Fort Wayne, Ind. Jay Lovestone spoke here on Monday, November 21 at the Yeoman Hall. Over 200 workers listened in rapt attention to his indictment of the Hitler murder regime. Many workers participated in the discussion, among them the local C.P. organizer who made his (Continued on Page 5)

THE SECOND RIVERA MURAL AT THE NEW WORKERS SCHOOL



"The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror" FREE

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Workers Age, 51 W. 14 St., New York, N. Y.

BANQUET

Friday Even. December 22, 1933, 8 P. M.

at 207 West 137th Street

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Auspices: Harlem Branch of the Communist Opposition

Subscriptions 50 cents

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Soviet Recognition and the Comintern

The Foundation of Soviet Diplomacy

by Will Herberg

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States has quite naturally had the effect of bringing to the attention of large sections of the American workers questions that had hardly interested or concerned them before—the complex problems of Soviet foreign policy. The confusion and ignorance that reign on these questions, and, worse than that, the crudely bourgeois notions on diplomacy shared even by revolutionary workers in this country, have given the conservative Socialists, the Trotskyites and other anti-Soviet demagogues a basis of operations for their reactionary propaganda against the Soviet Union. Clarity on these matters has now become a vital necessity.

What Is Diplomacy?

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U. S. A. is no mere event in everyday diplomacy. For neither the United States nor the Soviet Union are just ordinary countries: the former is the very center of the decaying system of world capitalism; the latter the center of the rising socialist world. Diplomatic relations entered into by these two great representatives of opposing social systems have a significance far beyond the general run of recognitions and non-aggression pacts.

What does it mean to enter into diplomatic relations in present-day world politics? This question must be answered on the basis of a realistic Marxian analysis, free from all of the conventional lies of bourgeois diplomatic practice. On the international arena, each capitalist power, big or little, is essentially a lone wolf; it is, at first, last and all the time, for its own "national" interests, i.e., for the interests of those capitalist groups that control its economics and dominate its politics. In its relations to other powers, the absorbing aim of every capitalist power is to enhance these interests at the

expense, naturally, of the interests of the others. The relation of real economic and political forces, at any particular time, determines the actual combination of world political relations, which are then swathed in the high-sounding and cynically hypocritical phrases of diplomacy. Behind the polite words and effusive gestures, the bitter struggle of capitalistic powers goes on; only the weapon of diplomatic intrigue is added. Of course, no one in his right mind takes the glittering trappings of diplomacy seriously; no one, for example, believes that, because two nations swear "eternal friendship" to each other in solemn treaty, they are not therefore arming against each other, to cripple or annihilate each other. Several hundred years ago, a diplomat was defined as "a man commissioned to lie for his country." The definition still retains its full validity.

The Soviet Union And Diplomacy

The relation of the Soviet Union, as a proletarian dictatorship, to international capitalist diplomacy is not simple. But here too the key is not given in some abstract, universally valid "principles," which are really disguised sentiments, but in crude, stark reality. In the most brazen manner, the Trotskyites contrast the flaming utterances of the Russian Soviets on foreign affairs in 1917-1918 with the circumspect language of Soviet diplomacy in 1933, tracing the difference to the alleged triumph of "nationalism" in Soviet policy. "Martens and Litvinoff—Lenin and Stalin," they shout. They merely "forget" that in 1917-1918, the capitalist world order was in virtual collapse and world revolution believed imminent, while in 1933 the situation is surely quite otherwise. To talk and act in 1933 as in 1918, would not be Marxism,

would not be Communism, but would be the crudest sort of petty bourgeois romantic sentimentalism!

The essence of the problem can be placed as follows. By 1921 it had become clear to all, who had eyes to see, that world capitalism had regained its stability and that its immediate collapse was out of the question. It became clear also that there would ensue a period, longer or shorter, in which the Soviet Union would have to live side by side with the capitalist world, economically and politically. It became incumbent upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to revise its foreign as well as domestic course to conform to the new situation. And it was not Stalin, but Lenin, with the help of Trotsky, who undertook and put thru this reorientation. At the Genoa conference in 1922, Chicherin declared (attention, Trotskyites!): "The Russian delegation recognizes that, in the present historical period, which permits a parallel coexistence of the old social order and the new one being born, economic collaboration between the powers representing the two systems of property is urgently necessary for general economic reconstruction. . . . The Russian delegation has come here not to make propaganda for its theoretical views but to set up practical relations with the governments."

It is on the basis of this fundamental viewpoint that Soviet diplomacy has operated for more than a decade and still continues to operate today. If "practical relations with the (capitalist) governments" are to be established, the Soviet government must play the game of international diplomacy, for its own aims and objectives, of course. It cannot hold up its

hands in holy horror and refuse to dirty its socialist skirts in capitalist mud. This would not be Marxist realism but a sort of perverted political puritanism.

Diplomatic relations reflect the more fundamental relations of real politico-economic forces on the world arena. The triumphs of Soviet diplomacy have always been based on the achievements of Soviet economy and on the consummate skill with which the Soviet government has been able to play off one group of capitalist powers against another. No one, except simpletons, real or pretended, actually take at their face value the conventional phrases in which all diplomatic agreements are couched. Will anybody maintain that, because of the "cordial" language of the Soviet-Polish treaty, the two governments are no longer mortal enemies or that this is not fully appreciated by both Stalin and Pilsudski? It is always necessary to penetrate to the reality below the surface phrases.

It is from this angle that the question of Soviet recognition must be approached. That the United States held out so long against recognizing the Soviet Union is to be traced largely to the fact that, because of its special economic and political position, it was less influenced by those forces that drove other bourgeois governments to resume relations with Russia. That the United States finally did take the step is to be traced largely to the insistent pressure of economic necessity and to the demands of the political situation in the Far East. On its side, the Soviet Union strove for recognition because of its obvious economic advantages and because of the great political prestige this carried with it in world politics generally. Such were the realities of the situation and each power recognized that it

could not achieve its ends without bargaining, without concessions!

The negotiations that preceded and accompanied the official conferences were surely centered around questions that only occasionally received mention in the consciously trivial newspaper reports: old debts, new credits and commercial arrangements, the possibility of an "understanding" in the Far East, etc. The widely advertised "issues" such as religion and propaganda, were largely window dressing and of hardly any real consequence in proportion. Not that they do not play their role, as we shall see.

The anti-Soviet demagogues, with the Trotskyites in the van, grow hysterical over "Stalin's bargain." Litvinoff has sold out the world revolution, we are assured, because Litvinoff signed articles to the effect that each government would "respect scrupulously" the right of the other "to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner . . . in internal affairs" and "not to permit the formation or residence in its territory of any organization or group . . . claiming to be the government" of the other country or "making as its aim the overthrow of the government" of the other country. This means the "renunciation of internationalism," the "dissolution of the Communist International," even the "suppression of the Comintern in America," we are assured by the Trotskyites and their curious fellow-travellers, recalling the slanders of the Anarchists and semi-Anarchists of ten years ago when the Soviet Union signed its first treaties.

But the people who wail in this manner are surely not as innocent as they pretend. They surely cannot be simpletons enough to take these diplomatic "pledges" as literal truth! Consider the matter from another angle. According to President Roosevelt's note, the

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Fur Union in New Call

New York City.

The recent declaration of the Joint Council, International Fur Workers Union, is of considerable significance for the future developments in the fur trade.

To treat the document as do the Freiheit and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union helps neither in the clarification of issues nor in the raising of legitimate points of criticism. Of course we can understand their attitude. For it arises from a feeling of despair and a knowledge that the ground is being cut from under their feet in the fur industry also.

It must be admitted, by any unbiased observer, that the declaration too vague and hesitant in certain formulations, nevertheless does constitute a departure from the policies and tactics pursued by the previous Joint Council. One has but to remember the gangster attacks upon the offices of the Industrial Union and the Joint Council leaflets at the time, in which a "holy war" against Communism was being waged, to recognize that steps in the correct direction have been taken.

When the declaration states: "The new Joint Council will endeavor to make our union the concentration point for all workers in the fur trade . . ." and again; "We recognize the right of every member to belong to any political party," we must state that it remains to be seen whether the present Joint Council leaders will bring into life the full meaning of these statements. Any discrimination against present or former members of the Industrial Union will destroy the possibilities of achieving the goal which the new Joint Council sets for itself.

"Dual unionism is the chief cause of division in the ranks of the workers and undermines working standards in the trade," says the statement. True, but do the leaders

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Food Workers Organization Drive Tests Union Policies, Exposes Trotskyites

New York City.

If there was any proof needed to convince anyone that Trotskyism is opportunism covered with left phrases then this is provided by the Trotskyites, who are the leaders of the Hotel Workers Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union.

The Organization Drive And The Trotskyites

The union is engaged in a campaign to organize the hotel workers in the city of New York. Since last September hundreds of workers from the big hotels, mostly kitchen workers, joined the union daily. By the end of October the kitchen workers of most of the hotels were completely organized and in all other hotels there were groups of union members. Some hotels like the Waldorf Astoria, Astor, Montclair and a few others had their kitchen help organized 100%. Such was the situation at the end of October when the Trotskyites took control of the union apparatus.

There was and there still is a splendid opportunity for the organization of a powerful union, thru a militant program to prepare the workers for a decisive struggle against the bosses.

The Trotskyites, however, have put forward no program of their own and merely continue in the footsteps of the previous administration, which they themselves had criticized as reactionary and as pursuing a policy of chasing NRA rainbows. To-day they are carrying out precisely the same policies which create the illusion that the workers could secure better conditions thru the NRA without a fight.

In sharp contrast to their policy,

we put forward the following militant program of action.

1. Immediate preparation for a general strike.
2. The union to prepare immediately a complete set of demands.
3. The union must make a fight against any efforts to discharge union members.
4. Immediate establishment of departments for the different trades, with equal representation from these on the Joint Board.
5. Membership meetings to be held twice a month.
6. Amalgamation of all existing unions into one union in the food industry.

This program was ignored by the Trotskyites. According to their statements, a general strike to-day is too Communist. When we also recall the statement of organizer Constat, during a discussion, that the Communist Party is the greatest enemy of the working class, then we begin to realize how far these people have drifted not only from Communism but even from the position of militant trade unionism. At a joint meeting of the executive board and the organization committee, Constat, supported by the Trotskyites, actually proposed to exclude from membership in the union all members of the Communist Party. We succeeded in defeating this motion. A proposal to set up a united front of all unions in the food industry, to offset the attempts of the bosses to build a company union thru federating all culinary fraternal societies, was again countered by the Trotskyites with a proposal to ex-

clude the Food Workers Industrial Union.

A Test Of Policy

For this we are accused of working with the Industrial Union. The viciousness of this slander can best be appreciated when we recall the role of the Trotskyites in the days when the official Communist Party split the A.F.W. and organized its own industrial union. We, of the Communist Opposition, fought tooth and nail against the splitting tactics of the C.P. and remained to build the Amalgamated Food Workers Union. The Trotskyites, however, were amongst the most loyal supporters of the union smashing campaign and helped to split the union. Even now a number of Trotskyites still remain loyal to the Industrial Union and are fighting the A.F.W. When it comes to the trade union question, we, of the Communist Opposition, stand second to none in aggressiveness and militancy with which we defended the unity of the trade unions, in the food as in many other industries.

The flirtations with the NRA, the lack of a militant program of action, by the Trotskyist administration, have considerably slowed down the organization campaign in the last number of weeks. The drive is now in a critical stage, even in danger of collapse unless the administration is forced to change its course in the direction of struggle.

The members of the union are not satisfied with the day to day policy of the leadership. They demand action. The revolt against the policies of the leaders is steady.

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Loc. 9 Leaders Tried by GEB

New York City.

The hearings now being conducted by the General Executive Board on the charges against the ultra-left administration of Local 9 I.L.G.W.U., raise a number of vital questions.

No one, who understands the position of the Trade Union Unity League and the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union, can doubt that the present administration of Local 9 is ideologically and organizationally tied up with it. This means something very substantial insofar as their attitude towards the union and its problem is concerned. They are attempting in a most energetic manner to develop a broad base within the I.L.G.W.U. for the rejuvenation of the present practically defunct cloak department of the N.T.W.U. There can be no question that members of the ultra-left groups have on many occasions participated in the breaking away of shops from the I.L.G.W.U. Their whole line of approach is not one of an opposition in the union, fighting constructively and militantly, to improve and strengthen the union, but rather of a hostile group, in the union, fighting to build a dual union.

How are these people to be combated and decisively defeated? Can this be done thru the method of removals from the ballot as was done in Local 1 or as is being contemplated on an even more extensive scale in Local 9? In other words, can the ultra-lefts be defeated thru purely electioneering manoeuvres? They cannot. If anything such tactics strengthen the ultra-lefts and weaken the union. They thrive on persecutions and claims that union democracy is being destroyed.

A most intensive educational drive must be launched to convince the mass of the membership that

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C. P. O. BANQUET TO GREET CONFERENCE
Dec. 31, 8 p. m., Irving Plaza

The Bankruptcy of Trotskyism

Some Experiences from Spain

by Joaquin Maurin

We publish below an article on "The Bankruptcy of Trotskyism" by Joaquin Maurin, the leader of the Iberian Communist Federation, the so-called "Maurin group." The article appeared in the Spanish paper "Adelante." It will be clear to all readers of "Workers Age" that the views of Comrade Maurin on the Paris Conference are not quite those of the Communist Opposition. With his analysis of Trotskyism we are in full agreement.—Editor.

The criticism of Trotskyism made by the Stalinites, far from destroying the movement, gave it life. If Trotskyism had been ignored, permitted to express itself spontaneously, it would have committed suicide.

Trotsky with his great international prestige, with his feverish literary-political production, supporting himself on the failure of the Communist International, seemed to have been chosen to aid in the stimulation of a rebirth of revolutionary Socialism. But this is not the case. Trotsky has brought to the organizations of the Opposition the same methods, the same mechanical centralization and the same personal favoritism which have triumphed in the apparatus of the Communist International.

This explains why the Left Communist Opposition, that is to say the International Trotskyist organization, has remained a sect composed of several groups in political disagreement. Trotskyism is

the very antithesis of organization. Wherever organization exists and Trotskyism enters, civil war is born.

All Trotskyist organizations are at this very moment being undermined by a strong internal crisis which is producing divisions and subdivisions. What just happened with Spanish Trotskyism is only a small sample of what is happening in the Trotsky movement everywhere. Garcia Lavid (Henri Lacroix), Trotsky's trusted lieutenant for some time, and the real organizer of Trotskyism in Spain, is now substituted by a new outfit of Trotskyists, and Garcia Lavid, after having knocked at the door of the official Communist Party, is now asking for membership in the Socialist Party, having just published a shameful letter in El Socialista.

We are not considering here an isolated phenomenon. The capitulation of the Spanish Trotskyist chief is a symbol of the general decomposition of Trotskyism. As a doctrine, Trotskyism is much nearer to Social-Democracy than to Communism. This fact was especially emphasized in the Paris Conference last August.

In the German question which today is the touchstone, Trotsky, after having made prophesies which have not been realized, and after having uttered many just criticisms, when the time came to take a stand, took a position which was even worse than the stand taken by Social-Democracy. In his celebrated articles published recently in La Verite, Trotsky advocates the democratic slogan for the return of the Second Weimar Constitution. At a time when even German Social-Democracy confess-

es that it made a mistake and that now the road points towards the Socialist revolution, the democratic position of Trotsky is historically false. In Germany, as in Spain, the bourgeois revolution has failed. The problem now, is not to go back to the starting point but to go beyond it, on a higher level, that of the Socialist revolution.

Trotsky pretends that these democratic slogans will succeed in separating the petty-bourgeoisie and the middle class from Hitler's influence. Did Hitler, per chance, win the sympathy and the aid of those classes by preaching a hypothetical democracy to them? Was not the National-Socialist movement specifically anti-democratic? Hitler succeeded in attracting the petty-bourgeoisie by holding out to them the bait of an economic transformation.

The German working class, oriented according to Trotsky's plan, would remain altogether decapitated. The German problem, faced with Fascism, and now after the triumph of Hitler to a superlative degree, is not the democracy of Weimar but the Socialist revolution.

This capitulation of Trotsky in the field of theory will lead to an open tendency to unite with the Social-Democracy. That was evident at the Paris Conference. That parties like the Swedish and our own, which the Trotskyists have fought with all their power, calling them right-wing, should go to the Paris Conference in search of information, is easy to understand. But that Trotsky, "Left-Communist," should form a block with the

French P.U.P. (Parti Ouvrier et Paysan) and the British I.L.P., with the Norwegian Labor Party, in short, with social-democracy, that is something else again. This proves that Trotskyism has ceased to exist as a specifically Communist movement and has become an appendage of "Popism" (French centrism), of "Maximalism" (Italian centrism) and of "Traenmalism" (Norwegian social-democracy).

The Paris Conference which, as we have indicated in previous articles, was important only as an evidence of the catastrophic condition of the labor movement and as a first attempt towards a general united front, demonstrated on the other hand—and that is not the least interesting thing about the Paris Conference—that Trotskyism is ceasing to exist.

The Paris Conference unanimously evidenced the failure of the Second and the Third International. But the same conference in which Trotskyism participated, at the very moment when it was expounding its democratic theory on the German question, was at the same time the complete confirmation of the bankruptcy of Trotskyism. Trotsky's commissars, like Don Juan, attended their own funeral.

If the Paris Conference had no other merit, this alone would give it the right to be recorded in the history of the Socialist movement, in this hour of vacillations and uncertainties during which the proletariat is seeking new forms of organization. These forms neither the Second nor the Third have been able to give it, and of course Trotskyism still less.

defeat.

On October 24, arbitration proceedings finally took place. The employers refused to discuss union recognition. Despite this, Crowther signed an agreement on hours and wages. A statewide membership meeting was called the same day in New Haven. At this meeting it was proposed by Crowther that a strike for union recognition be called. The men struck at midnight. At 2 A.M. an injunction against the strikers was issued based upon the charge that the union was violating the wage and hours agreement signed by Crowther the previous day. The strike was called off, with disastrous results. The employers, determined to crush the union while they had the advantage, fired 150 of the most active members of the union. One company fired its entire crew of 40 men. Crowther disappeared from Connecticut. His life would not have been worth much had he remained to face the workers.

The situation today stands as follows. Although many members have given up in disgust a good many are still loyal, the desire for a union being very strong. The local has been reorganized and a decision made to establish a separate local in Hartford and again to build a strong union.

The tasks for the future are to strengthen the union for another struggle for union recognition and union conditions. The development of a statewide rank and file leadership similar to the Hartford efforts in this direction. The establishment of union democracy. A beginning has already been made. Application has been made to the International for a list of the membership and a reduction of dues. Around the firing of the 150 men a campaign can be conducted in many labor unions and sympathetic organizations. With such a spirit as is found among the transportation workers in Connecticut much can and will be accomplished. Militant unionism will march on.

FUR UNION ISSUES NEW CALL

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of the Joint Council know that bureaucratic leadership, lack of union democracy and expulsions play right into the hands of dual unionism. They must know this because the International Fur Workers Union was split thru just such methods. Therefore it is not enough for the declaration to state that "expulsions because of political opinions are harmful, to the existence of any union." They should have definitely dissociated themselves from the expulsions as practiced in the past in their own union.

"In the course of the struggles disagreeable methods were used," declares the statement and, seemingly recognizing the inadequacy of this remark, it declares further: "We part with the past and begin a new life along new lines and with new methods..." The new lines and the new methods are obvious in the declaration but precisely what is there in the past which constitutes the "disagreeable methods" and which makes it necessary to "part with the past?" This question is not answered anywhere in the declaration and therefore weakens it.

The Joint Council should also have spoken out on injunctions in trade union disputes. It may be true that, in the current injunction proceedings, the Industrial Union injected itself into the proceedings as a co-defendant, but the Joint Council should have a definite statement of policy on this problem nevertheless.

The progressive forces in the Joint Council have an important task to fulfill. Utilizing this declaration as a starting point, they must develop and extend this program along definite progressive lines. This is the only guarantee for the growth and strengthening of the union.

A big meeting of those working under compulsion in one of the so-called "free labor camps," held in Jena, was addressed by a member of the C.F.O. This comrade ended his speech with an attack on Hitler's repression and his economic program. He was sentenced to two months at hard labor.

In the book printers unions of Duesseldorf a revolutionary workers group composed of comrades from the C.P., C.F.O. and S.D.P. has been organized and is successfully fighting against the W.S.B.O. (The Nazi shop cell organization) for the creation of unions.

For The Organization Of The Unorganized

THE ORGANIZATION DRIVE OF THE TEAMSTERS

Hartford, Conn.

Organization of the workers in Connecticut has been confined mainly to the skilled trades under the A. F. of L. Among the unskilled and semi-skilled workers there had been little or no organization. Since the NRA, however, a spirit of militant unionism has spread among the workers in almost all industries. Factories manufacturing airplanes, munitions, electrical appliances, typewriters, etc., have been organized. Included in this wave have been the transportation workers.

The exploitation of truck drivers on long distance hauls has been savage and intense. Men were on the road for as long as 36 hours at a time with no rest periods provided. Helpers were dispensed with and the drivers had to unload between five and seven tons of merchandise, after long hauls. Hours averaged between 74 and 80 weekly. Accidents and loss of life were frequent. Wages were correspondingly low averaging 45 to 55 cents an hour.

In September the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers sent in Crowther, a typical A. F. of L. bureaucrat, to organize the drivers. Thruout the state, drivers of trucks, taxicabs, milk wagons and local delivery trucks flocked into the union. The industry was signed up 95%. One local was established for the entire state with headquarters at New Haven. The local numbered 3,000 members. Hartford had enrolled between 500 and 700 workers.

Suddenly, at 8 P. M., Sunday, September 23, a general strike call was issued, to begin at midnight. The call took everyone by surprise. At a meeting held that morning no mention of a strike had been made, except for a threat of a strike in the indefinite future. The call was issued by decision of Crowther alone. Such criminal irresponsibility and "have-my-way-in-spite-of-you" attitude characterized the

by Harry Young

conduct of this reactionary thruout the ensuing weeks. Despite poor preparation and the shortness of notice the walk-out completely tied up interstate transportation as well as distance hauling within the state.

The following Tuesday the local NRA stepped in. A meeting took place between the representatives of the union, the employers and the chairman of the mediation board. The results were: the strike was called off. A secret ballot of all employees, under the supervision of the Labor Board, was to be taken to determine their choice of a representative. Arbitration of the strike demands was to begin after two weeks of balloting. It took four weeks.

This conduct by Crowther produced an unfavorable reaction among the men. Nothing was gained by the strike. Demands for union recognition, wages and hours were not presented. During the four weeks interim the employers engaged in a campaign of firing union men, gathering scabs

and in the case of the milk wagon drivers building a company union. But the union grew despite these steps.

Opposition to Crowther's methods began to crystallize. In Hartford it found its expression in the regular meetings of the shop stewards. In the rest of the state, dominated by Crowther and his henchmen, protests were completely suppressed. The body of stewards consisted of 42 men in Hartford. Out of this body there was a rank and file leadership of eight. At the first general membership meeting, after the strike had been called off, an enthusiastic endorsement of the shop stewards proposals was voted by 500 men. This was done in Crowther's presence. The proposals demanded that union recognition be granted first before any arbitration begin. No agreement was to be signed by the union representatives without the endorsement of the membership. At the next meeting of the union further proposals of the stewards were accepted. These demanded that a deadline for arbitration be set for October 16 (later changed to the 18). It was also decided to elect local officers in preparation for a separate local for Hartford.

Crowther had not been unaware of the growing opposition in Hartford. At the next general membership meeting in Hartford he came prepared to smash all opposition. He brought a gang with him from New Haven to suppress any dissenting voices. The workers, however, being forewarned were prepared to defend themselves. No violence occurred. Crowther stated that the Hartford local's decision did not mean a thing to him. He would do as he damned pleased and nobody was giving him any orders. He particularly objected to the deadline for arbitration and to the demand that he bring back the agreement to the membership before signing. The men became demoralized and raised slight objections, the meeting ending in dissatisfaction and

TROTSKYITES IN FOOD UNION

(Continued from Page 3)

ily growing. The demand for a more militant leadership was already apparent at the last membership meeting where a motion was carried to elect a new administration. The panic-stricken Trotskyites sounded a general alarm and their few faithful began to worm into the union in order to stem the tide. Furthermore, they are busily building alliances with outright reactionary groups which they themselves have fought in the past. Alliances built not upon a program of militancy but rather on the basis of a division of jobs. It is precisely such actions that expose the true nature of the Trotskyist trade union line—as either ultra-leftist or, as in the case of the food industry, openly opportunist.

LOCAL 9 LEADERS TRIED BY G.E.B.

(Continued from page 3)

the road of the ultra-lefts in Local 9, as in other locals, is the road of ruinous union-splitting. That conditions in the shops can be won with great difficulty and even then can hardly be maintained if there are to exist competing unions. That the bosses are the only ones who gain thru these fratricidal struggles in the workers ranks.

It is only in this manner that the ideological base for dual unionism can be undermined.

This of course does not mean that specific anti-union acts committed by members of the union, be they Club members or ultra-lefts, must be permitted to go unpunished. A union must itself act in a responsible manner and must also insist upon the responsibility of every member to his union.

It is along these lines that lies the solution to the present situation in Local 9 as in other locals.

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Problems of the Shoe Convention

The Shoe Workers Face the Future

by George F. Miles

December 11th, 1933 will be an historic date for the workers in the shoe industry. On that date will be held, in Boston, Mass., the convention to amalgamate the unions in the industry into one. The three unions which participated in the amalgamation referendum of October 31st have already selected delegates to this convention. This involves the Shoe Workers Protective Union, National Shoe Workers Association and the Independent Shoe Workers Union of Salem. Altho these represent the bulk of the organized shoe workers we can not lose sight of the fact that three organizations are still outside the amalgamation fold.

The Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen (Brookton), whose leadership talked loud and often about amalgamation in the early stages of their struggle with the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, is now quite definitely against amalgamation. In the ranks there is growing resentment against the leadership, which is attempting to build a little empire all of its own, regardless of the desires or wishes of the membership. It is, however, quite a certainty that the amalgamation wave will wash away those paper walls which Murphy and Goodwyn are attempting to build around Brookton.

The Boot and Shoe Workers Union, (A. F. of L.) weak and tottering, still groggy from the blow it received in Brookton, will have none of amalgamation. It is rapidly losing what little isolated support had remained. Witness the revolt ending in the expulsion of Local 199 in Brooklyn.

The Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union started out over three years ago as a National union. Today its organizations outside of New York have completely disappeared. In New York this Trade Union Unity League union is fighting a desperate but losing rearguard action to salvage remnants of its organization, which was shattered in the recent disastrous strike. This organization, with the Communist Party as its base of support, conducted a vicious campaign of slander against the amalgamation movement and its leaders. A campaign which places them in the camp of such worthies as Mara of the Boot and Shoe, Hamilton of the Protective and Murphy of the Brotherhood. Whatever their "political" reasons for this campaign may be, the fact remains that they are hindering further progress in the shoe industry. It is under the pressure of the workers (the adoption of amalgamation resolutions in the shops) that the Industrial here, was forced to begin negotiations with the very amalgamation movement which they are continuing to vilify. It remains to be seen whether the leadership of the Industrial will honestly align themselves with a living and real mass union or will continue their adherence to the "perfectly revolutionary" but thoroughly destructive, union splitting Trade Union Unity League. In the last analysis it will be the shoe workers who will decide and we are confident that their choice will be for the movement rather than the dogma.

Some Convention Issues

He who believes that the December 11th Convention will be a "hearts and flowers" convention does not begin to grasp the complexity of the problems facing the delegates. It is clear now that among the questions demanding solution will be: a) Form of organization, b) District autonomy and democratic control, c) Organization of the unorganized centers, d) Unemployment, e) Affiliation.

Nor must we forget that the bureaucratic officialdom of the various unions will not be idle observers but will rather attempt with every trick at their command, to safeguard their "divine right" of leadership, if not such sordid matters as "comfortable salaries".

Form of Organization

This is a real issue, directly related to problems of wages and conditions. Is it advisable to have the workers in each organized shop

split up into the separate locals covering each craft? Can the best results be obtained when the boss is faced by a number of distinct groups, the belonging to the same union, or by a single force in each shop? To ask the question is to answer it. Have there not occurred instances in the shoe and other industries when one craft struck for conditions while other crafts in the same shop went on working? Is it not true that such a condition weakens rather than strengthens all crafts in the struggle for better living conditions?

Ten years ago the movement for amalgamation of all craft unions in the various industries into industrial unions (shop organization) swept thru the trade unions like wildfire. The stubborn resistance of the bureaucratic officials defeated this movement. Today these very officials are agitated by this issue because its merits are being confirmed by life itself. The A. F. of L. Convention at Washington, D. C. spent many hours deliberating on this form of organization. It is winning new converts every day.

Democracy And Autonomy

The manner in which the shoe workers of New England have jealously guarded their democratic rights are easily understandable in the light of the high handed and bureaucratic methods pursued by the Boot and Shoe for many years. The system of label selling instead of organizing the workers, the infamous local "O" and the "commission system", the scabbery and strike breaking tactics of the officials, have aroused the shoe workers to bitter resistance. Their determination that these shall not be part

of the new union being built and their demand therefore for a large measure of autonomy for the local organizations, is as it should be.

We must guard, however, against pitfalls in the other direction. It would be a serious mistake, if the convention were to result in the setting up of an organization so loosely held together, and in its authority so lacking in powers as to make impossible the conduct of an intensive national drive to entrench the union in every town and hamlet where shoes are manufactured. This requires, on the one hand, a well knit organization with authority to accomplish its mission and, on the other hand, a national leadership which has the full confidence of the mass of the workers, because it operates upon a democratic basis in which the membership is decisive in the determination of plans and policies.

Organization Of The Unorganized Centers

The convention will, at best, represent some 75,000 workers, a splendid beginning. But is it not a fact that if the remaining 175,000 shoe workers are not organized, or at least the best part of them, the conditions which you may win in New England will be maintained only for a time? Wages and conditions inevitably gravitate to the lowest level, the level of the unorganized, open shop centers. To win permanent improvements you must develop national and permanent organization.

Nor must we underestimate the difficulties of the job, for it will,

involve in some shoe centers a struggle against well established company unions, which will test the fighting abilities of the union. It is to be hoped that the union will at this coming convention mobilize its organizational and financial resources for this most necessary task.

Affiliation

That this question will receive considerable attention is apparent today. The fact that resolutions have been adopted by some local unions on the question of affiliation with the A. F. of L. and the manner in which this has come up indicates that there will be considerable temperature generated before this issue is finally settled.

What are the sources from which opposition to affiliation with the A. F. of L. comes? Primarily from three sources. The first type of opposition comes from the small cliques of officials who either fought or are still fighting amalgamation. These are now raising objections to affiliation with the A. F. of L. with the aim in view of stalling off amalgamation (where their organization is not yet involved) or to attempt to utilize the hostility of the workers to the Boot and Shoe for developing a new base for themselves.

The second source of opposition is a small but loud group in the amalgamation movement which fights against affiliation and, in unguarded moments, shows its attitude by demanding the affiliation of the new union to the Trade Union Unity League. These people also, having lost whatever base they had in Boston and Lynn, in that their Industrial Unions exp-

orted when the National Shoe Workers Association was organized, are now attempting thru their opposition to A. F. of L. affiliation, to swing the new union into the communist controlled Trade Union Unity League.

The third is by far the most important source of opposition. It is the general belief among many workers that affiliation to the A. F. of L. means the automatic return to the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. The writer has worked among the shoe workers of New England for many years and knows what a potent argument this constitutes for shoe workers. But the affair is totally groundless. If affiliation to the A. F. of L. lies thru the Boot and Shoe Workers Union than there can be no affiliation. But is that the proposal? That it is not necessarily the way thru which an independent union can secure affiliation to the A. F. of L. is indicated by the course followed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. They are today not called upon to affiliate with the United Garment Workers Union, from which they split in 1913. Why is it difficult to imagine some similar arrangement also in the shoe industry.

It is hard to believe that there are any significant numbers of workers who believe that it is a virtue for the shoe workers to remain isolated from the rest of the labor movement. The shoe workers have been victims of sectionalism and dissension too long to take seriously such proposals. Certainly the very basis of trade unionism depends on the mutual aid and assistance rendered. In this sense numbers is power in the hands of the workers in the struggle against the bosses. Separatism weakens not only the organization remaining separate but the labor movement as a whole. This matter is of such vital importance that final decision must rest with the mass of the shoe workers themselves. The convention will hardly be able to say the final word.

Foundations Of Soviet Diplomacy

SOVIET RECOGNITION AND THE COMINTERN

by Will Herberg

(Continued from page 3)

United States government has undertaken "not to permit the formation or residence in its territory of any organization or group . . . making as its aim the overthrow of the government" of the Soviet Union. But right now in New York City there are more than a dozen such White Guard groups. They function quite openly; indeed, one of them recently arranged a public parade! Do the literal-minded Trotskyites believe that the Federal government is now going to outlaw the Russian monarchist groups in this country? Or perhaps the French government will suppress the White "armies" parading openly all over that land or the scores of bankrupt cliques that claim to be the "government" of Russia?

It is of course, possible that at certain times alleged violations of such "pledges" may loom large as "incidents" in the straining or breaking of diplomatic relations. But then they are only the camouflage of real issues involved which are of totally different order. These things are not taken seriously except by those who want to make political capital out of them.

"No undertaking given by the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, however carefully it may be drafted, is likely to have any restraining effect upon the efforts of the Comintern to foment disorder and revolution in the United States any more than the pledge signed by Sokolnikoff had any effect on its anti-British activities." Thus speaks the London Times, the most conscious organ of world capital, drawing on domestic experience, and the most serious sections of the American capitalist press echo the same sentiment. On the very day that the Litvinoff agreement was made, the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued an elaborate manifesto, urging the American workers to overthrow the capitalist government of this country. Long-winded and

absurdly leftist the manifesto was, but it certainly did not mince words about its aims!

Soviet Recognition And The Comintern

As a matter of plain fact, the Soviet-American agreement is not likely to have any effect at all upon the Communist International. The Comintern still continues to mouth ultra-radical phrases, while following a policy leading to demoralization, passivity and defeat. It still continues to be a mere rubber stamp for the leadership of the C.P.S.U. Its blunders, errors and tactical crimes are innumerable but the last thing on earth of which it can be accused is of trying to moderate, tone down or hide its revolutionary aims!

Why then were the much-discussed paragraphs 3 and 4, as well as the absurd provision about freedom of religion for Americans in Russia, included? "He (Roosevelt) probably attaches importance to them," the London Times explains, "only as helping to make his recognition more palatable to that large section of American opin-

ion . . ." opposed to this step. And when the recognition fight enters Congress and comes to the country, as it certainly will, we will see these "pledges" trotted out and played for all they are worth!

That the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union represents a big achievement of Soviet foreign policy is as indubitable as the fact that Litvinoff certainly had to make big concessions to win the prize. But these concessions are of an entirely different character from those bequeathed to the Militant, the New Leader and the Forward. They are typified by the waiver Litvinoff was forced to sign of all claims on damages done by the United States invasion of Siberia in 1917, by the understanding undoubtedly reached for the indirect and partial payment of old Russian debts, and so on. But these are questions of a different order; they certainly have no relation to any alleged "desertion" of internationalism and reversion by the Soviet government and the leadership of the C.P.S.U.

ANTI-NAZI EXHIBIT TO OPEN SOON

Watch for a very important announcement. The Communist Party (Opposition) is organizing a most interesting exposition of documents, papers, literature, leaflets, showing the underground revolutionary activities in Germany. The material, gathered at great risk, is entirely up to date and represents the activities of all sections of the underground labor movement in Germany which has begun to make serious headway.

The illegal literature of the official Communist Party, Communist Party (Opposition), Social Democrats, Socialist Workers Party as well as some of the underground trade union newspapers, will be put on display at the headquarters of the Communist Party Opposition (Continued on Page 8)

The December Convention has attracted the attention of the entire labor movement. The deliberations and decisions of the convention will be awaited with keen interest, in the hope that the shoe workers will add their force to strengthen the army of labor in its war against the boss class.

LARGE MEETING IN FORT WAYNE

(Continued from Page 2)

contribution in the form of cries of "renegades" and "counter-revolutionists." Lovestone ably portrayed both the role of the Social-democratic Party as well as the role of the C.P. in Germany.

A number of workers who took the floor asked the C.P. organizer what the C.P. had done in the daily struggles of the Fort Wayne workers and praised the work of the C.P.O. in Fort Wayne. The next day several members of the C.P. came to the local organizer of the C.P.O. and expressed their disgust with the tactics of their organizer. This is very significant as it shows that our line, correctly applied to mass work, has influence on party members.

The following evening about 30 workers gathered to hear Lovestone present the attitude of the C.P.O. on the trade union question, united front, etc. A barrage of questions were answered by Lovestone in such a manner that the workers were much impressed.

A collection of \$3.18 was taken at the mass meeting to help the German comrades in their difficult struggle against Fascism. Lovestone's meetings here were of great importance for the future growth of the C.P.O.

Harry Conner.

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On the Question of a 'New' Communist Party

by Jack Smith

The decision to build new Communist parties and a new International recently adopted by the Trotskyites and put forward as a perspective in the minority resolution of the C. P. O. is closely interrelated with the question of a Leninist interpretation of the role of the party, i. e., whether the working class can have only one Communist party as its leader or a number of Communist parties.

The statement of the minority admits that "we do maintain that from a class standpoint there can be only one Communist party in each country." In the same breath, however, it continues that for the C. P. O. the problem of a new party is not a principle but a tactic. If the minority defines principle as a fetish, then its statement is correct. The question of one Communist party in one country is not a fetish. It is a means towards the attainment of the higher goal—communism; but so is the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the soviet system. The question of one party as well as the questions of dictatorship and soviet system are very serious problems of principle, although they are not fetishes. They are not such problems of tactics, that one can change from day to day. They are means which have proven indispensable in establishing a proletarian dictatorship and the building of socialism. Had there not been a Bolshevik party there would not have been the present U.S.S.R. The working class in the capitalist countries will be able to gain power and create a dictatorship only thru the leadership of one solidified well-trained Communist party.

To raise the question of two or more Communist parties existing simultaneously in one and the same country is to take a step away from the fundamental Leninist conception of the role of the Communist party as the leader of the working class. It is the adoption of the "liberal" viewpoint of the role of a party as against the Leninist viewpoint. They base their decision to build a new Communist party and International on the theory that the C. I. as well as the individual parties, have experienced their August 4th and therefore have become betrayers of the interests of the working class, have become allies of the ruling class. If this were so, then it is necessary to build a new International and new C. P.s everywhere. But then, these new parties and this new International would be the only Communist organizations and there would be no talk of two or more Communist parties in one country.

This conception of the Trotskyites, however, is basically wrong and counter-revolutionary in character. To compare the mistakes committed by the C. I. leadership in Germany as well as in the other countries to the acts of the Social-democratic leadership in 1914, is sheer stupidity and blind factionalism. The Social-democratic leadership in 1914 sold out to the bourgeoisie in plain fact. The act of the German Social-democracy in August 1914 was only the forerunner to its serving the German capitalist class as its hangman and its executioner in the revolution of 1918-1919. Can this be said about the C. I. and the leadership of the German C. P. today? Have they become allies of the bourgeoisie? Have they become representatives of another class? Can the mistakes of the German C. P. leadership be compared to the acts of the German Social-democracy in 1914 and 1918?

The C. I. leadership and the German C. P. leadership have committed serious mistakes in tactics and approach which cost the movement dearly. However, these mistakes were not deeds of betrayal. These mistakes must be corrected and it is our task to help correct them. The difference between the mistakes of the German C. P. in 1932-1933 and the acts of the Social-democratic leaders in 1914 and

1918, consists in the fact that the former were the results of a wrong line and political misunderstanding in fighting the bourgeoisie, while the latter were deeds of surrender to and alliance with the bourgeoisie. This is where the difference lies between the role of the C. P. of Germany in 1932 and the role of Social-democracy in 1914.

Another argument of the Trotskyites for the establishment of new parties and a new International is that the C. I. and its sections are practically non-existent. Were this correct then their decision to build new parties would be justified. But the minority of the C. P. O. disagrees with the estimation of the Trotskyites. In its resolution it admits that the C. P. in the United States as well as internationally has not completely disintegrated and become a "shell". If this is so, then the minority proposes to build new C. P.s and a new International despite the fact that the Communist parties are still existing and have not disintegrated into mere shells; which further means, that the minority proposes to establish dual Communist parties and a dual International to the present existing Communist parties and C. I. Wherein then, does the minority maintain that "from a class standpoint there can be only one Communist party in each country?"

But, says the minority, "this does not mean that there can not be more than one such party for any given length of time." Which, then, of these several parties will be the leader of the working class? Whom will these parties represent, the working class or some strata of it, or some other class? And what will be the ultimate aim of all these parties and how will they propose to achieve these aims and what becomes of the theory that there "can be only one Communist party in each country."

To answer these question by comparing the situation in the C. I. now with that of 1920 means not to differentiate politically. Such a comparison is wrong and impermissible. In 1920 the entire C. I. was in a formative period, as the minority well realizes. Many parties that were organized and formed at that time were making their first steps towards a movement which, as a whole, was making its first steps, a movement whose program and tactics were still being formulated. It was permissible then, and at times even necessary, to have parallel parties, before the movement could be solidified and merged into one Communist party. To assert that today we are also going thru a formative period is wrong. Communism now is a thoroughly defined and organized movement, despite all the mistakes committed by the leadership of the C. I. The coming over of sections of the Social-democracy to Communism stresses only the victory of the Communist principles over Social-democracy. To assert that, because sections of Social-democracy are coming over to Communism signifies that we are going thru a formative period in the Communist movement, would mean the same thing as to assert that the party may at any time go thru a formative period, because new elements may always join it, which further means that it is permissible, according to the minority, to have parallel parties at any and all times.

The resolutions of the I. C. O. and of the C.P.O. majority are correct in their estimation that a new party and new International would necessarily become centrist organizations not only because of the various forces that this new "Communist" movement would embody but also because of the fact that, politically, it would be driven to adopt a centrist ideology and policy, precisely because there can be only one Communist party in each country and one Communist international.

Our task is and must be to unite the Communist movement nationally and fight against any attempts to create or build new parties and a new International.

The National Conference

The fourth national conference of the Communist Party (Opposition) will open at the headquarters of the C.P.O., 51 West 14th St. on Saturday, December 30, 10 A.M. and will continue thru January 1, 1934.

The following is the agenda for the three days:

SATURDAY, DEC. 30, 10 A. M.
Report of the enlarged Bureau of the I.C.O. and the International Situation. Reporter for the National Bureau: Jay Lovestone. For the Minority: Herbert Zam.

SUNDAY, DEC. 31, 10 A. M.
NRA and the Labor Movement. Reporter for the National Bureau: Will Herberg. Supplementary field reporters for the needle, textile, shoe, coal mining and metal industries.

MONDAY, JAN. 1, 10 A. M.
The Organizational Situation and the Tasks of the C.P.O. Reporter for the National Bureau: D. Benjamin.

The report of Comrade Benjamin will be followed by a vote on the various resolutions and the election of a national leadership for the C.P.O.

RULES OF ATTENDANCE

All sessions on Saturday and Monday, devoted to the international and organizational questions, will be open to all good standing members of the C.P.O. A select group of sympathetic and interested workers will be admitted to these sessions on invitation from the National Bureau. The sessions on Sunday dealing with the NRA and the Labor Movement will be open to the general public. An admission charge of 25c will be made to all New York visitors for these sessions.

A GALA BANQUET—NEW YEAR'S EVE

The New York District of the C.P.O. is welcoming the delegates to the C.P.O. conference at a banquet arranged for Sunday night, (New Year's Eve) at Irving Plaza, 15th Street & Irving Place. Leading comrades of the C.P.O. in the various districts and mass organizations will speak. The banquet will wind up with a dance lasting into the wee small hours of the morning.

Reserve the date right now, secure your tickets and line up all your friends for a lively time with a lively crowd.

Fight to Win The Party!

by M. Schwartz

The pre-convention period opened with Comrade Zam as the minority in the National Bureau, taking a stand for a new party and the creation of a Fourth International. The Trotsky adherents have also come out for a new party and a Fourth International.

The position the Trotsky group has taken for a new Party and International is the premise that the Comintern has "betrayed" the German working class.

With this premise in mind they also say that the Stalinized Comintern, at the Sixth Congress, deliberately adopted the present sectarian line in order to weaken the C.P.'s so as not to endanger the diplomatic position of the Soviet Union and therefore betrayed the working class. They must therefore build a new C.P. and International.

Comrade Zam, however, comes out for a new C.P. and International on a different premise from the Trotsky group. Comrade Zam states:

"When our group was first established it definitely rejected the establishment of a new Communist Party and worked to restore the C.P. of the U.S.A. to a Leninist line. Even at that time the perspective for a new C.P. was not excluded. We had a dual perspective. Either a) our efforts to win the C.P. to a Leninist line and bringing about unity would be successful, or

Some Burning Questions for The Communist Opposition

by Harry Conner

The burning questions before our Group and the I.C.O. today are a new party, a new international, centrism and Trotskyism.

After four years of the stupid tactical errors of the CI it is time that we looked not only to old formulas but looked at these questions in a realistic manner. The resolution of the National Committee and the I.C.O. resolution which categorically rejects new Communist parties where Communist parties already exist closes the door for the future continuation of the group as an Opposition. We might just as well liquidate and return to the Comintern.

The question of a dual perspective is (1) that we would win the Party to a Leninist line; (2) that the CP thru the wrong line would win the masses, therefore becoming the Party. Both of these perspectives are bankrupt. No one can deny that the Party, instead of returning to a Leninist line, is driving more into sectarianism every day. Also no one can deny that, despite the tremendous mistakes of the Party, it is still a force. On the other hand, in reality, we have not gained any new forces in the last four years. If we hope to win new forces to the group which have never been in the Communist movement we must definitely base all our future activities on a new Communist Party.

The CI and the CPUSA under the most favorable conditions have failed to win workers to Communism. On the other hand thru their criminal tactics they have driven them to an anti-Communist position. The defeat to the German working class cannot be

b) the C.P. with its wrong line would disintegrate and the C.P.O. would be the C.P. in the U.S. because of our correct line. Now after four years of bitter experience we must frankly declare neither of the dual perspectives have seen fulfillment in reality. What is true of the U. S. is also true of the entire International Communist Opposition."

The article is not written to refute or debate the Trotskyites but rather to show the Minority in the National Bureau that if the group comes out for a new Party it will antagonize the membership of the Party and Y.C.L.

Prior to the German events the membership of the Comintern thought the line was correct and tried to carry it out. It took the debacle in Germany to open the eyes of all sincere communists as to how the line isolated us from the masses and made it impossible to carry out the general strike. How the theory of "Social Fascism" and the "united front below" antagonized the rank and file of Social Democracy and made united front actions to destroy Fascism impossible. The ferment in the Party is deep. The questions asked by the members of the Party has led Platnitsky to write a pamphlet justifying the line.

Discipline has kept the mouths of the Party members shut. They think it is democratic centralism and believe that anyone breaking it is a traitor to Lenin and Bolshevism. They are waiting patiently for the next convention of the Party and the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in hopes that there will be a change of line. The above reasons, I hope, are enough to convince Comrade Zam of the necessity to continue as a faction and to bring more pressure to bear on the C.P. and Comintern for a change of line. The future shows promise that either one of the perspectives will bear fruit. If nothing is done by the Party and the Comintern to change the line they will disintegrate and the group because of its correct Leninist tactics will become the C.P. and Comintern. If the line is changed and our line is adopted it will mean unity. The necessity of the day is more education for the Party members to win them for our tactical course.

glossed over by saying that the C.P.G. was for the proletarian revolution. If we take our present stand we only tell the non-Communist workers we are going to continue to make the same mistakes. Eventually Fascism will come. Then we will be all forced together to make the revolution. We have reached the end of the tactic of correcting the line of the party. A new tactic is a life and death matter.

We must direct our future energy toward the development of forces for a new Communist Party. To say that the group will become this Party is absurd. But only thru a new party can we hope to gain Communist unity on a higher plane. But the rejection of new parties in principle is to say that the CI is the only sinner—pure Bolshevik and would mean that the group would cease to be outside of a small sect. The adoption of a perspective for new Communist Parties depends on the conditions in each country. Certainly the forces are gathering in the U. S. A.

Of course it is not necessary to talk about a new Party in the Soviet Union, but this does not mean that it is counter-revolutionary to advocate a new party in America nor that this conclusion means the same in the Soviet Union. A whole series of new Communist parties in Capitalist countries based on the fundamentals of Communism and agreeing on an international scale would surely be a new International. This would be a real factor in the future revolutionary movement of all the advanced countries. We would, of course, bar any Russian section.

To the older comrades who have been thru the bitter struggles this is no welcome perspective, but the role of the CPSU has forced this on us; and we must look at it in a realistic manner. Abandonment of the Thierard theory is the only way the Trotskyites could join a united struggle for Communist unity or a new Communist Party. The alliance of the CPLA with the Party this summer certainly did not mean that the Party had given up the fundamentals of Communism. It is very obvious that the sectarian course of the Party is driving workers to the Centrist parties. Our tactics in the last year toward other groups that were non-Communist reeked of sectarianism of the worst kind. We must develop a new tactic toward these groups. Not to drive them from Communism but to win them to Communism. The present position of the National Committee's resolution means that we still continue the old outlived disastrous line toward these elements.

The question of the Communist Party of Sweden is not whether they are expelled but whether they should have been expelled. I base my opinions on an editorial in the Neue Welt of September 6, 1933 entitled "August Block—1933." The following was stated, "In the Paris Conference there also participated for informational purposes a delegation from the CP of Sweden which formerly belonged to the I.C.O. Contrary to a specific decision of the enlarged Bureau of the I.C.O. The leadership of the CP of Sweden has thereby completely broken organizationally and politically with the I.C.O." (emphasis mine H.H.C.) The Bureau did not take a formal vote, but this means expulsion. In the same editorial they end up by saying that this has helped the I.C.O. Expelling the largest organization in the I.C.O. certainly weakens it. The Party has said the same thing every time an expulsion has taken place.

The question of the Bureau of the I.C.O. in not attending the Paris conference was a serious error. It means that we are continuing our policy of sectarian isolation that has been pursued in the past few years. The Bureau of the I.C.O. also proposes a block with the Comintern against Trotskyism and Centrism in defense of Bolshevism. This is ridiculous because the Comintern certainly does not recognize us as the defenders of Bolshevism. If they did, this block would not be necessary. The CPO

(Continued on Page 7)

Shipyard Men Unionized

(Continued from Page 1)

justed accordingly. Working shifts to be started at regular established hours. Additional pay of 10% for the second shift and 20% for the third shift. Overtime to be paid for at the rate of two and two and a half times. Any employee called in to work shall be entitled to full days pay. No agreement shall be entered into by the representatives of the union without submission to the workers for approval.

The strike of the shipyard workers illustrate the latent strength and forcefulness in the ranks of the workers. This strike developed spontaneously from one yard to another as a manifestation of solidarity, despite the hesitancy and sabotage of the bureaucracy. The workers showed great initiative and effectiveness in spreading the strike. Local 416 of the International Association of Machinists has been conducting a most energetic campaign among the machinists in these yards.

Local 416, at its last meeting before the settlement of the strike, adopted the following proposals:
1. Formation of a joint strike committee of the workers of all crafts in the yards and the representatives of the various unions.
2. Strike meetings to be held at least twice a week.
3. To exert all pressure possible to call out the painters and other crafts employed at the yards in support of the strike.
4. To call on all labor organizations for moral and financial support for the strike.

* * *

What the temper of the workers is can be seen from the attitude of the workers in the Morses Dry Dock, a subsidiary of the United Dry Dock Company, where the company interpreted the agreement as meaning that they can retain the services of the scabs. As soon as the workers returned to the yards a battle began in which a number of the scabs were forced to take to the water for safety. All the police could do was escort the scabs out of the yard.

In the Todd Shipbuilding Corporation, a subsidiary of Bethlehem Steel, a notice was posted, after the signing of the agreement, in which it is stated that they "will continue to operate upon what is known as the open shop basis." This interpretation is a result of the vague clause in the agreement which calls for rehiring the workers when work is available. The strike committee criticized this clause very sharply.

On the basis of the experience in Morses Dry Dock, the Todd Company is rehiring the strikers

very slowly. But the workers now understand the meaning of organization. They know that they must build their union themselves and are losing no time. In the United States the workers have already formed shop and yard committees for the various craft and departments.

The Todd Company workers are sticking firmly. They have a hard fight ahead of them. But with the union established in most of the yards in the port of New York and with the support of the workers in these yards a union will also be established in the open shop nest of the Bethlehem Steel Works, The Todd Shipbuilding Company.

A Few Lessons in Party Democracy

I submit these documents for further proof that there is no more freedom of discussion and criticism in the Communist Party. Instead, there is a leadership with a bureaucratic approach which requires absolute religious obedience from the comrades.

I appeal to the membership of the party to fight against the present bureaucratic leadership and for the reestablishment of the correct Leninist principle of freedom of discussion. Only then will the party be able to have correct policies and become a mass party.

Milton Gibbs

July 8, 1933.

M. Gibbs
Chicago, Ill.

We are enclosing herewith decision of the District Committee District No. 8 in your case.

Milton Gibbs: Unit 913, Chicago
Charges were brought against Milton Gibbs by the section committee of Section No. 5, showing that he had been developing an incorrect political line, as opposed to the line of the party. His long standing association with the Lovestone renegades with whom he refused to break has also kept him politically aligned with them, against the party. His conception of the united front is diametrically opposed to the conception of the united front as carried out by the party. He has opposed the united front policy as carried out on October 31; he can see no distinction between the rank and file and the leaders of the social-fascist organizations; he believes that Lovestone is a sincere revolutionist and has "time and again corrected our policy." He had no criticism to make but is in complete harmony with Lovestone's counter-revolutionary line. His insistence on the right to disagree with the political line of the party while being a

The NRA And Labor

by Will Herberg

5 CENTS

Order From

WORKERS AGE
51 West 14th Street
New York City

member of the party, shows his right wing conception of the Communist Party, where unity of action presupposes unity of organization and of policy. The District Disciplines Committee, after reviewing the case, agrees with the recommendation of the section committee to expel Milton Gibbs from the party.

Decision of District Committee: To concur with the recommendation of the D. C. and Milton Gibbs stands expelled from the party.

APPEAL TO CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION

Central Control Commission of the Communist Party

Dear Comrades:

Enclosed please find a copy of the decision of the D. C. of District 8, stating my expulsion from the Communist Party. I hereby appeal the decision of the D. C. on the following basis:

I am being expelled because of my "insistence on the right to disagree with the political line of the party" while being a member of the party. Such an act of the D. C. is not in agreement with the Leninist conception of party discipline. "A party member may disagree with this or that Party decision, may consider it wrong; but once a decision is passed it must be observed". (Sorin's "Lenin's Teachings About the Party" First paragraph on discipline).

According to my knowledge, I never violated party discipline as defined above. In party discussions I have voiced opinions which were not in agreement with opinions held by leading comrades. However, once a decision was adopted I have accepted and carried it out as a party member should. Even in the decision of the D. C. you will find no charge of breach of discipline, as defined above, on my part.

The Red Army and Germany

In the "Militant" of June 3, 1933, Arne Swaback mines no words: "With a correct policy, the central problem of the Soviet Union in the last few years should have been the struggle against German Fascism, which should not have been permitted UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES to seize power. Furthermore, China should have been supported against the brigand invasion of the Japanese." Plain words! According to this the Soviet Union would have served the cause of the world revolution by involving itself in two foreign wars simultaneously.

The Trotskyites are whispering

The document further states that my "insistence on the right to disagree with the political line of the party while being a member of the party shows a right wing conception of the Communist Party, where unity of action presupposes unity of organization and policy." In reference to "unity of organization," I emphatically declare that I never intended any faction even at the time when factions existed in the party, and many comrades belonged to them, nor did I ever have any intentions of organizing any factions in the party.

In reference to "unity of policy," I understand this to mean that the party comes before the masses with one party line; within the party, the members have a right to express their disagreements on questions discussed but must unreservedly carry out decisions adopted, as difficult as that may be. As Comrade Sorin states, "It is easy to obey decisions with which you agree, the difficult thing is to comply with decisions with which you disagree". (Paragraph 4 on discipline).

I sincerely hope that you will reestablish the basic right of freedom of discussion in the Party by reversing the decision of the D. C. of District 8.

Comrades yours,
Milton Gibbs

REPLY OF THE CONTROL COMMISSION

September 12, 1933.

To: Milton Gibbs

Please take note and give due attention to the C.C.C. decision given below. (D. O.'s must notify all sections, units, fractions, and individuals concerned).

SECRETARY CCC, CPUSA
C.C.C. Decision—to reject the appeal of Milton Gibbs and to approve his expulsion from the party.

portentously about the "duty of the Red Army," about a "mobilization of Soviet forces on the frontiers," about the "Red Army hastening the German revolution."

The criminal irresponsibility of these babblers, every class conscious worker. Strangely enough, no one has exposed this ultra-revolutionary phrase-mongering more effectively than Leon Trotsky himself who wrote, in the "Isvestiya" of September 30, 1923: "We do not interfere in civil wars abroad. This is very clear. We do not want war. We do not hide our sympathies for the German working class and its heroic struggles for liberation. In order to be more precise and frank, I will say: 'If we could bring victory to the German revolution without incurring the rise of warlike activities, we would do everything we could. But we do not want war. War would harm the German revolution. Only that revolution is capable of life which succeeds by its own strength.'"

We are entirely on the side of the victims of rapacious and bloody French imperialism. We are with the German working class with all our soul in its struggle against foreign and domestic exploitation. But at the same time we are for peace!"

We recommend the Trotskyite of 1923 to the Trotskyites of 1933.

BURNING QUESTIONS FOR THE C.P.O.

(Continued from Page 6)

Our struggles against the monopoly of the Soviet Party in the International Communist movement is correct, but on the other hand we face the same situation in the I.C.O. The German Group has tended to assume a monopoly. This must be changed by taking steps to change the location of the I.C.O. center and the changing of the composition of the leading bodies.

In conclusion, I wish to stress that, if we stand on correct Communist principles and tactics, why have we made such little headway. Surely the objective conditions are ripe or are we looking toward the Party in the hope that they will call us in and ask us for our expert guidance. In the latter case we will continue to vegetate with our eyes on Moscow. If we ever get back into the Party it will be thru action, the action of winning the masses in revolutionary struggles against capitalism. If we are re-admitted we will have to assume leadership. Now is the time to prepare. These are the things that I would like to hear the comrades discuss.

GERMAN OPPOSITION AT WORK

Once more the appalling conditions that prevail in the Nazi concentration camps have come to light thru a worker who has succeeded in coming out of the concentration camp at Westmore. In the same camp is detained comrade Dabobert Lubinski, a leading member of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), who, as a Marxist writer and specifically as a writer of profound articles on the economic contradictions of capitalism, became well known even outside of Germany. Comrade Lubinski has been made a victim of the appalling atrocities of the S.A. (Storm Troops) hangers-on. He has been beaten beyond recognition.

The general conditions prevailing in the camp are horrible; the prisoners are living under the worst conditions imaginable. They have to perform the most rigorous tasks, out in the marshes, without even the most necessary requirements such as clothing and shoes. The food is miserable, the prisoners receiving daily about one quart of cooked food and a bread ration every six days.

This is the way in which the Nazis try systematically to bring the leaders of the revolutionary working class nearer their death.

Silesia.

A new group of 50 has been

formed here from among the members of the German Social Democratic party. These have organized on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat and furthermore refused to be associated any longer with the S.D.P. Their aim is to build up a fighting organization in conjunction with the C.P., C.P.O. and S.D.P. The proposal made by the C.P.O. to establish a joint struggle on concrete actions, namely the creation of illegal trade unions, has been accepted by their group.

The functionaries of the red trade union of metal workers of Silesia which was "gleichgeschaltet" (co-ordinated) by the Nazis and which could not even develop illegal work, have decided to join hands with the C.P.O. in order to build up an illegal trade union. Already an illegal trade union paper, influenced by the C.P.O., is being published to prepare an organization base for the launching of an illegal union.

Leipzig.

This week we have again recruited 15 new members from the S.D.P. They are old, active comrades having good contacts with those still remaining in the S.D.P. The left sections of the S.D.P. are

doing their best to reestablish the old shop, and consequently are making liberal use of communist phraseology. Significant for the S.D.P. is the fact that many active social democrats do not consider themselves as social democrats any longer. They are sympathizing more and more with the communists. This has made itself apparent whenever a C.P.O. speaker has addressed social democratic organizations. In all discussions our speakers have declared that it would be a crime to rebuild the old S.D.P. shop on the old lines. Moreover in those places where the S.D.P. elements were far from willing to join us the workers were not at all hostile when our speakers took to task the political guilt of social democracy and the reformists. The prevailing tendencies among the social democratic workers express themselves in the following manner:

There is a small but compact minority who have definitely cut themselves loose from the old reformist elements and who are determined to carry on the fight actively and if necessary even to join the ranks of the communists. These are the people who have freed themselves from the old unreliable leaders. These are the elements who are coming increasingly closer to us.

The other part of the social democratic workers, perhaps the majority, still believe that the Hitler regime will automatically col-

lapse thru the pressure of its own economic difficulties and by its bungling in the field of foreign diplomacy.

Stuttgart.

From Stuttgart comes the following message: The sale of our (C.P.O.) trade union paper is extraordinarily good. With the number of copies we are printing the demand could not be met. We must considerably increase the number published and also convert the paper from a monthly to a bi-weekly. Thru the paper we are exerting considerable influence over the metal workers, brock printers, etc. The paper has been well received by the C.P. and S.D.P. members who even went to the extent of helping in the sale of the paper.

Berlin.

The Stosstrupp, or shock troop, is an opposition group in the Social Democratic Party which publishes its own literature in Berlin. It has for its goal the building of a social democratic party all over Germany under the slogan "Against bourgeois democracy and for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Negotiations have taken place between the leaders of this group and the representatives of the C. P. for the purpose of establishing joint action. The C.P.O. prepared a program of action for this

group which they are now discussing. Based on the fundamental principles and tactics of communism, the program also lays down the main outlines for the building up of an illegal trade union movement.

After suffering heavy casualties on all fronts as a result of the murderous fascist regime of Hitler and also as a result of their own ultra-left course, the C.P.G. is now making an attempt to consolidate its forces. Despite the fact that there is still considerable gaps, in the way of broken contacts, between the units and the district committees and between the district committees and the Central Executive Committee, their illegal activity has increased considerably of late. On the trade union question, after a long period of mistakes and confusion, the C.P.G. has finally adopted the proposals of the C.P.O. That is, for the organization of illegal class trade unions. This step has resulted in a close and comradely collaboration between members of the C.P. and C.P.O. in this particular field.

Jena.

The work of the C.P.O. cells in the Zeiss works at Jena is meeting with great success. They have been able to enlist especially the younger section of the workers. Ten young workers have recently joined the C.P.O.

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December 15, 1933.

"PORTRAIT OF AMERICA"

THE completion of Diego Rivera's stirring series of twenty-one murals, "Portrait of America," on the walls of the New Workers School, is epoch-making for the history of art and for the relations between artist and proletariat.

With his restoration of the art of fresco on the walls of public buildings, Rivera proclaims the end of the heartless and reactionary dogma of "art for art's sake," derivative from that other heartless dogma which involves machinery for machinery's sake, production for production's sake, labor for profit's sake, and all the other forms of subjection of man to the things he has wanted. Linked up once more with a progressive social class, the revolutionary proletariat, art has returned to its ancient and honorable role as the servitor and enricher of life.

Rivera's new murals represent for art a declaration of independence. Under the money-commodity system, all things have a price set upon them—the tongues of preachers, the pens of editors, the decisions of judges, the bodies of women. Yet the richest man in the world, John D. Rockefeller, has found that in his world, where "every man has his price" and "for money you can get anything," there was something he could not buy, the heart and the head, the vision and the loyalty of the greatest mural painter of our times. They could hire his labor and his skill as they can that of any working man, but the Rockefeller does not possess money enough to buy the loyalty or corrupt the artistic integrity of this greatest of working class artists. Rivera's action is a clarion call to all artists who have enough heart to feel and enough head to comprehend the world in which they live.

Whether he has used the walls of government buildings in Mexico, or the walls of "public" buildings privately owned by America's wealthy, Rivera's art has always been at the service of the working class with which he has identified himself. But here too, the murals in the New Workers School are unique. For the first time, Rivera has been able to paint on the walls of a building directly dedicated to the cause of the workers. Plastically it stands among the greatest of the monumental works of this great artist. In its social content it is no doubt the greatest work of any revolutionary artist so far in the modern world.

For six months Diego Rivera has worked unremittingly. The result is no little dilapidated canvas but a monumental fresco covering over 700 sq. feet of wall space and painted in earth colors on huge panels of reinforced plaster covered with powdered marble and lime. In a school that has been built up entirely out of the volunteer labor of administrative staff, teachers and lecturers, a school which pays no salaries and is not run for private profit, the painter has contributed his time and labor and talents and the very materials with which he worked, as a free gift to the workers of America thru their own institution, the New Workers School.

The paintings speak with a stirring directness of America's oppressed and exploited, of America's revolutionary traditions, of the dynamic development of the class struggle, of the menace of Fascism, of the promise of the Soviet Union, of the burning need for Communist unity and unity of all the exploited and oppressed. They objectify upon its walls the lessons that the school is trying to teach and prove that art cannot only beautify the places and objects of common use but also speak to head and heart with a directness and power that

THE MONEY CRISIS

IT is not difficult to see that the whole hectic atmosphere now surrounding the "money question" reflects the fact that the country has already passed the peak of the midsummer inflation recovery and is now facing the desperate prospect of economic collapse. Certainly the American capitalist class has plenty of gold and there can be no serious talk of any shortage of money in circulation. But the disparity of prices between industrial and agricultural products, greatly aggravated by the Roosevelt price-raising policy, has been growing much more acute of late and the misery this price "scissors" brings to the masses of the farmers, much more intense and widespread. To this important factor must be added the frantic efforts of the President to bring about a revival of domestic production thru cheapening the dollar and hence stimulating an increased sale of American commodities on the world market. That these are the dominant motives behind the "New Deal" monetary policy is fairly generally recognized today.

How effective the Roosevelt course will be in achieving its own ends is another question. The latest efforts at dollar devaluation will not overcome the agrarian-industrial price disparity tho they may bring a momentary and superficial price rise for agricultural commodities.

Mere tinkering with the currency flow doesn't even begin to touch, let alone alter essentially, the fundamental relationship between agriculture and industry in the capitalist economic system.

Nor is the situation very much different as far as America's position on the world market is concerned. Even assuming that dollar devaluation does succeed in stimulating export trade, its very success spells failure. Soon enough, other countries will begin to retaliate by resorting to the same practice of depreciating their own currencies or of raising tariff schedules on American goods. The British experiences in this field should be instructive.

The whole money crisis brings to a head the hopeless tangle, the knot of capitalist contradictions, which cannot be untied within the framework of the capitalist social and economic system. For all of these contradictions, the workers and the toiling people generally are the heaviest payers. But the monetary manipulation schemes are very explosive for the capitalist system as such. That is why they have aroused so much suspicion and opposition among certain sections of the topmost layer of the capitalist class of this country. Not only will the most dangerous financial uncertainty and instability be stimulated at home and abroad, but the Roosevelt monetary measures, if adhered to for some time, will bring in their train an international currency war which will be infinitely disastrous politically and economically.

For the great masses of people of this country, the monetary transcends all other means of working class education and propaganda. It is the greatest propaganda weapon so far forged in America in the service of the American working class.

In the Soviet Union where the workers rule, they have the custom of conferring upon those who have done signal service in the working class in the field of the arts, the title of "People's Artist." In the name of the American workers we venture to pronounce Diego Rivera America's First People's Artist. No one who sees the paintings will deny his right to the title.

A Farmer Writes

The Communists And The Farm Movement

We publish below a letter from Nebraska on the farming situation. We consider the matters dealt with of considerable importance and will print in the next issue of "Workers Age" our comments on a number of the questions raised.—Ed.

Omaha, Nebraska.

Dear Comrades:

Received the pamphlet "What Is The Communist Opposition?" several days ago and agree with most of the principles therein contained.

This is an agricultural district and not much of an industrial district. We do have a few packing houses—but those are the only institutions where a great number of workers are employed in any one place. Hence, the workers outside of the packing houses, are just those who work in small stores, warehouses, etc. Each little group of the latter class has its separate interests—or feels that it is entirely separate. At the present time their consciousness does not go beyond their little jobs. It is hard, very hard, to get several groups of them together and make them understand that they all have a common enemy, the capitalist class. The only remedy that I can see for this is the circulation of elementary propaganda as a means to educate them along the right lines. And will ALL of them read it after they get it?

Organizing out here has many things that differ from the industrial centers. Trade unions are small and far between. Eastern comrades who come out here seem to be too full of trade union procedure to grasp this great agricultural situation. The Daily Worker, Workers Age, etc., are hardly good propaganda newspapers out here because they talk too much about trade unions and other things that do not interest the farmers and workers out here. The Farmers National Weekly, of the Communist Party is not a good farm paper. It is poorly edited by a man who is not a farmer and knows little of farming. It is uninteresting, full of simple and valueless letters and of no use whatsoever as a propaganda organ. It goes to the farmer's privy direct from the mail box. It is not a popular paper.

It is my opinion that much time has been wasted here by the C.P.-U.S.A. They have dabbled around trying to organize workers out here. We go to one lecture or open meeting and we see one bunch of faces. We go to another meeting and see an entirely new group of faces. So it goes. They get nowhere and the crisis keeps getting deeper and deeper into the social system.

The farm movement is the greatest thing. Sometimes a person feels like sitting down and giving all the radical groups hell in plenty for neglecting things out here like they have. The C.P.-U.S.A. has not had one organizer out here who understands the A. B. C. of the farm situation or even tried to organize the farmers.

You have certainly heard of the farm revolt. It is here to stay. It is the first real uprising from a large element of the working class. It arose out of the economic conditions. There has been nothing like it in the east. All your strikes have not been above mere trade union consciousness. This farm revolt is bigger. I would not doubt but what it would be the birth of another Communist Party and that party will eventually win the recognition of the Communist International.

As you probably know, the C. P. has been trying to edge in and get the leadership. I will frankly say that the farmers are wise in ignoring that element. Why? Because the farmers are human beings. They know that their movement grew out of conditions and that they have organized, lead and are fighting their own revolt. Should they have faith in an organization that a short time ago called them "backward" and then, after the farmers rose and are fighting, came pussyfooting around and tried to put their leadership over the real fighting farmers? If these pussyfooters let a thing like this get to going before they did a thing to organize and lead the farm masses in bringing it about, how can these pussyfooters (calling themselves "Communists") expect the farmers to respect their judgment and leadership? And it is first class Communism to ignore such yellow leadership too!

Clarence A. Hathaway, in his speech at the Chicago farmers conference last week, told the delegates this: "The farmers are better fighters today than they were ten years ago." Imagine such brazen nonsense! Yet see how conscious he is of the C. P.'s neglect of the farm masses. I do not think that the Communist Party is going to get very far in the farm movement. Of course they have advertised their "part" to a great extent. They have bluffed around and pretended that they were running nearly the whole thing, but they are small stuff out here. Even the very militant Farmers Holiday Association (Madison County Plan), a group of about 25,000 farmers (not a part of Milo Reno's group) are far from Communism.

A letter about the farm movement would not be complete without mentioning that much advertised woman, Ella Reeve "Mother" Bloor. While she may have a great record as a textile organizer she is nothing wonderful as a farmer organizer.

In my estimation the only work for a comrade to do out here is to circulate propaganda. At the present time it is the only thing that can be done. I am willing to cooperate with any group that is doing that. The farmers are going to be the backbone of the whole thing out here, the workers will all join them eventually. They'll be compelled by circumstances to join them. Dabbling with city worker organizations out here is a waste of time and energy. It is poor tactics.

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WORKERS AGE
51 West 14 Street, New York, N. Y.

BOOKS



LABOR RELATIONS UNDER THE RECOVERY ACT, by Ordway Tead and H. C. Metcalf. McGraw-Hill Company, New York, 1933.

BUSINESS UNDER THE RECOVERY ACT, by L. Valenstein and E. B. Weiss. McGraw-Hill Company, New York, 1933.

NRA HANDBOOK, Federal Codes. New York, 1933.

The stream of books about the "New Deal," and the NRA in particular, has turned out to be disappointingly thin both in quality and quantity. The three books under review represent the first of the crop but, in a certain sense, they are typical of what has come after.

Tead and Metcalf's book is no more than a rewrite of some of their earlier works on personnel management with a paragraph mechanically attached here and there referring to the NRA. The most significant thing about the book is the testimony it bears to the almost infantile social intelligence of the business executives for whom it is written. The impression is positively painful.

Messrs. Tead and Metcalf develop at some length the bright idea of "harmoniously combining" the company union system with genuine unionism! This is the measure of their understanding of labor problems.

There is absolutely nothing of value in this book. It is simply an attempt to turn to profit the general interest in the Recovery Act.

The work on "Business Under the Recovery Act" is of slightly higher grade. With the characteristically distorted vision of the business man, the authors brush aside as relatively insignificant the whole question of the social economics of production; they concentrate their entire attention on the problems of merchandising and advertising!

Some slight value may be attached to the more or less superficial remarks on trade associations and cartels but again the main interest attaches to the light the book casts on the rather primitive ethics of the typical business man: the picture of "unfair" business practices which the NRA is supposed to remove, is positively devastating, including everything, apparently, from petty swindling to grand larceny.

The "NRA Handbook" is something else again. As a fairly complete compilation of the various official and semi-official documents associated with the NRA, it is really indispensable to any serious student of recent economic developments. The bi-weekly supplement service that comes with the book is certainly very helpful.

The contrast becomes obvious on the face of it. As long as the conventional bourgeois experts stick to the compilation and systematization of facts and figures, they often accomplish something significant and valuable. But as soon as they proceed to economic and social interpretation, they are capable of nothing but platitudinous trivialities dressed up in imposing academic verbiage or else downright capitalistic propaganda attempting to parade as "objective science."

Will Herberg.

ANTI-NAZI EXHIBIT

(Continued from Page 5)

Besides that, a large and varied number of Nazi posters, proclamations, leaflets, will also be shown. A special feature of the exposition will be a map showing all the concentration camps and giving the number of prisoners in each.

Confidential pictures of the Nazi terror taken by comrades on the spot will be exhibited. These are only a few of the items to be shown in the finest exposition of its kind in this country. Admission will be 10c. The proceeds will go entirely to the comrades in Germany to help them in their underground revolutionary activity. Watch for the date. Watch for further announcements. Spread the good news among your friends.