

# WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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## The Big Lesson of the Elections: for A Labor Party

### 1,000 FREED, BUT MOONEY IN JAIL

Bootleggers Pardoned  
But Not Labor Leaders

The governor of California, James Rolph, Jr., has opened the prison gates to release—not Tom Mooney and Warren Billings!—but 1,000 bootleggers and others convicted of violating the Wright prohibition enforcement act! The voice of the people, declares the very democratic governor, is registered against prohibition and what can he do but obey!

While hundreds of bootleggers and speakeasy proprietors are being pardoned wholesale, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings continue to rot in jail for a crime which everybody knows they never committed! The trial judge and all living jurors have publicly stated that these labor leaders were unjustly convicted. The Wickersham Commission has issued a report branding the Mooney trial as nothing short of a frame-up. A man by the name of Calicotte has recently confessed to placing the bomb in connection with which Mooney and Billings were arrested. But still they languish in jail. Millions of workers and other people in the United States and the whole world have raised their voice demanding the release of Mooney and Billings but Governor Rolph, who can hear the least whisper about the bootleggers, remains stone deaf in this case!

This is capitalist class "justice" in the "land of the free"!

### SOVIETS IN DRIVE FOR EFFICIENCY

Moscow, U. S. S. R.

Over twenty-five thousand white-collar workers in this city have been released from their clerical occupations and registered by Labor Bureau for work in factories and farms throughout the Soviet Union. The main purposes of this move are first, to help "eliminate the great clutter of minor employees in virtually every government bureau," and in this way to greatly increase the efficiency of the central government and economic organizations, and secondly, to help relieve the acute labor shortage in many branches of industry.

The top-heaviness of the staffs of the government and economic institutions and the consequent red-tape and inefficiency, have been big problems before the Soviet government for many years, but especially since the inauguration of the Five-Year Plan. The necessity of mobilizing every ounce of collective energy to put over this grand plan of socialist construction, made the question very acute. The transfer of 25,000 clerical workers to industry and agriculture is one phase of the many-sided campaign of efficiency being waged in the Soviet Union.

ROOSEVELT TO MAKE NO REAL CHANGE IN HOOVER'S POLICIES—  
PROMISE OF "NEW DEAL" WAS ELECTION FRAUD—LABOR  
PARTY IS BIG NEED OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

WELL, Hoover is snowed under and Franklin D. Roosevelt is swept into the White House by the tremendous landslide of November 8. What's going to happen now? What's ahead for the working people of this country?

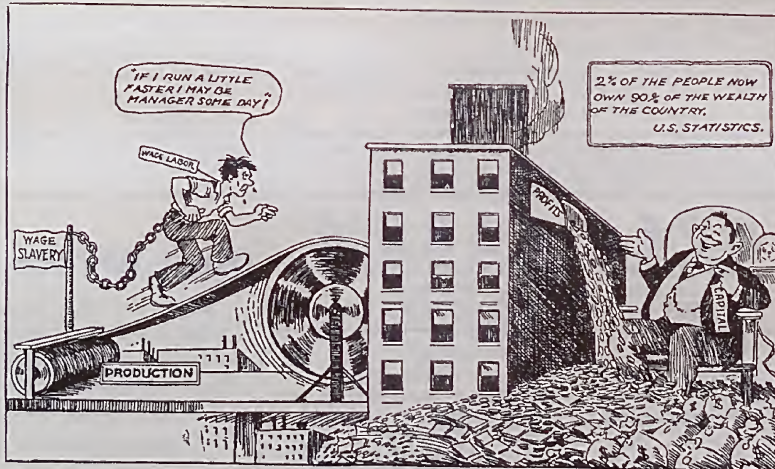
Hoover was completely overwhelmed by the bitter resentment of the millions of unemployed, of the workers whose wages have been slashed, of the bankrupt farmers, of the impoverished people in town and country. Hoover was completely overwhelmed by the resentment of these millions against the Administration's policy of turning the crisis to the advantage of the rich, of "relieving" the big banks, railroads and trusts but reserving for the

be a "new deal" for the unemployed, for the suffering workers and farmers? A semi-official statement issued by Democratic headquarters right after the elections, hastens to answer:

"DRASTIC CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATION (HOOVER) POLICIES ARE FAR FROM THE MIND OF PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT. LEST A SUDDEN BREAK NOT ONLY BE ATTENDED BY SERIOUS RISKS BUT ALSO SEND SHIVERS OF FEAR THRU BUSINESS. CAUTION SEEMS CERTAIN THEREFORE..."

In other words, all the talk about a "new deal" was just a lot of pre-election bunk! Roosevelt does not

THE OLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM—ROOSEVELT'S RUNNING IT NOW!



starving masses empty, hypocritical phrases, machine-gun bullets and poison gas. Roosevelt swung in on the big landslide because he was able to capitalize this resentment with his parading as a "progressive", with his harping on the "forgotten man", with his vague promises of a "new deal." The discontent, the rebellious anger of the workers and farmers, did not rise to the level of CLARITY to break thru the iron wall of the two-party system, the greatest obstacle to the political advancement of labor in this country. Turning their back by the millions on the Republican party, the masses of the American people rushed right into the corral of the Democratic bankers and trust magnates. In spite of their gains, the relatively very weak vote received by the Communist and Socialist parties combined shows how small is that section of the working class that has taken even the very elementary step of breaking away from the two big parties of capital and striking out for independent political action. Ninety-nine out of every hundred workers in the United States still vote for one of the twin rackets controlled by Wall Street. When, in desperation, they break away from one, they swing right into the other and the same old merry-go-round continues.

With Roosevelt elected, what now? Will there

intend to make any "drastic changes in Hoover's policies"—because Big Business objects! In other words, the jobless will continue to starve as under Hoover; the farmers will continue to go broke as under Hoover; the workers will continue to have their wages cut and unions smashed as under Hoover; hungry people raising their voice in protest will continue to get shot down and gassed as under Hoover; the big railroads and banks and trusts will continue to fatten off the public funds as under Hoover. The "new deal" turns out to be the same old fraud! The "forgotten man" still remains the worker and poor farmer and nobody is going to forget him as effectively and as completely as Franklin D. Roosevelt!

Switching from one capitalist party to another, from one Wall Street controlled outfit to another, is no way out for the workers. For the workers and farmers the only way out is to break away altogether from the two big parties of capital and to organize a strong fighting party of labor. Labor must issue its political declaration of independence. It must tear the bonds tying it to the chariot of Big Business; it must set out on its own path politically, guided by its own class interests and aspirations.

The big lesson of the elections is the urgent need  
(Continued on page 2)

### JOB INSURANCE PLAN FOR OHIO

But State Law Proposed  
Is Very Defective

Columbus, Ohio.

The advance of the idea of government unemployment insurance, only a short time ago hooted down by the spokesmen of capitalism as "un-American", was marked in the recommendation of a system of state insurance by a board recently appointed by Governor White of Ohio. The draft submitted by the committee in its report made on November 13 provides for an insurance plan financed by employers and employees. Fifty percent of the workers weekly wage is to be paid to him over a maximum of sixteen weeks after a waiting period of three weeks; in any case, however, the benefit is not to exceed \$15 weekly. It is not yet clear what action the Ohio Legislature will take on this recommendation.

The weaknesses of the Ohio plan are so great and so deep as to make it almost worthless from the viewpoint of effective unemployment insurance. In the first place, it compels the workers to contribute to the insurance fund; in other words, it involves a wage-cut. A proper unemployment insurance scheme would be based on payments by the employers and by the government only. Secondly, it is a state insurance scheme and not national. But industry is not organized according to state lines; workers have to move from one state to another looking for work; the same corporation often owns factories in a half-dozen states. The only effective system of jobless insurance is a Federal system. But worst of all is the fact that benefits are to be limited to only sixteen weeks. Today, when unemployment has become a permanent curse for millions, when workers are frequently out of jobs for many months at a time, to give relief for sixteen weeks and then stop, is certainly no way of meeting the emergency. An effective system of jobless relief must take care of the worker for the whole period of his unemployment.

### "SUCCESS STORY"

by John Howard Lawson

Workers Age Benefit

THURSDAY, NOV. 24, 1932

MAXINE ELLIOT  
THEATER

39th St., East of Broadway



## The World of Labor

### Recent Amalgamated Strike in N.Y.

We publish below extracts from a long statement of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Progressive Circle on "The Recent Strike-Stoppage of the Amalgamated."—Editor.

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New York City. The struggle the tailors waged was directed against the carrying of their work out-of-town to the small towns and villages of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The commission that was created in this way to the tailors of New York City has brought devastation and misery as far as the tailor is concerned. The continual reductions in wages have simply reduced the tailors to beggary. Instead of a stoppage, as the officials called it when it began, the tailors converted it into a real general strike. The hunger and distress of the tailors drove them to heroism.

That the strike was not taken seriously in the beginning by the union leadership but came thru the pressure of an external force, is shown by the fact that no preparations were made, as any serious strike would require. The workers, in New York City as well as outside, were not organized for strike; no strike machinery was set up; the strike call came suddenly and unexpectedly.

A week before the strike was called, the leaders of the organization, at a meeting of the joint board, attacked many active workers as "hot-heads" and "lunatics" because they talked about a strike. . . . Three days later, these same leaders came to a meeting of the board of directors and said that a strike was necessary and that the machinery for the strike had already been organized. And a few days later came the strike.

When the strike order was issued, the starving tailors, a large part of them out of work for years and without cash to come to the labor bureau to look for a job, grasped at the strike as the salvation from all their troubles and they threw themselves into the struggle with body and soul. . . . Their militant spirit and their self-sacrifice on the picket lines awoke enthusiasm in every right-thinking person. Their struggle might not only have called a halt to the further worsening of conditions; it might actually have improved them. Having the situation under control, we really thought that even if no new demands were put up, at least we would get back the wage-cuts which were inflicted at the beginning of the season.

The tailors were bitterly disappointed when, coming on a certain morning to the picket line, they saw big out-of-town trucks with placards declaring that the union was allowing the work to be taken out. A few days later it became known that not only were not the wage-cuts withdrawn but in almost all settled shops where the workers went back, they returned at lower wages! . . .

The news of what had happened came as a thunderbolt. The spirit which the tailors had shown in time of struggle was immediately killed. And thus ended one of the most wonderful, heroic, and sincere struggles in the history of the Amalgamated. One thing is clear, the blame for the consequences of the strike falls entirely upon the leaders and the officials. Certainly the tailors are not to blame. They did everything that workers could in time of strike.

The tailors must not forget what has happened. They must call the officials to account. During the strike all differences of opinion were put into the background; the workers fought heroically. What forced the new wage-cuts? What forced the settlement with the Branch Storage Company? . . . These questions must be answered.

We want to say a few words to the tailors. Tailors! We carried on a heroic struggle. . . . The outcome of the strike must not be allowed to quench our fighting spirit. . . . We must immediately organize and mobilize our forces in the shops and in local meetings and begin a struggle that all work out

by New York cutters should be done in New York shops and that it should not be allowed that school-boys and school-girls should learn the cutting trade at the expense of New York workers. . . . The union must prepare the tailors immediately for the coming season for week-work and for a tolerable scale of wages. Week-work and a scale of wages must be established in the whole Eastern district.

Working hours must be reduced. . . . Economy must be established in the union; unnecessary expenses must be put an end to. The wages of the paid officials must be adapted to the wages of the workers in the shops. The number of paid officials must be reduced. Because of the necessary reduction of the paid staff, there must be immediate elections of paid officials under the supervision of the committee of the labor movement. . . .

Amalgamated Clothing Workers Progressive Circle

### THE WORKERS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The following paragraphs give the gist of the remarks made by C.H. McCarthy before an unemployed conference held at Niles, Ohio, on Sunday, October 9, 1932 in Labor Hall. Sixteen unemployed and labor organizations were present. Further conferences on a local and state scale are being planned.—Editor.

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Niles, Ohio. The economic foundations of the present system were shaken up and thrown out of balance by forces and factors growing out of the World War. A major break in the

### THE GREAT LESSONS OF THE ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 1)

necessity for a real Labor party, a party based on the trade unions, labor political parties, workers organizations of all sorts as well as associations of working farmers, a party out to defend the immediate interests of the great toiling classes of this country. Such a party will mark the first step, but a big step,

### NAZIS SWEEP CITY VOTE IN GERMANY

BERLIN. — The Nazis swept the municipal elections held on November 13 in Saxony, Luebeck and the Saar. In Leipzig the Hitlerites won 18 seats as against three in the last elections in 1929. In Dresden they won 22 seats as compared to four and in six other Saxon towns the results were similar. In the Luebeck House of Burgesses the Nazis increased their seats from six to 27. In Saarbrücken the Nazis won eight seats as against one only in 1929. Everywhere but in Luebeck the Social-democrats lost.

capitalist system was created and the system itself began to crumble and decline.

Today, it is a fact that the unemployment problem is a permanent fixture during the remaining days of capitalism. Even tho there will be a temporary pick-up in industrial activity, and few workers will be recalled to the factories, the unemployment problem will still remain with us in a very acute form.

The rapid changes in the method of production, spurred on under the pressure of competition on a world scale, together with the shrinking of the markets, have displaced workers by the tens of hundreds of thousands, have made them "superfluous," with no other choice but to starve or to rebel.

It is quite clear that something has to be done by the workers themselves. Nothing will be done for the workers except to give them a few crumbs of charity to keep them quiet. And this charity, or so-called "relief" to the unemployed and their families, is administered in such a way that the greater part of it, in most instances, sticks to the greedy fingers of the dispensers, while the smaller portion is passed on more or less reluctantly, in a humiliating method, in a method that is degrading. Roger Babson recently admitted:

on the road to the emancipation of labor from the domination of capital, on the road to a "drastic change" of the murderous and insane economic and social system sponsored and defended by both the Republicans and the Democrats.

For a Labor party! This slogan, which is now again finding a response in the ranks of the workers, must become the fighting slogan of all that is alive, militant and progressive in American labor!

## In the Soviet Union

### Women and Children in U.S.S.R.

We continue below the article "When We're the Same, We're Different," by E. R. Brand, which began in the last issue of the Age. The article is a review of Alice Winthrop Field's "Protection of Women and Children in Soviet Russia."—Editor.

#### Soviet Maternity Centers

Every field the author touches opens our eyes to the abortive character of such services as we have. We too have maternity centers. We need more of them even of the same kind. But this is how maternity care commences and continues in a socially geared society.

"Organized relief is benefiting the politicians, more than the distressed unemployed. It is the biggest racket in the country and all politicians, high and low, are its beneficiaries."

An organization of the unemployed becomes a necessity, to be organized around the immediate necessities of the workers and their families. "The strength of the working class is organization." This organization must function independent of the present set-up, of the so-called "relief bureaus." The organization should demand full rations for the unemployed, and especially proper nourishment for school children in sufficient quantities that they shall be well fed and clothed and school supplies furnished. From this we can go on.

The organization should be tight, limited only to the workers. It should aim to free itself from the influence of the business and professional classes. It must realize the importance of independent class action.

One immediate distinction is the individual consideration shown to the patients in the Russian clinics. A call is made by a pregnant woman at her local Point of Consultation (local clinic). An appointment for examination is given but before the arrival of that date, a home visitor calls to make a contact, discuss household problems and gauge the woman's temperament. When the woman appears for clinic examination, the doctor verifies the pregnancy, establishes personal relations along the lines of the social worker, gives the woman a Certificate of Pregnancy so she need not wait on lines, provides for her so that she will certainly receive every practical care of her self and child. She reports weekly for examination and incidentally has the same doctor deliver her baby as has given her the preliminary care. This is a mark of consideration so rare as to be unique. In our clinics, the doctors vary with our visits and we as individuals are just so much "material." All of this service, including the delivery of the baby and after-care in the hospital is free. In addition, there is a four-month vacation with pay. The baby comes out with a state gift of \$30, financial bonuses during the first year and free medical and school service till he is an adult. The mother, during her required vacation, is instructed in the most modern methods of child training, cooking, hygiene, home management, etc.

Before the mother returns to work the child is a regular client of the pediatric department and at one month he is eligible for nursery school.

As a result, these statistics, culled from many fascinating records of Mrs. Fields, are eloquent. "Before the Revolution, 40% of the children of working women died during the first year. Now only 4 1/2%."

Now see the ramifications of this service which has already safeguarded the mother in connection with her health, her pregnancy, the delivery, her child's health and education at home and in school, and her own job.

#### Birth Control And Abortion

The most distinctive and revolutionary service has not yet been mentioned. Says Mrs. Fields: "By making the government solely responsible to the people, it follows that birth control or anything else which aids in gaining freedom for individuals and health for society should and must be fostered not only by a small group of scientists but by the state itself." And so it is possible and logical for the maternity Department to direct the woman who has just had a baby or who, for any other reason is eager for such help, to the Department of Birth Control and Abortion. The coupling of these two antithetic names in one title is no accident but dramatizes the very active fight in which the Soviet is possible and logical for the Maternity Department against abortion.

(Concluded in the next issue)

## OPEN FORUM

CONDUCTED BY NEW WORKERS SCHOOL  
228 Second Avenue (Cor. 14th Street)  
EVERY SUNDAY EVENING AT 8:30

NOVEMBER 27—

Will Herberg  
Managing Editor  
"Workers Age"

THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

DECEMBER 4

Walter White  
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
SLAVERY IN THE "LAND OF THE FREE"

### Diego Rivera

In the next issue of the "Workers Age" there will be published a statement of Diego Rivera answering the slanderous charges of the "Daily Worker."

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### "Nature Friends" Issue Invitation To Hikers

Many readers of the "Workers Age" are undoubtedly interested in hiking, camping and similar outdoor activities. And a still greater number of workers do not know that the proper organization for such lovers of outdoor life is the Nature Friends, the workers outdoor club with an international membership of 170,000, scattered in 21 countries. The hike leaders of the New York branch know their trails. The Nature Friends are going to publish their weekly like announcements regularly in the "Workers Age" and appeal to the readers to join them in their hikes or trips to their Midvale, N. J. camp.



## Results of German Elections

### Is Fascism Thru In Germany?

Berlin, Germany.  
A decided shift in votes within the camps of the capitalist parties and the workers parties, both, but no important shift between these two main camps, are the most significant results of the November 6, 1932 Reichstag elections in Germany.

1. The two workers parties (Communist and Social-democratic) together received 37.3% of the total vote cast as against 35.9% in the July 31, 1932 elections, in spite of some decrease in combined vote for these parties. In other words, there has been relatively a slight increase in the labor vote and a slight decrease in the total for the capitalist parties. It is interesting to note that in 1919 in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, with the Communist Party (Spartacists) boycotting the elections, the two Socialist parties in Germany then received 45% of the total vote.

2. The two ultra-reactionary parties (Nazis and Nationalists) also totaled less votes: 41.3% in November as against 53.1% in July. The middle bourgeois parties (Center, People's party, etc.) increased their totals from 16.5% in July to 21.3% in November.

3. Within the labor camp a very significant shift of about 700,000 votes took place from the Social-democratic party to the Communist Party. Within the ultra-reactionary block, the chief development of importance was a loss of two million votes by the Nazis and a gain of nearly a million by the Nationalists.

### The Hitler Loss

The loss of the Nazi votes arose from two different sources. The period of Hitler's semi-tolerance of the von Papen regime, his underhand parliamentary maneuvers with the Junker gang, the exhibition of Nazi impotence and futility after the dissolution of the Reichstag in contrast to Hitler's loud promises and threats, rendered passive and drove away hundred of thousands of workers and semi-proletarians as well as many lower middle class elements from the Nazi camp. The main section of the over 2,000,000 "stay-at-homes" (as compared with the July elections) must be traced to this source. The Nazi losses in Berlin and other working class centers are to be thus accounted for. On the other hand, Hitler's subsequent "left turn" alienated decisive elements among the Junkers and militarists and significant portions of trust capital. The vigorous pro-capitalist policy of the von Papen regime, as shown especially in the recent economic emergency decrees and the offensive against the labor organizations, also contributed to convince these sections of the ruling classes of Germany that von Papen was "effective" and perhaps could be relied upon a little longer as "preferable" to Hitler and his plebeian army. The great losses of the Nazis in East Prussia and other reactionary centers came about in this way. Hugenberg's Nationalist party, as the semi-official party of the Papen Cabinet, naturally cashed in on this shift to the tune of nearly a million, and the same was true to some extent of some of the middle parties.

### The Social-Democrats And Communists

The policy of abject surrender and class betrayal on the part of the Social-democratic party, brought home again in its servile attitude to the recent Supreme Court decision, its sabotage of the working class struggle against the Nazi menace, drove hundreds of thousands of workers to the Communist Party. The drift of about 700,000 voters from the Social-democracy to the C. P. is a considerable triumph for Communism; it was made, however, in spite of, rather than because of the Communist Party's sectarian tactics and was prevented from reaching

greater and more significant proportions by these tactics.

### Fascism Not Thru!

It would be a fatal error to consider the elections as marking the beginning of the end of Fascism in Germany. The factors that have reduced the Nazi vote in the November elections have not weakened in the least the great social forces that make for Fascism (the profound crisis in the German economy, the impoverishment of the petty bourgeoisie, the collapse of the so-called "middle" parties, the disunity and passivity of the labor movement). The inevitable shipwreck of von Papen's economic schemes with all its consequences will only strengthen the basis for the continued growth of Fascism—unless the working class unites for a determined counter-offensive.

The outcome of the elections points to a tremendous sharpening of the class war in Germany. The drive against the trade unions and the standards and organizations of the workers will be pushed most viciously in the coming months, especially in the attempt to overcome the growing contradictions in the von Papen economic

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## RECOGNITION OF SOVIET HINTED

### McAdoo Urges Big Role Of Soviet Union

WASHINGTON—The possibility of the improvement of trade relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and even the diplomatic recognition of the latter by the former, was indicated here on the basis of the remarks in a recent speech of William Gibbs McAdoo, outstanding Democratic politician who is expected to have considerable influence in the Roosevelt Administration. Neither disarmament nor world peace nor any plan for economic reorganization, declared Mr. McAdoo, could be considered "without the participation of the Soviet Union." McAdoo also called attention to the fact that the Soviet Union was the only country at the recent "disarmament" conference to make a proposal for real disarmament and he sharply criticized the United States delegation for not voting for it. How far McAdoo's liberalism will go when it becomes a matter of Administration policies is not yet evident but it seems clear that some definite change in attitude to the U.S.S.R. is coming under pressure of the economic crisis.

## Results of the U. S. Elections

### What Does The Big Roosevelt Vote Show?

In the midst of an economic crisis which has already lasted for three years, the most outstanding feature of the elections just held was the absence of any general, large-scale shift of working class votes away from the capitalist parties, in spite of some relatively significant gains for both the Communists and the Socialists. The tremendous discontent of the masses of workers and farmers and lower middle class elements in the cities was confined within the two-party system, expressing itself in the sweeping victory of Roosevelt and the Democratic party. But with few exceptions, this discontent did not develop to the point of radicalization. The election can, therefore, be recorded as a victory for capitalist reaction, which was covered by the petty bourgeois demagoguery of the Roosevelt "new deal" caliber. This result is in marked contrast to elections which have taken place in other countries in this period of world-wide crisis where a decided and powerful movement to the left was evident (British municipal elections, general elections in Greece, Rumania, Sweden, and partly also, in the last two elections in Germany). To the extent that the election is an indication of class forces in the country and their mutual relation-

ship (only a secondary indication, to be sure), the election in the United States marked the powerful hold that the capitalist class still has upon the minds of the workers and the strong position it occupies in general social life.

### The Socialist And Communist Votes

The vote of the Socialist party and of the Communist Party increased in the neighborhood of 100% in each case. Under ordinary circumstances this would be considered a significant development. In the present case, however, it is to be noted that the actual vote failed by far to reach not only the expectations of the respective parties and their candidates, but even the estimates of "impartial" and even unfriendly observers. For any intelligent revolutionist this must be a keen disappointment and this should lead to a searching analysis of the causes involved and to an honest and objective discussion of the steps to be taken for changing the situation. As yet, there is no sign of this in either of the parties, which are both engaged in the pastime of self-deception, with small gain to the workers.

It is particularly important for us, as Communists, to analyze the situation with great objectivity because, in the United States, the first steps of establishing a mass Communist movement have yet to be taken. The self-deception in which the Communist Party leaders are already engaging will have only harmful results. These leaders, who in 1928 found "radicalization" in the Smith vote, do not indeed repeat the same mistake (if the Smith vote was radicalization, then the Roosevelt vote was revolution!). But they find radicalization in the vote nevertheless! Where? In two respects. First, in the failure of the Socialist party to score any more substantial increase and, second, in the relatively large but absolutely insignificant increase of the Communist vote. In Wm. Z. Foster's post-election statement, he explains the Socialist vote as follows: "The workers want a class policy. They did not see in the policy of Thomas and Waldman and the Socialist party." Therefore, they did not vote for Thomas and Waldman and the Socialist party. Comrade Foster is discreetly silent on Hillquit's vote, for if he should follow his reasoning to its logical conclusion, then he would have to account for Hillquit's large vote by his class policy, in contrast with Waldman's. An obviously absurd conclusion. The "Daily Worker" tries to resolve the riddle left by Foster. "Tens of thousands of workers and poor farmers, Negro and white, not only came out against Hoover, but also against Roosevelt; they were able to break away from the firmly rooted two-party system." Where? How? "It is the increase in the Communist vote that expresses the growing revolutionary trend among the American masses..." How childish, to ignore the tens of millions of votes, to dismiss several hundred thousand votes (because they were cast for your opponents) and to make the significance of the election revolve about the few tens of thousands of votes which you gained. The Smith radicalization conclusion is indeed absent but the Smith radicalization logic is still with us.

There have, indeed, been signs of radicalization in recent months but not in the election results. In the bonus march, in the farmers strike, in the strike of the Illinois miners, in such events there was noticeable trends of radicalization, not deep-going, widespread, nationwide, but far more significant than the changes in the elections.

### What About Radicalization?

Why, then, was there so little radicalization manifested in the elections, even less than in events

(Continued on Page 8)

## Resist Attempt to Use War Debt Cancellation To Add to Tax Burdens of Masses!

### Demand Voiding Of Old Czarist Loans And Annulment Of Internal War Debts! Make Capitalists Bear Consequences Of Budget Crisis!

With the spectacular announcements of the French, British and Belgian Ambassadors in Washington that their governments would "seek an extension of the Hoover moratorium", that, in other words, they neither could nor would pay their war debts to the United States, the big question, again rises upon the horizon of international politics, full of significance for the workers and farmers of the whole world.

One thing is quite clear. The march of events, the deep and world-wide economic crisis, has "solved" the reparations-war debt question over the head of the gold-brained diplomats. It is simply impossible for the German government to pay any more reparations to the former Allies and it is just as impossible for Britain and France to make many more war debt payments to the U. S. Treasury. It is an accomplished economic fact and the future course of all governments concerned will have to be based solidly upon it!

### Cancel The Old Czarist Debts!

A partial or total, a direct or indirect, annulment of war debts and reparations is inevitable. The whole carefully fostered myth of the "sanctity of debts" is smashed and exposed as a hollow fraud. Who does not remember the sewers of abuse and misrepresentation that the boss press of this country poured upon the Soviet Union because the Soviet workers and farmers refused to make good to the French, British and American capitalists the billions that the latter had lent to the Czar with which to suppress and enslave the Russian people? The full hypocrisy of these poisonous outpourings is shown today by the practical voiding of war debts upon the insistence of the sanctioning capitalist governments themselves. The workers and farmers of the United States must now demand that the so-called "Russian debts"

be officially recognized as cancelled by the American government and that this matter no longer stand as an obstacle to the diplomatic recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U. S. A.

### Why Feed The Parasites?

The annulment of the inter-governmental war debts brings before us the question of the internal war debts. Big banks, corporations and individual capitalists hold billions of dollars in bonds for money lent to the government during the war, and the people of this country have to keep on paying scores of millions in interest to support a horde of idle, coupon-clipping parasites. If the British government is allowed to "default" its debts to the United States, why are these internal war debts so holy? All

internal war debts over \$10,000, all internal war debts held by the capitalists, should be annulled by the same right by which the British and the French debts are to be "forgotten"!

### Who Shall Bear The Burden?

The stoppage of war debt payments will inevitably sharpen the budgetary crisis of the Federal government, by greatly increasing the deficit. The capitalists, who control the government, will try to make up for this increase in deficit by piling on still greater tax burdens upon the shoulders of the workers, farmers and other poor people. The masses of the American people must resist this attempt before it is too late. We must demand that the capitalists be made to bear the consequences of the crisis of a system from which they profit so tremendously. Increased income taxes in the higher brackets, very high inheritance and property taxes, a levy on capital, that is the way the budget must be "balanced" and not by a sales-tax or other schemes which hit the masses of people directly or indirectly!

### The Only Way Out!

The practical annulment of war debts and reparations will not ease up the world economic crisis. It will only deepen the confusion and drag the whole world closer to the abyss. The very cancellation of debts raises economic and political problems even more formidable. The dark shadow of the World War and of the decay of the capitalist system continues to spread over mankind. The whole sinister tangle that is drawing the world ever more into its murderous coils can only be cut by the sharp sword of the proletarian revolution and for this a militant, international struggle of the workers of all countries against the whole rotten system of capitalist world politics and diplomacy is necessary!

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# And Now Again — the "Russian Question"

## In the Post-Conference Discussion

The article below is part of the post-conference discussion on the general line and inner-party course of the C.P.S.U., being conducted by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition). All comrades and readers of the "Age" are invited to participate. Articles are limited to 1,000 words.—Editor.

The building of socialism is difficult even under the most favorable conditions, conditions much more favorable than those inherited by the Russian proletariat. In the case of the Soviet Union, the economic backwardness of old Russia, the chaos brought on by Czarist and Kielevsk counter-revolution, the terrible cost of foreign invasion, proved factors multiplying and accentuating the general difficulties attendant to the construction of socialism. In the face of all these unfavorable factors, the C.P.S.U. has led the Soviet masses to veritable miracles in economic and social achievement—to industrial and agricultural progress the rate and volume of which are unequalled and even undreamt of in the history of mankind, to a world-astrounding revolution in social relations and institutions.

Of course, these achievements, gotten despite a hostile capitalist world, gotten under conditions of an international credit blockade, were won at a price, a terrific price in severe temporary hardships, in great strain and stress. And, indeed, not without serious mistakes, some unavoidable and altogether too many which should and could have been avoided, had there prevailed in the party a healthier regime, a less factional, a less bureaucratic, a broader and more collective and truly self-critical leadership. Yet, with all shortcomings, the price was a bargain price, historically speaking.

However, the difficulties and setbacks that we desire to turn the searchlight on just now are not the general and inevitable ones but rather the particular acute ones coming to the notice of the world in the recent months. At the outset, let us frankly admit that the program set at the beginning of the year for three of the basic commodities (coal, iron and steel) will not be achieved in time, despite tremendously impressive advances. The food problem is acute. Grain collections have fallen short. There is a severe dearth of consumer goods. The transportation system and distributive apparatus are conspicuously faulty. The labor turnover has assumed demoralizing proportions.

All tourists have noticed these developments. Some people in the Soviet Union have written "bleeding" letters about this to their relatives in the United States, especially among the Jews. Foreign correspondents have told the world about it. The U.S.S.R. hasn't hidden these facts. And the leadership of the C.P.S.U., the Central Committee, has openly proclaimed these facts and has proposed relief measures.

### Why The Recent Difficulties

Even in their most aggravated form, the latest difficulties and hardships in the U.S.S.R. are, in general, to be associated with the travail and pains of socialist construction, of socialist growth and success. Obviously, the source of difficulties and hardships in the U.S.S.R. is in striking contrast to the source of suffering and misery in the capitalist world, suffering and misery associated solely with the decay and breakdown of the capitalist social-economic order. In a decaying, collapsing social system, hunger, once it sets in, tends to assume permanency and increasing intensity and extension. In a progressive, growing society, such as the Soviet Union today, momentary food shortage may be the very price paid for providing the ways and means of completely banning hunger sooner rather than later.

But what are the specific reasons, the concrete causes for the recent worsening of the economic

situation in the U.S.S.R. In the main, these are:

1. The very rapid growth or heavy industrialization has reached a stage in which the cumulative effect of years of an insufficient supply of trained, skilled labor and technical resources is now painfully evident and felt.
2. Due to natural and uncontrollable causes there were harvest failures last year in the Ukraine and in the North Caucasus.
3. The heavy fall in the prices of raw materials on the world market (wheat, oil, etc.) has been particularly hard on the Soviet Union. This marked price collapse not only means that more must be exported by the U.S.S.R. in order to secure sufficient foreign exchange with which to buy certain necessary machinery from other countries, but it also tends to make still more stringent the credit facilities for the U.S.S.R. in the world credit market.
4. The very conditions under which the U.S.S.R. is building socialism, conditions under which the nation must rely strictly on its own resources, strictly on its own capacity to produce an adequate capital supply and reserves, have themselves generated serious complications in the Soviet monetary system and exchange relations. The problems of inflation in the U. S. have recently become more acute. This one cannot at all speak of the dangers of inflation in Soviet economy in the same

by Jay Lovestone

light and sense as in capitalist economy, yet one should not close his eyes to the grave difficulties which inflationary consequences also breed for us even in the U. S.S.R.

5. Even the very best of leadership and the most correct of general lines are no absolute guarantee against mistakes being made in the every-day execution of policies. We often must experiment until we find solutions. This process of experimenting and learning also has its price in temporary hardships and strain.

6. Of course, the altogether too frequent application of factional strategy in the execution of economic policy by the Stalin regime in the C.P.S.U. has played its part in multiplying difficulties and aggravating the consequences of mistakes.

7. Finally—and the influence of this factor cannot be exaggerated—the sharpening war danger in the Far East in the last year has forced certain rearrangements in Soviet economy, which only further aggravate the strain and stress to which the Soviet people are still subject. Herein are to be found some of the reasons for the "overcollections" of grain last year and the resultant discouraged peasants, small wheat collections and great mortality of traction animals this year.

Even the world-renowned and efficient American railway system virtually broke down in the first months of military mobilization for the World War. And the storing up of extraordinary food reserves for the army and general population certainly does not increase the food supply available for immediate consumption by the country as a whole.

### Success or Failure? Right or Wrong?

What yardsticks shall we apply to estimate the success or failure of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. today? What test shall we apply to determine whether the general line of the C.P.S.U. in the U.S.S.R. is right or wrong?

First of all, we should not judge either the achievements today or the acute difficulties of the moment in the light of the factional strategy and boasts of the Stalin regime. Secondly, we should not apply merely arithmetical gauges, even though there are incontrovertible statistics to prove the success of the Five-Year Plan and the correctness of the general line of the C.P.S.U. for the Soviet Union, even beyond the most sanguine expectations of its most ardent proponents.

Rather, we should apply more fundamental standards, more basic criteria, tests which go more to the root of things and which show the definite direction and course of development—economically and

socially. On this basis, one can even call upon so hostile a judge of the U.S.S.R. as the leading organ of finance capital in Canada, whose government, the Bennett government, is today the most militant enemy of the U.S.S.R. Thus, the instigator of "The Financial Post" of Montreal, Mr. Thornton Purkis, draws the following balance sheet:

"Firstly, that they have established in Russia a native machine construction industry, and have thereby provided for the unhampered progress of industrialization.

"Secondly, that they have managed to recruit millions of young workers to the service of industry, thus supplying the machinery with the due complement of man-power.

"Thirdly, that they have carried thru a collectivization of Russian agriculture, and have so laid the foundations for the socialization of the country.

"... True, the importation of machines and tools is actually increasing in absolute figures; but the proportion of imported machines to those of native production is steadily diminishing. Leaving the future to look after itself, it is justifiable to assume that the progress already achieved in machine making in Russia is nothing less than astonishing....

"If there are any healthier, happier people working on farms in Canada than those that I saw working on collective farms in Russia I should like to meet with them....

"The average peasant works with a hope and a cheerfulness that was not present before. He 'belongs', as we should say. He is no longer in bondage to the kulak."

The tremendous rise of the social services, the unbelievable progress in overcoming illiteracy, the improvement of the social composition of the country, the practical wiping out of unemployment, the whole cultural revolution, the vast improvement in the international and military position of the U. S. S. R., the strengthening of the Soviet Union as the base of the

(Concluded on Page 7)

### For Militancy And Unity In The Trade Unions

## THE NEEDLE TRADES SITUATION IN LOS ANGELES

by Paul Berg (Los Angeles)

About six months ago there took place an open conference between the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Local 65, and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. This conference took place upon the latter's initiative with the aim, of course, of exposing the "company union" character of the I. L. G. W. U. At the conference the N. T. W. I. U. delegates proposed that both unions elect an equal number of representatives, a similar number to be elected at a mass meeting, and that all these constitute an organization committee that should, independent of both unions, begin a drive to improve the working conditions of the cloak and dressmakers in Los Angeles. This program did not even look like a united front "from below." It appeared to some three hundred workers present at the conference like a third union, and they had enough of two. Against this, the I. L. G. W. U. delegates hammered one union and offered an open door.

The result of this conference was that the Industrial Union people exposed themselves as a group of people engaged in petty maneuvering. From this point dates the revival of sentiment among the ladies garment workers for an International Union.

### The State Of The Needle Unions

At the time of the conference, the Industrial Union had about 50 members; the other union still less out of some 6,000 workers in the industry. The bulk of these workers, composed chiefly of Mexican and American women, have never been in unions. Only about 500 Jewish cloakmakers ever had a union until 1930 when, as a result of an unsuccessful strike led by the International, the union was smashed.

The workers conditions have been steadily becoming worse, until today most dress finishers work for \$1.00 a day and operators and pressers for about \$2.00 a day. The cloakmakers made up by working as high as 75 hours a week; this kept a section of them altogether

out of jobs, even during the rush season. The first to react to this condition were the cutters whose wages too have been cut in more than half. A group of them turned to the International local with the demand that this local help them get a charter for a separate local union.

The cutters, all English speaking men (the "aristocrats" of the trade), everywhere in the country refused to meet together with the other crafts, the "riff-raff". For some reason the executive committee refused to grant them this demand at first and much time for organization was lost. It took much arguing to convince the executive that this would stimulate the cutters to organize. Today, nearly 100 cutters, for the first time in Los Angeles, have joined the union. This makes about half of this craft organized.

Following the cutters there came a group of pressers demanding from the union that the dues of 40c a week be reduced to 25c as a condition to organize. This too was granted. To date about 150 pressers enrolled, mainly Italian and Mexican men; no women pressers, who make up about half of this craft, have been reached as yet.

The cloakmakers, too, have be-

### LENIN SAYS:

The revolution has accomplished so much, that in a few months Russia, in its political system, overtook the advanced countries. But this is not enough. War is inexorable; it raises the question with merciless sharpness: either perish or overtake the advanced countries and surpass them economically as well. To perish or to rush ahead at full speed. This is how history has presented the question.

gun to return to the union. A number of strikes in cloak shops have taken place lasting a few days and ending in small gains for the workers. One such strike met with greater resistance from the boss and the shop has been on strike for nearly six weeks. The Red Squad got busy and one day arrested five members of Y.P.S.L. who came to assist in picketing. It should have been the business of the union to answer the Red Squad strike-breaking with greater picket lines, to draw in outside help and raise the issue of the right to strike and picket. However the conservative leadership failed to do this excusing itself that the union was too weak organizationally and financially.

The nearly 400 members that have joined the union to date are a very negligible part of the total number employed in the industry. Yet they are very important as they give a clear expression of the discontent of all the workers. Nearly half of the union members are for the first time in the union and they came to the realization of the need to organize without any effort on the part of the union. Some of the more conservative leaders of the union were even reluctant at first to meet and help this new sentiment for organization. So that all the new members were not organized by the union; they came to the union of themselves.

### The Task For The Future

The new members, nearly all working in dress factories, have thus changed the union from a cloakmakers local to that of a dressmakers local. This new development requires that the leaders of the union turn their attention toward the dressmakers not, of course, neglecting the cloakmakers. The dressmakers, although new to the organization, have shown great loyalty to the union. Whatever activity there was during this season was all to wrest from the manufacturers some gains for the cloakmakers and some

raises in wages amounting to as high as 25% were obtained; yet most of the cloakmakers are still outside of the union.

I do not believe that it will be possible for very long to keep the dressmakers in the union with speeches only. I maintain that organization goes hand in hand with a struggle for better working conditions. The union should have tried to win some improvements for the new members immediately after they joined the organization, when there was still work in the industry. If this is not corrected by the next season, the idea of union will soon appear to them like pie in the sky.

The union alone, as it is today, will not be able to organize the dressmakers, 90% of whom have never had union experience. Added to this are the special difficulties to organize in Los Angeles. To organize the dressmakers it will be necessary to draw in all the labor and all pro-labor organizations into active support. A broad organization committee must be set up representing all those who are opposed to such vicious exploitation and police rule. Its main work should be publicity, agitation, legal help and relief work. The issues around which to rally public sympathy are many: women are extremely exploited, long hours in violation of the state law of 8 hours for women, unemployment as a result of long hours, the refusal of the right to organize, etc. All these are issues which if well dramatized, will make it much harder for the police to prevent organization. It would also help to raise funds necessary for an organization drive. Los Angeles is known for its big liberal crowd which has always supported strikes. No help is to be expected from the International in New York. All the appeals the union has made for help have not been answered. The union must rely upon local support and, when properly approached, all the necessary help would be forthcoming to the cloak and dressmakers.



# The General Line and the Five-Year Plan

The article below is part of the post-conference discussion on the general line and inner-party course of the C.P.S.U. being conducted by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition). All comrades and readers of the "Age" are invited to participate. Articles are limited to 1,000 words.—Editor.

It seems to me that a great deal of the confusion that some comrades show on the so-called "Russian question" is to be traced to a totally false conception of what the Five-Year Plan and the general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are and the relation between the two. When you hear some comrades say: "I'm for the Five-Year Plan but I think the general line is wrong!" or: "I'm against the general line because I am against the system of expulsions and scapegoats and the whole Stalin regime!", you realize how far the confusion has gone.

## What Is The General Line?

The "general line" which our conference endorsed, is the "general line of the C.P.S.U. for socialist construction in the U. S. S. R." This general line is not, on the one hand, the mere aim of building socialism nor is it the maze of indices, control figures, etc., by which actual socialist construction is regulated. The general line represents the main strategic course in socialist construction for the specific period under consideration. At one time the general line was War Communism; at another, the New Economic Policy; in 1927-28 the general line was changed again, this time towards a direct socialist offensive.

Now the Five-Year Plan is substantially nothing more than the concrete embodiment of the new general line that was adopted in 1927-28. To say that you are for the Five-Year Plan but against the general line, is equivalent to saying that you are for the concrete application but against the policy of which it is the application!

The confusion between the general line and regime is even worse. The resolution of the national conference condemns in the sharpest way the inner-party regime in the C.P.S.U. It does more; it specifically analyzes this regime and exposes its dangerous elements. But because you are against the regime therefore to oppose the policies of economic construction—this is totally illegitimate, politically and logically. It is a thoroughly subjective and non-Leninist method of judgment. It is true that false party methods and an oppressive inner-party regime may and do have serious negative effects upon the execution of a correct general line; but that is quite different from branding the economic policies as false because of your condemnation of the regime.

The first prerequisite for a clear understanding of the "Russian question" is to define in a precise and unmistakable manner what you mean by the "general line" as distinct from regime.

## The Main Features Of The General Line

What are the main features of this general line in economic construction which the resolution of the national conference endorsed and on the basis of which the Five-Year Plan was constructed? In briefest form they can be catalogued as follows: (1) The extension of planning to all phases of the national economy, the unification of the national economy on the basis of a general plan; (2) the transformation of the Soviet Union into an industrial country; (3) the shifting of economic base in the national economy to heavy industry as the only possible material basis for socialism; (4) the rapid transformation of the social-economic structure of agriculture through collectivization; and (5) the expansion of the socialist base in the national economy and the beginning of the systematic liquidation of the N.E.P. (the elimination of capitalist elements in the urban and rural economies, the re-

## In the Post-Conference Discussion

by Will Herberg

placement of the pseudo-capitalist business relations by socialist relations of exchange, the limitation of the free market, etc.) These are the main features of the general line adopted in 1927-1928 and these are also the main objectives for the fulfillment of which the Five-Year Plan was constructed.

### On Light And Heavy Industry

The question of light and heavy industry occupies a central position in the general line. It is clear to everybody that to develop heavy industry so as to make it the base of the Soviet economy is the only road to socialism, for a socialist economy without a strong and firmly rooted heavy industry is altogether out of the question. But could this transformation of the Soviet Union from a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial country with a powerfully developed heavy industry take place without involving sacrifices of light industry that is, industry producing articles of consumption? In other words, was it possible for the general line to include a full and harmonious development of light industry without dropping the absolutely essential objective of building heavy industry? The best answer was given by Rykoff at the fifteenth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in December 1927: "We cannot develop heavy industry with our own means,

without help from abroad, and safeguard at the same time a full economic development in other directions. On the development of heavy industry... depends also the development of light industry and agriculture... We can solve the task of the development of heavy industry and we shall solve it with our own resources, even though this should prevent us from liquidating the so-called commodity famine in the next few years. Hitherto not a single country was able to restore and develop its heavy industry without extensive help from other countries. If we want to develop heavy industry, and we must do so, with our own resources, then we will have to suffer for it for some time. There is no other way."

Those comrades who say they are opposed to the general line because light industry has been "neglected" or "sacrificed" so that various commodity shortages (involving suffering for the masses) necessarily resulted, should carefully ponder these words of Rykoff. If these comrades really agree that heavy industry, the essential base of socialism, must be built up in the U. S. S. R., then they must also agree that light industry must be sacrificed (of

course, temporarily, during the period of the first Five-Year Plan, and this means that the commodity famine is inevitable and therefore also a certain amount of suffering for the Soviet masses. If we want socialism, as Rykoff says, "we will have to suffer for it for some time." To cry about the "sacrifices" while shouting loudly about socialism, is the veriest petty bourgeois philistinism!

### On The Question Of Collectivization

The rapid collectivization of agriculture emerged as a dominant task thru the inner logic of the N. E. P. itself. In 1927 everybody realized that the only way of destroying the threat of kulak hegemony in the agrarian economy, the only way of permanently raising the productivity and yield of agriculture, was thru making a sharp turn in policy, away from fostering the individualistic development of agriculture (which was necessary in the earlier stages of Soviet development) towards collectivization. The material requisites for collectivization (agricultural machinery, electric power, etc.) would be provided by the rapid expansion of heavy industry, especially machine production, while the fast growing industrial proletariat would supply a huge market for agricultural products.

In the long run the collectivization of agriculture means a tremendous increase in productivity (advantage of collective labor, possibility of technical improvement), as is already proved in the big state farms in the U. S. S. R. But the very rapidity with which this revolutionary process of collectivization had to be carried out, the profound unsettling of century-old social and economic relations it involved, the sharpening of the class war in the village and the elimination of the rich peasant (kulak) as a class that it implied, all contributed, in the first period, to lower production, especially in grain. The unavoidable shortage of light commodities, which must be sent to the village in exchange for grain, has been a tremendous factor operating in the same direction. Here, too, a certain (temporary) straining of worker-peasant (town-country) relations and certain sacrifices are inevitable; here, too, to cry about these while shouting loudly for collectivization, is shallow philistinism!

### The Birth-Pangs Of A New Society

In agriculture as in industry, these strains and sacrifices are merely temporary; they are the birth-pangs of the new socialist order. With the completion of the first Five-Year Plan the basis will be laid (heavy industrialization, collectivization) for the very rapid expansion of light industry, for the large-scale supply of all articles of consumption, for the permanent elevation of agricultural production and for the firm cementing of socialist relations (not the business relations of the N. E. P.) between town and country. The guarantee of the successful realization of these grand objectives constitutes the best evidence of the fundamental correctness of the general line of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

## The N. Y. Painters Strike And Its Betrayers

# THE TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE AND THE STRIKE

by H. Edwards

This is the fourth article on the recent New York painters strike. The final article will appear in the next issue.—Editor.

To cover up this policy, an eleventh hour "turn" was made to offer the District Council a "united front" in the strike, knowing well that the bureaucrats of the District Council would not accept it so that they would have an excuse for doing anything by claiming that they had offered to cooperate but were refused. At a mass meeting of the Alteration Painters Union, held on July 13, the day when the strike was called, a committee of fifteen was elected to present to the District Council program for committee a "united front program", demanding that: (1) of both unions equal numbers (1) of both unions be elected to lead the strike; (2) the men in the shop should have the right to belong to; and (3) that wish to have a committee be formed in each shop full control over the conditions in the shop. They had nothing to say about conditions and wages.

### Tricks And Manoeuvres Instead Of Unity

The District Council refused to admit the committee of the Alteration Painters Union or to hear their proposals. About a week later, on July 22, upon a motion made by a left winger in Local 905, the local invited the Alteration Painters Union to present their proposals at the membership meeting. Joe Harris, general organizer, spoke for the Alteration Painters Union, denouncing the actions of the District Council for not admitting their committee, for not admitting the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. leadership, and their failure to organize the unorganized. Harris then stated as the aim of his organization to fight the A. F. of L. bureaucratic officials and to organize the painters into a "genuine rank and file union." He called upon the workers to adopt the united front

proposals. Mr. Motzkin, a business agent whose candidacy had been endorsed and supported by the T. U. U. L. and party members, and M. Perlman, chairman of the local, replied to Harris's speech. They pointed out that the strike had been called despite the A. F. of L. officials, that it showed a militant spirit, that it embraced the large sections of the unorganized alteration workers, who were joining the union in the hundreds, and that, the existence of a dual union, small as it is, operated against the workers fighting for better conditions. Motzkin called upon Harris and all members of the Alteration Painters Union to make a real united front by joining the A. F. of L. locals and thereby strengthening the progressive elements to fight betrayals and to organize the alteration workers. Mr. Motzkin, offered to make concessions to members of the Alteration Painters Union, to reduce the initiation fee from the already reduced \$10 to \$2.44, to be paid when the worker would begin to work. To this proposal J. Harris answered that they would not join the A. F. of L. The workers at that meeting saw the bluff in Harris's united front proposals and voted against them. This did not hinder the "Freiheit" from reporting in the July 25 issue that the workers at the meeting voted against the proposal of the Alteration Painters Union because they were "terror-

ized by the local clique" (Motzkin-Perlman) and they feared expulsion from the union. When this dishonest "united front" maneuver failed the city council of the Alteration Painters Union issued a leaflet, a call to all alteration painters, in which they attacked the District Council for not accepting the "united front" proposals and concluded: "We call upon all alteration painters to stop work in their shops and report to our union headquarters for strike advice and help... Forward with the building of a big rank file Alteration Painters Union" (emphasis ours—H. E.). This actual split call, carefully worded, was issued in time of strike!

### Scabbery Under "Left" Cover

While the "united front" maneuver was being carried on, the Alteration Painters Union was scabbing on jobs picketed by strikers, and their organizers were trying to sign scab agreements with employers. As illustration, only a few of the many and varied cases will be mentioned here.

1. Miller's job, West End Avenue and 104 Street. This was an open shop. The A. F. of L. picket committee took the men out on strike. The employer offered the settlement committee an agreement for \$8.00 per day, a raise of \$2.00 over what the workers were getting before the strike in this shop. The strike committee insisted on \$11.20 per day and the job was picketed by the strikers. The employer signed with the Alteration Painters Union for \$6.00 per day and eight members were sent to scab. In addition to the scabs, the Alteration Painters Union also supplied protection for the scabs against the strikers. In a fight between the strikers and the scabs in front of the building, where some strikers and scab protectors were arrested, four scabs protectors gave the following as their occupations: (a) reporter of the Hungarian Communist Party organ "Uj Eloré", (b) elevator engineer, (c) longshoreman, and (d) painter.

2. Sol and Cohen shop. This shop was organized by two A. F. of L. members working in the

shop. They brought the workers to the Alteration Painters Union because the workers in the shop could not afford to pay the high initiation in the A. F. of L. After a short strike the workers resisted the effort to employers to cut their wages from \$6.00 to \$5.00 and forced to employers to sign with the Alteration Painters Union. At the beginning of the strike the A. F. of L. members in the shop urged the workers to join the strike for higher wages, but the proposal to join the strike was rejected by the executive committee of the Alteration Painters Union, Bronx Section, and two scabs were sent to take the places of the two A. F. of L. workers who joined the strike. One of the scabs, Mr. Forman, is a party member and a member of the executive committee of Bronx Section. Despite the fact that the Sol and Cohen agreement called for \$6.00 a day the scab Forman offered himself, in front of workers of that shop, to work for \$5.00 a day in order to retain the job. The executive committee squashed these charges against Forman; enough protection was sent to their jobs against the A. F. of L. pickets; and influence was used not to let the employers to sign with the A. F. of L.

3. Podolsky shop. Signed with the Alteration Painters Union. At a shop meeting the workers decided to go out in strike with the A. F. of L. Six of the workers in the shop proposed that the whole shop should join the A. F. of L. union. When the strike was called the workers were out for a day and a half until they were ordered back to work by the Alteration Painters Union or their jobs would be taken by "worthy" members. For proposing to affiliate with the A. F. of L. union, the six workers were fined \$2.50 each.

4. Title Guaranty and Trust Company, open shop. Employed at the beginning of the strike about 300 painters. About 80 workers responded to the strike call. With their help all the other painters on strike, stopping all the painting operations of this firm and picketing their jobs. Mr. Smith, the superintendent of the company, negotiated with the settlement committee for the signing of an agreement for \$8.00 per day, which was

(Concluded on Page 8)

### LENIN SAYS:

Unless we build heavy industry, unless we find subsidies for it, we are lost as a civilized state, not to mention a socialist state.

The only possible material basis of socialism is large-scale machine industry capable of reorganizing agriculture. Large-scale industry, brought to the level of the latest technique and capable of reorganizing agriculture, means the electrification of the whole country.



## The Group at Work

### Unemployed Work in San Antonio

San Antonio, Texas.

The official party organization here is thoroughly discredited thru its do-nothing policy and the crude blunders it makes when it does attempt something. The best forces of the party have already been won over to the Communist Party (Opposition) and the remaining Communist elements are coming over to us. In the Unemployed Council, recently organized, our members are very active. Particularly encouraging was the good turnout of native-born American workers to the first meeting of this council. The loyalties present tried hard but failed to disrupt the unemployed conference. On the other hand a number of party comrades, as individuals, are working together with us. The conference adopted a general resolution as well as a resolution on the immediate demands and tasks of the San Antonio Unemployed Council. Amongst these demands the first one is: "Creation of a fund by the City and State government to adequately feed, house and clothe the unemployed and their families, the fund to be administered by workers." The council is fighting against evictions, for free milk and food for all children of the unemployed, for medical care, etc., etc. Among the Mexican workers we are extending our propaganda and agitation with good results. The Communist Party (Opposition) also held a successful Fifteenth Anniversary at the Celebration of the Russian Revolution at the Labor Temple Auditorium. Addresses were made in English and Spanish. In the Marxian Cultural Society, recently organized, our members are on the job.

### HARTFORD, CONN.

The Hartford unit is on the job. On Sunday, November 13, Comrade Lovestone addressed a well attended public meeting on "Whither Germany?" Many Socialist party and Y. P. S. L. members were present, participated in the discussion, and asked questions. In our work among the unemployed we are helping to build a mass movement thru the Unemployed Association. In this, our main obstacles are the maneuvers of the City Administration to split up the ranks of the jobless.

The Fifteenth Anniversary Meeting took on a united front character with Comrade J. O. Bentall speaking for the Communist Party (Opposition) and Comrade J. B. Matthews for the Socialist party. The right wing in the Socialist party was against the holding of the joint celebration with the Communists.

The party loyalties, in a desperate effort to check the growing influence and activities of our organization, are spreading all kinds of slanders against our comrades. Thus we learn from the Hartford unit that: "The party is spreading rumors that our group was selling S. P. literature at the Thomas meeting. The truth is that we sold one hundred 'Ages' and the party was afraid to sell literature because it is against the law to sell on Sunday after one o'clock. . . . Instead of doing real Communist work they are trying to throw mud at us. I wish you would put this in the 'Age' so that comrades in other sections of the country will know what the activity of the party consists of."

### THE ANTHRACITE

The unit has elected a new executive and officers. Considerable improvement in the work is pledged by the comrades. Special effort is being made to help build the Workers Educational Club, which will hold its opening meeting on Sunday, November 29, 1932.

Comrade Vratovic spoke for the Communist Party (Opposition) at

a Fifteenth Anniversary Meeting organized by the S. L. P. There he challenged, in the name of our group, the S. L. P. to a debate on: "Which Way Freedom for the Working Class—S. L. P. or Communist?"

In the Croatian Fraternal Union we are working together with the party comrades against the expulsion maneuvers of the reactionaries.

### NEW YORK CITY

In the various I.L.G.W.U. locals our comrades led the fight for the endorsement of the Communist Party candidates and against the S. P. candidates in the recent elections.

With the help of some party loyalties the reactionaries succeeded in defeating, in Local 2090 of the Carpenters, the Labor party resolution unanimously adopted by the recent United Textile Workers Union national convention. The vote was close.

The Fifteenth Anniversary Meeting drew the biggest attendance our group has yet attracted on such occasions.

Thru our activities among the Negroes we are winning new valuable contacts.

### DETROIT, MICH.

Comrade Miller, our organizer, presented the position of our group in a symposium on: "The Problem of Labor Unity." Besides the Communist Party (Opposition) there were also represented the Proletarian party, the Socialist party, the I. W. W. and the Anarchist group.

Comrade Miller got an enthusiastic response to our program. His appeal for uniting into a mass movement for unemployment insurance was particularly well received.

A number of Ukrainian and Lithuanian workers have joined the Communist Party (Opposition). We have also attracted some new and valuable American forces.

### FORT WAYNE, IND.

The group is cooperating with the progressive and left forces of labor against the K.K.K. the Chamber of Commerce, the Better Business Bureau and other reactionary forces seeking to paralyze and

Jay Lovestone

Speaks on

"Fascism and the Youth"

at  
STUYVESANT CASINO  
142 Second Avenue

on  
WEDNES., DEC. 7—8 P. M.  
Questions and Discussion Will  
Follow!

Admission . . . . . Free

destroy the unemployed movement. Comrades Conners and Bill White are collaborating with militants in Ohio (Niles, Guard, etc.) to extend the organization of the unemployed. At the Niles unemployed conference recently held there were represented twenty labor organizations by 72 delegates.

Experienced trade union organizers with militant records, in the Mid-Western area, are being gotten together with a view of hastening the development of local Labor parties in the region.

Judging by the activities of our Fort Wayne organization in recent months we may expect this district to be up in the front in the membership drive now being launched.

### CHICAGO, ILL.

The group is well up in the Age Drive. Comrades Rainey and Held addressed meetings of the Lithuanian Communist Opposition and met with good response. The comrades are working full speed to prepare good meetings for Comrade Lovestone on his national tour.

### PASSAIC, N. J.

The unit has been reorganized. Comrade Bail reported on the national conference. Arrangements have been made for active participation in the Age Drive.

### TROY, N. Y.

The unit is working to help build the Marxian Educational Club. Comrade Dan Grey addressed its first meeting on the origin of the crisis. A special class is being organized with Comrade Zam as the instructor. Special efforts are being made by our comrades to win for Communism a number of workers today following the S. P.

### PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The group is going ahead in the Age Drive. A mass meeting is being arranged for Comrade Lovestone on his tour.

## In the Comintern

### Heinz Neumann Ousted in Germany

Berlin, Germany.

A tremendous sensation was created in the Communist Party and among the workers by the report in the "Rote Palme" that Heinz Neumann has been removed from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and has been refused a place on the list of Communist Reichstag candidates, as the "head of a group destructive to the party and desirous of changing the party line." Concretely, Neumann is charged with being responsible for: (1) the "false tactics on the question of 'Fascism'; (2) false estimation of the "Bruening regime as a Fascist regime"; (3) the "national-bolshevik" deviations (the "programmatic declaration on national and social liberation", the "Red" referendum in Prussia, etc.); (4) the false estimation of partial, defensive labor struggles as "mass offensives"; (5) "acrobatics in figures", painting everything in rosy colors, minimising party defeats and proclaiming "imaginary victories"; etc.

The action in the Neumann case is now being followed by a wave of removals of Neumann's followers in the apparatus of the C.P. and Y.C.L. On the other hand, Neumann and his shameless lieutenants are falling head over heels in "self-criticism", confessing their errors, and beating their breasts in repentance. Heinz Neumann, who is already in Moscow, made a public statement at a C. P. S. U. functionaries' meeting, reaching the limits of self-abuse.

Neumann was indeed one of the instigators and fervid champions of the suicidal ultra-left course of the C.P.G.; nevertheless, the offensive against the Neumannites is another example of the utterly unprincipled "scapegoat" maneuver. The crimes with which Neumann is being charged were committed by the whole C.C. of C.P.G., with the full and open approval of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. To question these ultra-left dogmas was to invite immediate expulsion from the party. Today they are all blamed on Neumann, while the bureaucrats in the C.P.G. and C.I. try to crawl out from under.

At the same time that this mock fight against ultra-leftism is in progress and, indeed, under cover of it, the sectarian course is being continued and sharpened in practice, with even more disastrous results.

The gain of the C.P.G. in the Reichstag elections has operated to intensify the ultra-left line and to embolden its champions.

These tricky maneuvers can only lead to worse catastrophes. What is needed is an open and honest repudiation of the sectarian policies root and branch and the equally open and honest repudiation of the tactical principles of Lenin.

### SWISS OPPOSITION IN BIG VICTORY!

Schaffhausen, Switzerland.

The municipal elections that took place in Schaffhausen and Neuhausen on October 30 were tremendous and astonishing victories for the Swiss Communist Opposition. In Greater Schaffhausen Comrade Bringolf obtained more votes than any other candidate. The entire slate of the Communist Opposition was elected! The Social Democrats were badly beaten and fell behind the Opposition. In spite of the fact that the Communist Opposition received on an average less than 100 votes less than the bourgeois block in the elections, the "democratic" election law operated so as to give the bourgeois block 20 deputies and the Opposition only 10.

In Neuhausen too the Opposition elected the entire slate. In both places the official party was noticeably absent.

### DESERTERS IN CZECH OPPOSITION

Prague, Czechoslovakia.

A bad blow to the International Communist Opposition and to the world Communist movement in general was dealt recently when the leading group of the Czechoslovak section of the Czechoslovak Communist Opposition, headed by Berger and Muna, decided to fuse with the Czechish Social-democratic party. Some protest has already made itself heard in the ranks of the former Opposition but it is as yet hard to tell exactly what following these ex-Communist leaders will take with them.

The Czechish group practically broke with the International Opposition Center some time ago and was not represented at the recent International Conference.

Desertions of Communists to the Social-democracy have been very common in the last few years in Czechoslovakia, both from the official Communist Party, (editors, Central Committee member) and the Opposition. This shows the profound demoralization that dominates the Communist movement of all tendencies in that country.

At the same time, however, the Opposition in the German regions of Czechoslovakia, whose relations with the Czech group have been practically non-existent for a long time, is showing some signs of improvement, after the slight weakening due to the passage of Neumann and a few friends to the Trotskyites. In the region around Asch the Opposition has succeeded in entering into a very effective united front movement with the local party organization, despite the orders of the Central Committee. In the recent Asch elections the Opposition elected three members of the municipal council.

Opposition and I am proud of it. For, even tho our organization is still comparatively small, it works with might and main to bring about the unity of the Communist ranks in this country on the basis of a correct Leninist line.

Between the depression and the election President Hoover has a hard time drafting his Thanksgiving proclamation this year!

## A Worker Writes About the Jugo-Slav Club

by Jugo-Slav Worker

New York City.

During its ten years of existence the Jugo-Slav Workers Club rallied the workers for militant support of the labor struggle. It was able to keep its ranks clean of all corrupt elements and to prevent bureaucratism in the leadership of the organization. Its influence grew steadily amongst the advanced and militant Jugo-Slav workers. The Communist Party, which during that period followed a Leninist line, was able to make great advances in the club and amongst the Jugo-Slav workers generally by its correct tactics and methods.

With the change in line of the Communist Party in 1929, the party began to pursue a splitting policy and, in the mass organizations, began to follow a course of bureaucratic domination from the top. By their methods they chased away from the club all the capable and advanced elements. Now the situation exists in the club where no one can say anything against the bureaucratic domination of the club or anything against a strong counter-revolutionary element that exists in the organization.

For instance, Maw, one member of the club, brought suit against another comrade in a capitalist court. In order to win his case in court, Maw resorted to the vilest slandering of the Soviet Union and

attacked the comrade in court as a "Bolshevik."

Naturally, the latter was convicted. He is now on parole and the police can arrest him any time they see fit.

With his opponent a member in good standing both of the club and the Communist Party, he, himself, is not able to join either organization because of the restrictions forced on him by the court.

At the club meeting before the last, a comrade of long standing protested against the corruption and bureaucracy and exposed counter-revolutionary tendencies that exist in the club.

Immediately the leadership started to defend these very counter-revolutionary and corrupt elements and fought bitterly to continue their bureaucratic domination of the club.

At the following meeting the bureaucrats mobilized a lot of those elements, including some who used guerilla methods against other comrades and had been expelled from the party. They came prepared to provoke a fight in order to suppress any opposition. When they failed to provoke a battle, Burocrat Mirovic made a motion to expel four members of the club on the ground that they were

"Lovestoneites" and "social-fascists."

Of these four comrades two are party members and the other two, tho no longer members of the party, are and always have supported the party since its organization and have not worked for any other organization. They are now carrying on active moves in the movement.

And now they have been expelled from the club because they were fighting to cleanse its ranks of corrupt and counter-revolutionary elements.

This sort of anti-Communist methods has caused general demoralization in the club and many members have resigned from the club in protest against these methods.

Such a situation is intolerable, especially for one who was among the founders of the club and I, for one, cannot let anything so demoralizing and corrupt pass without raising a voice of protest.

The purpose of this article is to appeal to the members of the club that they should not leave the club but remain at their posts and fight against irresponsible corrupt and counter-revolutionary elements that now dominate the club. They must continue their activity in order to bring non-Communist workers closer to Communism.

I am now lined up with the C.P.





**BANANA GOLD**, by Carleton Beals. G. P. Lippincott and Company, Philadelphia, 1932.

This book deals with events in Central America in 1927 and 1928, when the author went to interview Sandino, chief of the nationalist forces of Nicaragua. To get to Sandino he had to cross Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras. In each country he stopped long enough to get a close-up of the life of the peon and worker, the ways of the missionary and the Church, the activities of U. S. capital and American diplomacy.

In each country the story of the worker runs the same. The wage of the banana and coffee peon averages fifteen cents a day from "sun to sun." The "labor aristocracy": police and government clerks, 60 cents; street-car conductor, 90 cents, for a twelve hour day. The Central American governments graciously supply "forced labor" for roads and plantations. On the fruit plantations belonging to the American companies, the chief of police is empowered to collect the pay for the peons and he hands them what sum his own whim dictates.

These heavy burdens and the whip have engendered a nationalist movement thruout Central America, with its strongest expression in Nicaragua; strongest in Nicaragua, not because its people suffer more but because they have a more conscious, more able and more devoted leadership. In countries where small guerrilla bands make and unmake presidents, Sandino's "El Chipote" is a model camp . . . impregnable. His soldiers receive no pay—only rations and clothes. They have planted corn, beans and tobacco . . . Plenty of women have come up to serve, grind the corn and cook—their own free will. All the peasants

## Lovestone Is On Tour

The national organization department has arranged a tour for Comrade Lovestone to cover a number of cities. Mass meetings, group meetings and special conferences have been arranged. In a number of cities the meetings to be addressed are arranged by non-partisan labor organizations. The schedule so far follows: Philadelphia, December 11 and 12; Pittsburgh, December 15 and 16; Detroit, December 18, 19, 20; Fort Wayne, December 21, 22; Chicago, December 23, 24, 25; Toronto, December 27, 28; Montreal, December 29, 30, 31.

In Hartford, Paterson and the Anthracite field Comrade Lovestone has already spoken on: "The Crisis in Germany and the Program of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition)."

round about bring the army food. There's no forced requisitioning, no need for it. . . . The families thruout the country-side are risking all in the Sandino cause."

"El Chipote" is the symbol of a whole people fighting for freedom. Beals records utterances he heard all about him:

"The fight must never cease."

"They (the U.S. marines) may drive us into the highest mountains, the darkest jungles, but never will we lie down before the invader."

"We shall never give up this struggle and if necessary we shall pass it on to our children."

All this is epic material of first magnitude—of tremendous social significance, with a great collective hero. It could have been written into a moving story, firing the enthusiasm and resistance of all Latin America and other down-trodden peoples. But instead the author chose to make Beals the hero of the story. The "danger" of Beals's trip to Sandino's camp looms so large that it completely

## Again - the Russian Question

(Continued from page 5)

international proletarian revolution are also results the social and political importance of which defy exaggeration.

It is clear. With all mistakes and shortcomings, with all stress and strain, with all hardships and difficulties, aggravated in recent months by special factors, the correctness of the general line of the C.P.S.U. for the rapid construction of socialism in the Soviet Union is unchallengeable. To the question: "It is worth while?" we answer: "Yes! A thousand times yes!" To the question: "Success or failure?" we answer, unhesitatingly and with just as much understanding and conviction as inspiration and enthusiasm: "The

swallows the other—the vaster canvass.

Another serious inadequacy of the book is the author's muddled and contradictory discussion of the activities of American imperialism. After he exposes its shameless intrigue, brutality, greed and exploitation, we are astonished by this bewildering conclusion: "The imperialist (like the Communist) is also a crusader fighting for the improvement of backward peoples . . . both believe in the implantation of an ideal by force" (p. 294).

The book lays special emphasis on the role played by Mexico, quietly and often under cover, in strengthening the Central American nationalist movement against the United States.

Despite its many weaknesses "Banana Gold" is worth reading for the close view it gives of life in Central America, its legends and beliefs, its art, color and song, but above all for the moving insights on the ferment and growth of its nationalist movement, which in Nicaragua is still holding out after six years against such tremendous odds.

Ellen Ward

Five-Year Plan has succeeded beyond the shadow of all doubt and far beyond the dreams of its first dreamers and the thoughts of its first thinkers."

## ABOUT THE "YOUNG COMMUNIST"

"YOUNG COMMUNIST", Issued monthly by the Communist Youth Opposition of the United States, vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1932, New York City.

With its recent revival of activity, the Communist Youth Opposition decided to resume publication of an official youth paper to replace the long-suspended "Revolutionary Youth." The first issue of this new paper is emphatic proof that such a publication has a big part to play in the struggle for the reestablishment of a Communist youth movement in this country.

The brief paragraphs "Why The 'Young Communist'", following the longer official statement on "What The Communist Youth Opposition Is Out For," declare the purpose of the paper to be to help "weld together those elements inside and outside the Young Communist League who are determined to do their bit towards saving the Communist youth movement in this country and putting it on its feet again." It addresses itself to Y. C. L. members and sympathizers, to young Socialists, to militant, leftward moving young workers and students in general. It aims to agitate, to educate, to organize.

The November issue, appearing when it does, naturally contains an article bringing the issues of the elections to the youth and another estimating the magnificent achievements of the Russian Revolution on its fifteenth anniversary.

In the field of Marxist education are two first-rate articles, one by August Thalheimer on the much

## F. Loriot Dead!

Paris, France.

The death of F. Loriot, the well known revolutionary leader, took place here on October 12, at the age of 60. Comrade Loriot was the main spirit of the small group of militants who fought for revolutionary international Socialism during the World War and who helped to organize the Communist Party of France. In recent years he left the party and joined in the Monatte group of syndicalists. The name of Comrade Loriot will be ever remembered in the history of the international labor movement.

disputed question of "socialism in one country" (republished from the organ of the German Youth Opposition), and another by John Barron on "The Social Basis of Religion." B. Herman contributes a strong article exposing the full horror of the decay of capitalism as seen in the hordes of homeless children now tramping the country.

An excellent article on the National Student League and the League for Industrial Democracy (reprinted in the November 15 issue of the "Age"), two interesting items on the activities of the Communist Youth Opposition in Hartford, Conn., and Los Angeles, Cal., a review of the Y. C. L. pamphlet "Who Are The Young Communists?" a poem, a mass recitation, and some notes, conclude the first number of the "Young Communist."

X. Y. Z.

## YOUNG COMMUNIST

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228 Second Avenue  
New York City

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

# On the United Front

by Bertram D. Wolfe

We continue below the series of articles by Bertram D. Wolfe, "What the Communist Opposition Stands For".

The unity of great masses of workers on an elementary program expressing their immediate need, would immeasurably strengthen the workers, give them a feeling of power such as comes with numbers, give them a sense of class solidarity and common interest, enable them to enter into struggles out of which they would learn more than out of years of preaching and abuse. Such proposal of unity to other organizations of the workers, on the basis of an elementary or minimum program, with each participating group retaining its own separate organization and full program, such a first step toward working class unity is known as a "united front." The Communist Party has in the past been the most energetic champion of such united struggles.

But in the last few years there has grown up a disposition to treat the united front as a mere clever maneuver to win following away from the reactionary leaders. Naturally, when we propose unity to the leaders of conservative working class organizations, Socialist party or A. F. of L. unions, one of the important "by-products" of our fight for working class unity is the exposure of the reactionary leaders. If they reject the united front proposal, they expose themselves as enemies of working class unity and united struggle. If, in response to the pressure of their followers, they accept the proposal and then do not carry on an effective fight for the program of the united front, they again expose themselves in the eyes of their followers, who can be won away to the support of the Communists as the only genuine fighters for the elementary interests of the working class. But we cannot too strongly emphasize that the Communists must not make united front proposals merely as clever maneuvers to win away workers from reactionary leadership. Such "clever maneuvers" are seen thru by everybody. They do not promote working class unity but earn contempt for Communism as a species of sharp practise, of juggling with the longing of the working class for greater unity and strength.

## THE UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW

For the last few years, the Communist Party has abandoned the united front altogether. No more does

the party embarrass the leaders of the Socialist party and other labor organizations by tireless insistence on working class unity on a program which even the most backward worker can appreciate and be roused to fight for. No more does the party battle earnestly and tirelessly for the unity of the working class. "If the backward workers won't follow us," runs the present official attitude, "then they are reactionaries and social-fascists." And so the party cuts itself off voluntarily from the workers who still have faith in the leaders of the conservative labor organizations.

## DISHONEST JUGGLING

Yet the party leaders dare not openly repudiate the time-honored tactics of the united front. Just as they disguise their attempt to split the mass unions by calling it "work in the reactionary unions," so they disguise their repudiation of the united front by speaking of the "united front from below."

What is this famous "united front from below?" It is an invitation to the non-Communist workers to support the Communist Party! That is all! In short, the "united front from below" is no united front at all. And such dishonest juggling with terms prevents any real discussion of the most complicated tactical problems confronting the party, the problems arising from entrance into united fronts with organizations under reactionary leadership.

The crying need of the German working class during the last few years has been a united front of all workers to fight Fascism. The Communist Party, which should have been the driving force for such a united struggle, fought against it. The Socialist leaders were therefore able to herd their followers into a united front with Hindenburg and Brüning "against" Fascism. They were even able to capitalize on the working class longing for unity. "The Communists do not want a united front," said Breitscheid. "If they did maybe we would not have to unite with Hindenburg." A fine state of affairs when the Social-democratic leaders can pretend that they are the apostles of unity!

In the United States, Norman Thomas was enabled to play the same game:

"If Communists were less dogmatically proud of fooling their allies," Thomas wrote in the "New Leader," "and would work in good faith, there might be some chance in Germany and elsewhere for occasional Socialist-Communist joint action." But since they won't, says Thomas, therefore, "I think the German Social-democrats are justified in coalition (with Hindenburg and Brüning) in this emergency."

How does the "Daily Worker" answer this "justification" of Social-democratic treachery?

"The Communists formed and carried out a policy of joint action—but only joint action with the Socialist and non-party workers. The Com-

munists have not formed and will not form a united front with the Social-democratic leaders." (Editorial in the "Daily Worker" April 26, 1932).

In other words, the "Daily Worker" deliberately confuses the invitation of Socialists workers who are disgusted with their leaders, to join the Communists, with the united front of the two organizations.

The Communist Party of the United States will also have a "united front" in the Presidential elections, the editorial continues.

"It will do this by bringing about joint action in the struggle of all workers and farmers, including the rank and file members of the Socialist party and the A. F. of L."

In other words it will actually permit Socialists and members of the A. F. of L. unions to vote for Foster and call it a united front!

"The National Nominating convention . . . has its doors wide open to all toilers and to those ready to fight for the demands put forward in the Convention Call. Here joint action (since when is a Communist platform 'joint action' or subject for a 'united front?') will be decided upon, candidates chosen and a fighting platform drafted. All workers are invited."

What has this word-juggling with "joint action," this anti-Communist suggestion that the full program of Communism is subject to drafting by united front, what has all this charlatany to do with the united front?

## HOW DO THEY GET THAT WAY

How, the bewildered reader may ask, could such ruinous, sectarian tactics ever get adopted by the party of working class unity? The answer is strange and yet simple:

In the Soviet Union there are no other parties but the Communist Party—there can be no united front except with the non-party workers "from below and around the Communist Party."

In the same way, there are no unions but revolutionary unions in the U.S.S.R. and no problem of working in reactionary unions. Once more our comrades are mechanically transporting Russian conditions and tactics into America and acting as if there were no other parties, as if all reactionary leaders were discredited, and as if the American Communist Party were the undisputed leader of the many million-headed American working class.

The Communist Opposition works to establish united fronts and demands the return of the party to the united front tactics. The party can make no real progress till it again becomes the genuine champion of working class unity thru united fronts of struggle for elementary working class needs.

NEXT ARTICLE: DISCIPLINE



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## THE SCOTTSBORO DECISION

THE action of the Supreme Court in granting a new trial to the Scottsboro defendants is one of the most significant developments in the recent social and political life of this country. It constitutes a tremendous victory, almost unprecedented in character, for the forces arrayed in desperate resistance to the wave of darkest reaction engulfing this country. It constitutes a tremendous setback to the forces of oppression and race prejudice that hold almost undisputed sway today. It is a victory well won, full of significance.

To the International Labor Defense, and to the Communists, must go the great historical credit for this victory. Had it not been for the Communists the Scottsboro boys would long have been railroaded to death, with hardly a notice in the press to mark the consummation of just one more legal lynching. It was the I. L. D. that raised the affair from an insignificant event involving some obscure colored boys into a "celebrated case" dramatizing once more, as did the Mendel Beiliss, Dreyfuss, Sacco and Vanzetti, and Mooney cases in the past, the great struggle against oppression and reaction. No one can doubt for a moment that it was the world-wide protest movement stirred up by the Communists and reaching into all classes and all social strata, that was decisively responsible for winning the new trial and a chance to save the lives of the seven Negro boys.

But to say this does not mean to absolve the I. L. D. and the official Communist Party from responsibility for the tremendous mistakes which they have made in the conduct of the struggle and which have greatly weakened the movement. The repeated rejection of any sort of united front tactics, the replacement of a united front movement by a movement of Communists and sympathizers, the measureless abuse poured upon all those who manifested the slightest difference in policy, have all proved very costly and must not be forgotten in the joy of victory. Especially is this important today because it must be clearly realized that THE BOYS ARE NOT YET SAVED! A new trial has been won but the outcome of the new trial is far from certain. The protest movement that wrung the new trial from an unwilling Supreme Court must be tremendously strengthened and broadened if it is to be effective in snatching these boys from the claws of the legal lynchings in Alabama. FOR THIS THE UNITY OF ALL FORCES ON THE SINGLE ISSUE OF SAVING THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS IS NECESSARY.

The I. L. D. has shown that no obstacles placed in the way by the ruling class lynchings can daunt it. Will it prove able to rise to the height of removing the great obstacles placed in the way by its own sectarian policies?

## THE EVENTS IN GENEVA

TWELVE workers dead and many wounded—that is the toll which the government has exacted from the workers as the price of a demonstration in Switzerland—the most democratic of democratic bourgeois republics. Lead from machine guns poured into the ranks of unarmed men, women and children who dared organize a counter-demonstration against a Fascist organization, and who, horrors of horrors, "hissed" the soldiers who were defending the Fascist meeting against the workers. The workers of Geneva, of Switzerland, of the entire world, have twelve corpses as their share of the "democracy" which covers up the iron dictatorship of the capitalist exploiters.

What will the Social-democratic leaders say now? There were Socialist workers who were shot down. It was a Socialist demonstration, organized by the Socialist party in Geneva. Will the leaders of the Second International, including the Germans who, in 1919, set their Swiss contemporaries a good example by shooting down the Berlin workers, defend the "poor" troops as having been "provoked", as they do continually when Communist demonstrations are broken up and the workers shot down? Will our American "New Leader" again denounce the workers for "baiting" the troops (did not the crowd hiss the soldiers?) as they accuse revolutionists here of "baiting" the police? And will the Socialist workers continue to believe in the illusion of "democracy" which their leaders are continually fostering and which has today become a most powerful weapon in the hands of the capitalists against the workers? Is it not clear that "democracy", as the Geneva events demonstrate, is a toy which the capitalists permit the workers to play with in order to make them forget the real weapons at their command in the struggle against capitalism? The capitalists pretend to participate in this game but actually keep a loaded gun ready for emergencies.

And what will our friends, the "militant" Socialists, say about the Geneva events? Has Geneva proved that where democracy exists, it can be utilized for working class emancipation? Or has it demonstrated that the workers, in order to emancipate themselves, must destroy this capitalist "democracy"?

Let every Socialist, every worker, every honest person who is opposed to the capitalist system, ponder the Geneva events—they lead away from the camp of reformism, of Social-democracy and into the camp of revolutionary struggle against capitalism—of revolutionary Socialism—of Communism.

## Complete the Sub Drive

60% Of Quota Reached!

With four weeks of the Drive still to go we have already achieved 60% of the general sub quota.

Our New York units, who have the largest quotas, have reached 55% of their quota. Outstanding among these units is the work of the Down Town Unit, which has already to its credit 73% of the quota, and the Brooklyn Unit with 54% of its quota in the bag. The Youth, Boro Park and Harlem-Bronx Units have not maintained the pace. It is still possible for these units in the coming four weeks to make up for the time lost.

Our out-of-town units have done even better than New York, with 66% of their drive completed. Outstanding among these units is the Anthracite, which has almost doubled its quota (180%), Chicago with 130%, Pittsburgh, which has just completed its quota and Philadelphia with 87% finished. Such units as Hartford with 55%, Los

Angeles, Detroit, Fort Wayne and Passaic-Paterson with 40% each must show some good speed in the next few weeks if they are to complete their quotas.

The remaining units not named have fallen behind in the Drive. Comrades, the progress of the Drive to date has been very good; but we must not let down now. Every comrade must stay on the job between now and December 15. Forward to complete the drive, to build our "Workers Age"!

The individual standing of the leading sub getters has undergone one surprising change. Comrade Rainey of Chicago has made a spectacular sprint for first place, replacing Comrade Wolfe. Rainey sent in 10 more subs during the last two weeks. The standing of the comrades is as follows: Rainey 18, Wolfe 14, Thompson 12, Lovestone 11, Stone 10 and Sorenson 9.

## RESULTS OF THE U. S. ELECTIONS

(Continued from Page 3)

preceding them? Why was not the great discontent, the sharp dissatisfaction with conditions, converted into radicalization, that is, directed against the capitalists and their parties? The experience of the labor movement since the war would seem to indicate that it is due to the absence of an instrument to serve this purpose. This instrument, under the given historical conditions, can only be a Labor or a Farmer-Labor Party. In this connection it may be well to note that in the only state where a Labor party is in existence (Minnesota), that party swept the elections with tremendous majorities. Is that not a significant development?

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### The Big Lesson of the Election

For clear-thinking revolutionists the lessons of the elections should not remain a mystery: The Communist Party itself (also the Socialist party) is not as yet a sufficiently attractive force for breaking the workers away from the capitalist parties, which is the first step toward making them revolutionists. The creation of such a force would not hinder but, on the contrary, would greatly help in bringing workers to Communism. A Labor party would not be a competitor of the Communist Party but a field from which the Communist Party would draw new strength. Common sense, the interests of the American working class, the aims of American Communism, therefore dictate the need for a Labor party. Those revolutionary workers who do not wish to stand in the way of the forward march of the working class must unhesitatingly throw themselves into the struggle for the creation of a Labor party, an instrument which will free the workers of their paralyzing political backwardness and draw them on the road to Communism.

## RESULTS OF GERMAN ELECTIONS

(Continued from Page 3)

program (between trust capital and the agrarians, between export industry and home industry, etc.). Unity in the labor movement becomes a life-and-death matter for the workers in the face of the coming offensive of capital.

No parliamentary combination seems to have any chance of success in the new Reichstag. The policy of the von Papen Cabinet is not yet clear but it seems likely that there will take place a shift within this Cabinet in the direction of Schleicher (perhaps involving Papen's resignation), which means an approach to the Nazis and the creation of a basis for cooperation between the two. The big capitalist papers in Germany, the voices of trust capital, look upon this outcome as greatly to be desired.

But above all is it important to understand that the center of gravity in German political life today is not in the Reichstag, no matter what parliamentary combinations may take place. The center of gravity of German political life today lies outside of the Reichstag, lies in the relations between the big class forces, between the bourgeois front, with the Nazis as spearhead, and the working class front, today unfortunately disunited and demoralized by the class betrayal of the Social-democrats and the sectarian policies of the Communist Party. The resistance of the trade unions against the von Papen offensive, the organization of a united and anti-Fascist front—these are the burning tasks of the moment. In spite of the millions of votes that the C. P. has piled up, it is very weak, almost impotent, in the mass organizations of the workers, where the Social-democrats still hold almost undisputed control. In this situation, only the program of the German Communist Opposition shows the way out for the Communist movement: the complete scrapping of the ultra-left course, the readoption of Leninist trade union tactics and the tactics of the united front, the initiation of a drive for the unification of the labor movement against the reactionary offensive and the menace of Fascism!

## THE T. U. U. L. AND PAINTERS STRIKE

(Continued from Page 4)

refused. Mr. Smith was approached by a committee of officials of the Alteration Painters Union; they offered to supply him with enough men to work his jobs at \$6.00 per day, less than the workers had been receiving before they went on strike, if he would sign an agreement recognizing the Alteration Painters Union and the shop committee system! Mr. Smith refused to deal with the Alteration Painters Union, but he very eagerly used this scab action with some of the workers of his jobs, without success, and he also tried to use it to influence the District Council strike committee to sign with that company a special agreement. The shop remained in strike despite all efforts of the Alteration Painters Union to scab on the workers.

### Lecture Course

JAY LOVESTONE  
NEW WORKERS SCHOOL  
228 Second Avenue  
FRIDAY EVENINGS

November 25, 8:30 P. M.  
STORM OVER ENGLAND

December 2, 8:30 P. M.  
WHERE DOES THE SOCIALIST PARTY STAND?  
Admission :: :: :: 25c



We have turned over our column for this issue to a Spanish Archpriest, dead these six hundred years. His hymn to Saint Money is part of one of the two greatest works of the Middle Ages. As Dante pictured its "Commedia Divina," so the Archpriest produced its "Commedia Humana." He wrote when money was just beginning to spread "like a plague on an itch" thru medieval life and to undermine all the institutions the Archpriest cherished; yet the six hundredth anniversary of its writing finds the plague still raging and money still working the same wonders.

### MONEY THE MIRACLE-MAKER

by John Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita  
Money does wonders and merits our love.  
Of bad it makes good; of below makes above;  
The weak it gives strength and the dumb man a tongue;  
The legless it lifts to the ladder's top rung.  
The dullest and basest make noble and wise,  
Of his wit and his wisdom his purse tells the size.  
"Purseless is worthless," a saving well told,  
Joy, comfort, and justice are open to gold.  
For gold the Pope sells you exemption from sin  
And promise that Peter will let you right in.  
Money brings blessing: I saw once in Rome  
How they reverence Saint Money in piety's home.  
With rites of great splendor they kneel and they pray  
And humbly they worship Lord Mammon all day—  
Priors and bishops and abbots and nuns,  
Patriarchs, potentates, priests and their sons.  
Dull priests become scholars by aid of its power  
And wrong becomes right in the space of an hour.  
A layman gets orders and titles at once  
For gold will give wisdom to even a dunce.  
The poor clerk is failed for his failing of pence  
And told that his failure is failing of sense.  
Money can strike off the heaviest chains  
But he who has none has doubled his pains.  
The wonder of money no gospel can tell—  
Saves the lives of condemned and sends guiltless to hell.  
Gold robs of the poor man his vineyard and farm,  
And shelters the robber from meeting with harm.  
The judge winks an eye when he's judging the rich.  
Gold spreads thru the world like a plague or an itch!  
No maid can resist, no dame is too old,  
Even nuns give their love for a guerdon of gold.  
In short, 'tis a thing of common renown  
That money can turn the whole world upside down,  
Make a lord of the serf, make a serf of the lord,  
And command with its might every heart, pen and sword!

B. D. W.