

WORKERS' AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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We Must Have Jobless Insurance!

The A. F. of L. Must Wake Up!

FARM TAX SALES JUMP IN 1932

Forced Sales Hit 9 1/2 % Of Farms In Five Years

Nine and one-half percent of the farms of the United States changed hands thru forced sales during the five years ending March, 1932, according to the figures released by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Foreclosure of mortgages, bankruptcy, default of contract, sales to avoid foreclosure, etc., were the forms of forced sales involved. In addition sales on account of tax delinquency affected 3 1/2 % of the farms and there was a turnover of additional 11 % thru so-called "voluntary sales", which, in many cases, were far from voluntary. Forced sales for taxes doubled in 1932.

Citing an increase in the number of forced sales in 1932 as compared with the previous year, the report declares: "Not only were there more farms sold as a result of tax delinquency but a greater number changed ownership as a result of mortgage foreclosures, and other related causes."

The report also points out that in the five-year period under consideration there has been a 25%-30% decline in the value of farm real estate, frequently extinguishing the owners equity in the case of many mortgaged farms.

These startling figures of the forced sales of farms show what the "sanctity of property" really means for the masses of the small property owners in the United States!

In Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota and other agricultural states widespread movements have been developing, based on the more radical sections of the Farm Holiday Associations, to resist, by concerted action, any forced sales of farm lands or stock. These movements have so far had considerable success and appear to be growing in numbers and effectiveness.

FORCED LABOR IN NEW YORK

Peonage Plan Put Over As "Relief" Measure

New York City. Forced labor and peonage in the guise of unemployment relief are being systematically instituted in this state. The first state camp "for homeless men" for New York City has been set up at Blauvelt, Rockland County, according to the announcement of the Temporary Relief Administration.

More than 200 men are housed in this camp while they are put to work at Bear Mountain on improvement work in the Palisades Interstate Park. The pay will be \$6 a week, from which expenses for food and clothing will be deducted. The men will be under semi-prison discipline.

It is now clear to everybody that, in spite of all the election ballyhoo, there is no pickup in sight, that the economic crisis is growing worse and worse. Last month, factory employment in New York State dropped three times the usual seasonal decline and conditions are at least as bad in other parts of the country. Today no less than twelve million men and women are out of jobs and it is everywhere admitted that, even when the factories get to going at full capacity again, at least five million will remain unemployed, permanently disemployed! Acute distress, permanent hunger and misery, actual starvation, are the lot of millions of working men and their families in this fourth winter of the crisis!

What's to be done? The terrible plight of the masses of the workers, employed and unemployed alike, is a glaring proof of the complete inability of the capitalistic system to run our economic machinery and to satisfy the needs of the masses. No lasting or really deep-going improvement in the conditions of the workers and farmers is at all possible unless the capitalist profit system gives way to a socialist system in which the land, the factories, the machines and the other means of life are the property of society as a whole and production is carried on not for profit but for use. But in the immediate situation emergency measures are possible and necessary if the direst disaster for the masses is to be staved off. And the only effective way of meeting the emergency of the crisis, as experience all over the world has sufficiently shown, is thru compulsory government unemployment

insurance. Only unemployment insurance, supplemented by an immediate cash grant to tide over until the insurance system gets to working, offers the least prospect of real relief to the many millions of jobless in this country now and until unemployment is abolished altogether by a change in our economic system.

Desperate and confused, many unemployed workers are turning for a way out to fantastic and even dangerous schemes, such as the "self-help barter" and "mutual exchange" plans. Not such blind-alley but the clear road of unemployment insurance hold out any hope for the jobless.

After years of opposition and resistance, the A. F. of L. officials finally gave in to the sentiment of the rank and file and came out for unemployment insurance. In November the Cincinnati convention went on record for it by a large majority. What has the A. F. of L. done about it since? Nothing! Not a word, not a gesture! Does the Executive Council intend to do anything to carry out the convention decisions? Every union man, every union organization should put this question to the Executive Council and to President Green. The truth is that the A. F. of L. officials will do nothing at all about the matter unless there is developed a powerful, organized demand in the unions, among the rank and file members, for action. Such a movement is the great need of the day!

The situation is desperate! We must have compulsory Federal unemployment insurance! Every worker, employed or unemployed, every union and organization of labor, must unite for this end!

NEW JAP DRIVE IN MANCHURIA

Flare-Up In The Far East Soviet Union Menaced

Washington, D. C.

The renewed Japanese drive into Manchuria, involving the invasion of Jehol and penetration to the Great Wall, has again ignited the powder magazine in the Far East. The great world powers, Great Britain, Japan, the United States and France, are at daggers ends, while the danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union in the Far East is again rising on the horizon as an immediate menace.

The antagonisms between the United States and Japan are especially sharp. Secretary of State Stimson has reiterated the United States policy of the refusal to recognize diplomatically any acquisitions made by Japan in its invasion of the Asiatic mainland. At the same time, the Japanese War Office has officially accused the United States of supplying military and financial help to the Chinese forces and to the Nanking government. France and Great Britain are still vacillating, tending to lean towards Japan in decisive matters.

The Japanese government has refused to conclude the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. This step is regarded everywhere as a demonstration of active hostility to the U. S. S. R.

HAL BOJER IS DEPORTED

Ft. Wayne Communist Is Rushed To Norway

New York City.

On January 4, 1933, Halvard Bojer, the young Norwegian engineer who had been seized some weeks before because of his activities as head of the Communist opposition organization in Fort Wayne, Indiana, was deported to Norway. All legal attempts to halt the deportation proceedings proved unavailing.

The only charge against Bojer was that he was a Communist and active in Communist work. On the basis of this precedent the Department of Labor is able now to deport any non-citizen radical worker for the mere reason that he is a radical quite apart from anything he may have done. The power that this gives to the employers in getting rid of militant leaders of the workers in strikes, unemployed movements and other labor struggles, is evident. Never was it so urgent for all labor and organizations to unite in order to smash this new deadly weapon of the employers—the labor deportation!

20 Years In a Georgia Hell!

Angelo Herndon, a 19-year old Negro boy from Cincinnati, has been sentenced in Georgia, to eighteen to twenty years of imprisonment—for being a Communist!

Taking advantage of a law passed over sixty years ago against the danger of an insurrection of the defeated slaveowners, the State of Georgia has convicted the young Communist of "attempting to incite insurrection," a charge carrying the death penalty or imprisonment from five to twenty years. The jury, which fixed the term, had not a single Negro on it, since all

colored people had been barred.

Eighteen to twenty years for being a Communist in darkest Georgia! Eighteen to twenty years for being a Negro with nerve to stand up for his rights, for refusing to bow his head to the "lordly" white exploiter!

The conviction of Angelo Herndon and the savage sentence visited upon him should stand as a challenge to every worker and farmer in this country, to every colored man, to every man or woman who prizes liberty and justice! If the Herndon verdict is allowed to pass uncontested, every

militant working man, every up-standing Negro is in grave danger, not only in the State of Georgia but everywhere else that the reactionary forces are strong enough to make the bid!

What are you going to do about it? Are you going to let Herndon be sent away to a hellish Georgia prison for eighteen to twenty years just because he is a Communist? In coming to the defense of Herndon, you are defending yourself, your organization, your future!

The International Labor Defense is appealing the Herndon case! It deserves and must receive your fullest support!

JOIN!

JOIN the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition) and do your bit towards uniting the Communist movement on the basis of effective, realistic Leninist tactics!

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Herbert Zam On Jan. 29th, 228 2nd Avenue
FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Join the Communist Opposition!

Really encouraging results have met the efforts of the Communist Opposition to strengthen its organization and to convert its growing political influence into a growing membership. The New York committee reports that, in the last two months alone, at least forty comrades have joined the Opposition in this city. These include needle trades workers, teachers, building trades workers, etc. Especially gratifying has been the progress made by the Youth Opposition in New York City.

Thru Comrade Lovestone's recent tour, covering five cities, over twenty-five new members have been won for the Communist Opposition. These results are truly encouraging but they are far from adequate. The political influence exercised by the Communist Opposition among the party members and sympathizers and among the advanced workers, is still far greater than its organizational strength. This is a real gap that must be closed by the reorganizing drive!

STATEMENT OF ALLAN STILLER

January 15, 1933.

When I first came from California in January 1932, I became a member of the Communist Party in New York, Unit 8, Section 2. Most of my work was in the Unemployed Council, working out of the branch at 418 West 53 Street. The council had been active in the neighborhood for almost two years with countless demonstrations, meetings, street meetings, delegations, etc., but at the end of two years there was not one block committee functioning. In spite of the fact that the "Daily Worker" was daily printing spectacular stories of "achievements", the actual results were so poor as to set me to thinking. Naturally I could not help beginning to criticize some of the leaders and some of the policies. This brought me into plenty of trouble. The upshot of it was that I was handed a letter from the district, charging that I did not have the slightest idea of party discipline and showed decided signs of "Lovestoneite degeneracy."

Well at that time I still believed the "Daily Worker" stories about "Lovestoneism" and, much to my regret now, I made no attempt to investigate the Opposition. As a result of the whole business, I decided to go back to California and forget some of the bad memories connected with the party.

While in Los Angeles, word came from New York asking me to work in the Unemployed Council. After a while, I returned to unemployed activities and trouble started again. The party in Los Angeles is confined to a small section of the city, which is the entire Communist movement in Southern California. The Communist movement, moreover, is limited to foreign-born workers and the entire secretariat has been brought over from New York. The leadership and the orientation of the party made it really impossible for it to influence the overwhelming bulk of the employed workers or the 400,000 jobless in Southern California.

At that time, I thought all we had to do was to get rid of that type of leader and to fight bureaucracy. But when, once more, I was kicked out because of "Lovestoneism" and "Trotskyism" and a few more isms, I thought it was about time to begin learning something about the Opposition.

My knowledge gained in studying the literature of the Opposition, opened my eyes to the real, fundamental causes for the situation in the party and for the weaknesses and shortcomings which every plenum resolution repeats over and over again without ever finding a solution.

It was then that I discovered the real meaning of "exceptionalism" and the real nature of the united front tactics and saw how the violation of Leninist tactical principles led to disastrous results, right on the spot in Los Angeles. For instance, I was in favor of a united front to fight the police terror in L. A. but the party leaders said: "Oh, no! We make no united fronts with the social-fascists! We will make a united front from below"—which, of course, is no united front at all!

When I saw clearly what were the root troubles in the party and

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SPANISH REVOLT IS CRUSHED

Madrid, Spain.

The most ruthless savagery was employed by the Azana regime, supported by the pro-monarchist Civil Guard, in suppressing a series of far-flung revolts throout the country that began in the early days of January and continued for over two weeks. The insurrectionary movement was initiated by the Anarchist groups in alliance with the anarcho-sindicalistic trade unions.

The wave of revolt was foredoomed to failure because the conditions for a successful working class revolution did not exist and do not yet exist in Spain, so that the insurrection was essentially a desperate adventure. According to the information at hand, none of the Communist groups sponsored or endorsed the outbreak, altho all, of course, came to the defense of the insurgents under the attack of the government.

The World of Labor

The N. Y. Jobless Insurance Meet

New York City.

A preliminary conference called by the so-called "New York A. F. L. Committee for Unemployed Insurance" was held at Irving Plaza, Sunday January 22. This conference was called to endorse a state-wide conference of labor organizations to be held in Albany, February 25, 26 and 27.

About 90 delegates were present at the conference, representing 19 locals of the American Federation of Labor, mostly building trades, 14 independent unions, and 32 political and fraternal organizations, including one branch of the Socialist party (Huntington, L. I.).

The conference was manipulated in mechanical fashion from the beginning. No credentials committee was elected from the floor, but was provided for by the leaders of the conference. This credentials committee, reporting thru Brother Weinstein, proposed the seating of two delegates from each of the local unions, but only one delegate from each of the workers political parties and groupings that were present, except the Socialist party branch, whose two delegates were both seated. It is noteworthy that the credentials committee declared that no representation of the opposition groupings in trade unions would be seated only bona-fide locals or branches. The "united front from below", which for three years had been based on "rank and file committees" and opposition groups, received a rude shock in this latest turn.

In discussion from the floor, Ben Lifshitz of the Communist Opposition introduced a motion for the broadening of the Albany Conference, to make it thoroly representative of all tendencies in the labor movement and calling for representation not only from locals and branches but also from the central trades and labor bodies, the district councils and the Socialist party. He also proposed that the conference go on record for a national minimum wage law.

Clarence Hathaway, the Communist Party representative, answered Lifshitz and other speakers of various Communist tendencies but with unusual "moderation" and without name-calling. "How can we unite with the reactionary leaders, the Greens, who have done everything possible to hinder the struggle of the workers?" was his song.

The resolutions committee was elected on a narrow basis and included no representatives of other than those of the official Communist tendency, in the conference. Weinstein reported again: that the delegates seated should constitute a provisional committee issuing the call for the Albany Conference to all local labor unions and social and fraternal organizations. Lifshitz amended that the call include all central trades and labor councils and workers political organizations. Bordman and Weinstein hastened to say: "We accept the Lifshitz proposal", and, upon insistence from the floor, declared that it would be incorporated in the call.

We point out here the discrepancy between the remarks of Hathaway against a "united front with leaders," on the one hand, and the acceptance of a call to these very leaders by the resolutions committee, on the other.

A committee of seven, again elected on a narrow basis, was chosen to carry thru technical arrangements for the Albany Conference.

This conference represents a significant partial "turn" in the many turns of party tactics. It was certainly a step towards broadening the movement for employment insurance and labor legislation altho it remains still narrow in character. But the orientation to "locals and branches" only indicated the partial nature of

the turn from the "united front from below". The very mechanical method of working at the conference shows how small was the turn from the old "united front around the Communist Party". The approach to Socialist party branches only and the securing of only one small outlying branch at the turn from the "united front" a time when the Socialist party is planning a separate unemployment relief conference and when every effort should have been made for one united conference, shows that the theory of "social-fascism" still has a deadly grip upon the united front tactics of the party. The proposals of the Communist Opposition are for a real turn in party policy in regards to the united front, the scrapping of the theory of "social fascism" and the so-called "united front from below", and the rejection of the sectarian policies and methods of the party.

—B. H.

THE MEETING OF LOCAL 25, A.C.W.

Brooklyn, New York.

Over six hundred workers packed the Amalgamated Temple in the Brooklyn meeting of Local 25 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, on January 11, 1933.

The main order of business of this exceptionally well-attended local meeting was a report of the local executive on trade questions. One section of this report aroused considerable interest and discussion on the part of the workers. This was the recommendation of the local executive to take away all membership rights for one year from Morris Shneiderman who was charged by the local officialdom with "creating riots," once in the Astoria Hall and on another occasion in the Amalgamated Temple, over the question of the distribution of the unemployment insurance fund. Shneiderman insisted not only good standing members but also members not in good standing should receive the benefit of this fund. The recommendation of the local executive to take away Shneiderman's membership rights for one year brought a storm of protest among the workers. The local executive had recommended that two speakers be granted the floor for each side, with each side having a right to select its own spokesmen in the discussion on this recommendation.

After a hard fight, the Amalgamated Progressive Circle succeeded in changing this rule and in presenting its own position on the whole matter. Ostrinsky was selected as spokesman of the Progressive Circle. He emphasized that he was not now concerned with the so-called "crime" of Shneiderman. It was the penalty that was the problem now. He went on to say: "It is thru our hard fight that we have succeeded in getting more democracy in our local union. It is only thru the mass pressure of the workers that we have succeeded in reinstating workers. What does the executive propose to do now? To go backward? To take away our rights? To begin to suspend members again? We must reject this recommendation of the Executive." This proposal of the Progressive Circle was turned down by the chairman. A vote was taken and the chairman announced that the executive's recommendation was carried by 309 to 117. This count was so obviously a fraud that a protest of condemnation swept the hall. Then, the Progressive Circle spokesmen proposed, as another way of rejecting the local executive's recommendation for the suspension of Shneiderman, that it should be referred back to the Executive for reconsideration. This motion was then unanimously adopted and a distinct rebuke was administered to the local executive in its attempt to start new expulsions.

A.

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Lenin and Communist International

Some Vital Lessons for Today

by Bertram D. Wolfe

The article below first appeared in the "Revolutionary Age" January 15, 1930. In the period that has followed the article and its main lessons have become even more timely and significant than more were originally. For this reason we are republishing it on the occasion of the anniversary of Lenin's death.—Editor.

Only a few years after Lenin's death, the International which he founded and led is in a serious crisis. This crisis he foresaw and warned against. It was Lenin who saw that the developing gap between the victorious proletarian revolution and the rapid construction of socialism in the U. S. S. R., on the one hand, and "the slow development of the proletarian revolution in West Europe" and America, on the other, would lead to a serious crisis in the Communist International—unless these factors were counteracted thru the conscious development of a broad collective international leadership and a line of strategy based upon a careful examination and analysis of the objective situation.

Lenin The Internationalist

Lenin always labored to make the Comintern a genuine international organization, to gather in it all those who stood for the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the rule of the proletariat. He sought to develop a truly international leadership in which all sections would participate collectively. Without for a moment minimizing the international lessons of the Russian Revolution and the duty of the Russian party to contribute its superior experience and capacities for leadership to the collective leadership of the Comintern, Lenin was very anxious to avoid the danger, or even of the appearance, of a "Russian International." At the eighth congress of the Rus-

sian Communist Party he expressed this very clearly:

"Many comrades have talked themselves into the idea... of the submission of all national parties to the International Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Comrade Pit-takov almost said it. He makes a remark that it would not be such a bad idea. I must answer that if any one would propose any such thing we would have to condemn him."

Lenin The "Exceptionalist"

Lenin fought very energetically against any attempt to force a mechanical uniformity upon a world which is one-sixth prole-

tarian and five-sixth under capitalist rule—a world in which there is a bewildering variety of stages of development, "backward" and advanced countries, industrial lands and agrarian, big states and small states, developing ones and declining ones, imperialist powers and colonies and semi-colonies. With his insistence upon the "specific peculiarities" of political and economic structure, of culture and traditions, and with his scorn for dogma, learning by heart and

mechanical repetition of ready-made formulas, with his tireless demands to "investigate, study, ascertain, grasp the nationally peculiar, the nationally specific features in the concrete attempts of every country to solve the aspects of a single international problem," Lenin was, in the terms of the heroes of new course, the arch-"exceptionalist." It was in his classical pamphlet on "Leftism" that Lenin said:

"One must clearly realize that such a leading center (as the Communist International) can under no circumstances be built after a single model.

LOOK AROUND YOU, MR. GREEN



President William Green of the A. F. of L. assures the convention of the State Federation of Labor of the State of— that racketeering has "practically disappeared from the A. F. of L. unions."

by a mechanical uniformity and equalization of the tactical rules of struggle. So long as national and state differences exist between peoples and countries (and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the realization of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale), the unity of the international tactics of the Communist labor movement everywhere demands not the elimination of the varied national differences (this, at the present moment, is a foolish dream) but such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) which would permit of the proper modification of these principles in particular and their correct adaptation and application to national and nation-state differences.

Lenin The Man Of The Masses

Lenin was always the bitterest enemy of demagoguery. Lenin was the most determined opponent of the theory of "spontaneity," of the theory that the masses develop political consciousness of themselves, without leadership, without theory, without organized direction. At the same time Lenin never tired of warring upon sectarianism, upon those who would abandon the backward workers, upon phrasemongers, upon all those who mistake their own desires for reality, upon all those who put forward their own "impatience" as a theoretical argument. To Lenin the Communists represent a vanguard, straining every nerve, every energy to maintain contact with the masses and to lead them forward—but never to remain a little sectarian group running so far ahead of the masses as to lose touch with them.

"The whole Communist problem," Lenin pointed out, "is to be able to convince the backward, to work in their midst and not to set up a barrier between us and them, a barrier of artificially childish 'left' slogans."

One of the most dangerous characteristics of the present line of the Communist International (Continued on Page 7)

The Sweatshop Comes Back

A Grave Menace To The Labor Movement

It is indeed a striking evidence of the complete bankruptcy of the capitalist system that in the midst of the most widespread unemployment ever known in this country or anywhere else, at a time when twelve million men and women can find no work to sustain their lives, the sweatshop and child labor, those symbols of capitalist ruthlessness, are coming back into their own, are flourishing as never before in recent days.

Child Labor Returning

According to the reports of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor child labor has been uninterruptedly increasing in the last two years. The mills and factories where children and women can be employed, the needle trades, the clothing and textile industries, are rapidly approaching a state recalling the early days of the industrial revolution. Throughout the country labor laws of every kind, and, in particular, child labor laws, are being openly flouted. As a result the sweatshop, with all its old abuses of long hours, miserable pay, and unsanitary conditions, is springing up everywhere, even in localities where it was unknown before.

Conditions In Four States

Reports are piling up to show the full horror of the situation. In Connecticut, the horrible example, cases have been found of children working in shops eighty or more hours a week. Employers punched time cards to show legal number of hours while the workers, including the children, worked far beyond the "normal" week. "Child labor and fearfully low wages," declares the Commissioner of Labor of that state, "characterize the sweatshops in the clothing industry in the state of Connecticut." The general working conditions found by factory inspectors, we are officially told, are now at the level of fifty years ago. The majority of children receiving working certificates "have found two dollar and three

dollar a week jobs" in the sweatshops.

Conditions in Massachusetts are about the same. A year ago the Minimum Wage Commission reported that rates as low as ten and even five cents an hour were being paid to girl workers in Fall River. Practically all the sweatshops in that state, we are informed, have appeared since the depression and the labor laws are far inadequate to deal with the situation.

In Pennsylvania a recent survey of 150 clothing factories by the State Bureau of Women and Children found that at least one-half were employing child labor. In some cases over half of the working force consisted of children. The working week was found to be fifty hours on the average of 44% of the children were receiving less than \$3 weekly, while over 75% were receiving less than \$5 a week. These conditions seem to prevail throughout Pennsylvania.

New York's record is not much better. Miss Frances Perkins, the State Industrial Commissioner, reports a tremendous increase in low-paid piecework. Children are working for less than \$5 a week and many are receiving no more than 35c a day. In New York violations of child labor laws have been increasing at a rapid rate, there being 30% more in 1931 than in 1930. Miss Perkins also declares that children are being given adult jobs in increasing numbers.

What To Do

The encroachments of child labor and sweatshop conditions constitute a grave menace to the working class. The labor movement must not lose a moment in answering the challenge. A united struggle (Continued on Page 7)

The Farmers In Revolt!

The following resolution was passed at a recent meeting of the Fort Wayne, Indiana, Chamber of Labor. It is a good reflection of the new spirit of militancy that is beginning to seize hold of considerable sections of the American people today.—Editor.

To the honorable members of the Legislature (Senate and House) of the State of Indiana:

We, the undersigned, residents and citizens, taxpayers of the State of Indiana, Allen County, of all shades of political thought and partisanship, respectfully petition your honorable bodies to enact a law suspending the foreclosure of mortgages in the courts and the sale of property for delinquent taxes, until such time as the present depression lifts and the people are again able to discharge their indebtedness to the state and private parties.

We respectfully but firmly, and in the American spirit of 1776, say to your honorable bodies that the day of petition is nearly, or quite, past and the day of demand is dawning, if not already here. We point you, our servants, to the things now occurring in our sister state of Iowa and we ask you in spirit aforesaid, but firmly and as clearly as we have language, not by delay, to force us, a peaceful and law-respecting people, to take our salvation into our own hands, as did the fathers of this republic in 1776. You can give us this law. The matter is now up to you. Respect this our petition. Do not force us to demand in a way that is against our inclinations. For be assured that we must and will have relief, at your hands if you will, at our own hands if forced, as were the fathers of this country in 1776!

Fraud In Cutters Local 10 Welfare League Protests Election Steal

New York City.

On January 3, a committee of the Cutters Welfare League appeared before the appeal committee of the G. E. B. of the I. L. G. W. U. and brought charges that the elections in Local 10 held on December 17 were conducted in a most fraudulent and irregular manner and therefore a new election should be held. Martin Feldman, opposition candidate for president, gave a detailed outline of what happened during and after the balloting:

1. During the voting the attention of the election board and of the officers of our union was called to the fact that certain people were repeating. 2. Certain members of our union, who are not eligible to vote, did vote. 3. An understanding was reached between the administration and the opposition before the voting started that everyone with a nine month limit should be able to vote. This was reversed by administration after the first fifteen minutes of voting and the thirteen weeks limit was practised and only those who were favorable to Perlmutter and Horetsky, the officials, were allowed to vote. 4. After ballot number 709 was cast the following ballots were already 749. About 250 ballots were missing. 5. The official count of ballots was 1346 but the automatic register held by the opposition counting ballots dropped into the box showed only 1017. 6. After 6:30 P. M. when the election board closed the voting, they went for supper and left the ballot boxes, with the ballots, in the office of the hall with no one from either side to watch them. There are witnesses to testify that certain people having (officially) no connection with the union opened the ballot boxes and stuffed them. 7. When the ballot boxes were opened all the stuffed

ballots were found on the top tray pressed, all or them increased. 8. When one of the opposition candidates got hold of some of these ballots and asked the manager what he thought of it, the manager ordered the suggestion that these ballots be put aside and the counting continued, and if these ballots would be the deciding factor in the election then we "would see what could be done." While these conversations were going on the chairman of the election board grabbed the ballots out of his hands and mixed them with the rest of the ballots. At this point this particular candidate refused to participate in the counting and left the place in protest. 9. After counting the ballots, when the box of stubs was opened, the same nicely pressed stubs were found on the top and the numbers of these were the same as those that were missing during the balloting.

After presenting these charges, Feldman called his first witness, an old member of our union and a Socialist. This witness stated that he himself did not vote for the opposition, only for certain candidates and he personally disliked some active members for their left wing and Communist activities. Still he thought that the elections were not fair and that everyone must be given a chance and that it was a dishonor to Local 10 to conduct elections in such a manner. He also stated that he had called the attention of some of the election board to certain things as a matter of suggestion but had been ignored.

After this witness Feldman wanted to call eight more witnesses to testify to all the charges made in his brief but he was stopped by the chairman of the appeals committee and the floor was given to Brother Perlmutter, the manager of Local 10. Perlmutter stated that he had no objections to the G. E. B. electing a committee to conduct a new election in the local, but he raised the question that the membership had (Continued on Page 7)

Paul Porter On Feb. 4, 228 - 2nd Ave. 'Militant Socialism Today'

What's Happening to America?

On the "Social Trends" Report

by Will Herberg

The report of the Hoover Committee on Social Trends, recently made public in full form and in official summary, constitutes, of course, a monumental documentation of the more obvious social and economic facts and tendencies of the first third of this century. But its significance passes far beyond that: it provides the most revealing evidence of the futility of conventional social science for an understanding of the problems of a civilization heading rapidly for the abyss. Confronted with developments of such profound import, the collective social intelligence of the most distinguished bourgeois sociologists shrinks to puny dimensions; its pretensions are discovered to be mere pretense; it replaces real analysis by trivial commentary swathed in academic mystification; it is radically incapable of grasping the present or of foreseeing the future.

The factual material, presented in the two volumes by voluminous special studies, contains practically nothing that has not been a matter of common knowledge for some years to all interested in such matters. There is no point in attempting any summary here. The present status and future trend of population, the most important vital statistics, the reckless utilization of mineral resources and agricultural and forest land (under capitalism), the absolutely astounding technological advance and its only too well-known consequences, the striking improvements in communications, the chief economic changes in the thirty years of recurrent prosperity and depression, the significant modifications in the structure of occupational groups, the remarkable but still very limited advance of women in social and economic life, the decline and instability of the family, the diminishing influence of religion in the modern world but the gain in church membership in the years of crisis, the increase of "dependence of labor upon a going concern and an economic system almost entirely beyond its control," the brief rise and the rapid fall of real wages, the intensification of instability, insecurity and unemployment, the failure of the labor movement in the last two decades, its more recent decline in numbers and fighting power, the main trends in consumption, the steady rise in crime and the admitted inability of (bourgeois) society to cope with the problem, the multiplying questions of public debt and taxation, the antiquated character and the inefficiency of the governmental apparatus (from the capitalist viewpoint), the breakdown of (bourgeois) democracy and representative government, the growing fusion of government and business and the increasing power and importance of the executive—these are the most important findings of the Hoover Committee; there is hardly a single item that has not been documented, commented upon, discussed, and moralized about in the so-called "serious" magazines in the last ten years.

No, not in the factual findings lies the significance of the Committee report but rather in the devastating light it casts, implicitly, indirectly, unwillingly, so to speak, upon the rapid disintegration of capitalist civilization and upon the flagrant bankruptcy of bourgeois social science and the hopeless impotence of bourgeois social thought.

Bankruptcy Of Empiricism

The essential incoherence of the report, its unmistakable superficiality, are the inevitable results of its organic empiricism, of its total lack of fundamental outlook and method. It does indeed formulate in the Introduction, a conception of social change and social interpretation, that unquestionably passes for historical materialism in academic circles:

ment, the schools and the churches. Somewhat later, as a rule, come changes in social philosophies and codes of behavior. . . . In reality all of these factors act and react upon each other. . . .

But even this method, precisely because it bears some distant resemblance to Marxism, of which it is a bourgeois vulgarization, is not consistently applied by the committee, or even seriously applied at all. It is used mostly to astound the layman by pointing out some utterly unforeseen but entirely secondary consequences of the invention of the radio, for example; it is hardly utilized at all as a key to unravel the complexities of the social structure of capitalism; it is least of all employed as an instrument to scan the future and mold its developments.

The leading ideas of the report are all, without exception, of a trivial and platitudinous, often meaningless, character. What does the following "central assumption" of the committee really mean, brushing aside all academic verbiage: "We may hold steadily to the importance of viewing social situation as a whole in terms of the interrelations and interdependence of our national life . . . of viewing problems as those of a single society based upon the assumption of a common welfare as the goal of common efforts?" Empty rhetoric!

The fact is that our "eminent scientists" are doomed to a sterile empiricism and a hopeless superficiality by the operation of a powerful defense mechanism arising out of their class position and class

affiliation. They cannot analyze realistically, think intuitively and see clearly because that would mean to call into immediate question the very foundations of our capitalist civilization which they are committed to defend. To the degree that capitalism grows historically superannated and decrepit, reactionary and opposed to the best interests of mankind, to that degree do its apologists, conscious and unconscious, grow intellectually blind and socially fatuous.

Under The Shadow Of The Crisis

Altho they were commissioned by President Hoover in the last "golden days" of "prosperity" (September 1929), the distinguished sociologists, who framed the report, began their researches and concluded them under the lowering shadow of the economic crisis—and the document betrays this on every page. The general outlook of the report and the committee is certainly conservative: no question is permitted to arise as to the fundamental validity of the capitalist system. Yet, in spite of itself, the report bears testimony to the inherently contradictory character of the capitalist economy, which the Marxists have always emphasized and the bourgeois economists have always denied.

" . . . Astonishing contrasts in organization and disorganization are to be found side by side in American life; splendid technical proficiency in some incredible skyscraper and monstrous

backwardness in some equally backward slum. . . . It is almost as if the various functions of the body or the parts of an automobile were operating at unsynchronized speeds. . . ."

The fundamental disharmony in our present social set-up, the report contends, is the discrepancy between the incredibly rapid rate of "mechanical invention" (the development of the forces of production) and the "institutional inertia" characterizing our system, the slowness of "social invention" (the rigidity of the social-economic structure, of the property relations and the social institutions built upon them). Translating the academic verbiage of the report into more intelligible language, what is this but a confused echo, vulgarized, it is true, of one phase of Marx's classical formulation of doctrine of the materialist conception of history (Preface to the Critique of Political Economy)? It has taken many decades and a world crisis to bring even a glimmering of social sense into the minds of our lapsed American sociologists!

The chapters on "Inventions and Economic Organizations" are easily the most important in the document. Indeed, only in dealing with economic questions does the analysis come within measurable distance of significant reality. The view common "in the hazy days of 1925-1929 . . . that business cycles had been 'ironed out' in the favored land," a view which these "eminent scientists" once enthusiastically shared, is now found to be rather more than question-

able; indeed the committee anticipates "recurrent episodes of widespread unemployment, financial losses and demoralization." But whence these crises come, what they mean, whether and how they can be avoided, these questions, we are assured by the "most eminent sociologists," remain for "further study and experiment." The most striking and, from many aspects, the most fundamental phenomenon of the capitalist economy, a phenomenon that has been studied for generations, and bourgeois social science stands mute before it, confessing impotence, admitting hopeless failure!

The keynote of the whole economic section is the growing chasm between the impressive structure of technical apparatus and the (relatively) shrinking "market capacity" (buying power). Technological unemployment, general economic decline, and the "inarticulate misery of hundreds of thousands or millions of breadwinners" all "impress" the committee, but again it remains at that: thought dare not venture further.

The sections on "Social Organizations and Social Habits" (aside from the chapter on "Labor") and on "Ameliorative Institutions and Government" are so utterly commonplace, so full of trite truisms and oft-rotted misconceptions that they deserve neither attention nor commentary. Not one really new fact, not one really significant idea, not one really potent conclusion!

(Concluded in next issue)

We would be on record as favoring the platform of the Trotskyites. No one will be so naive as to say that we ever endorsed the Trotskyist platform. In spite of this fact we have mature comrades who when confronted with the statement that the Stalinist general line is based on a Trotskyist platform have the unblinking courage to say: "It is not the line—it is the regime we meant when we published that statement in the 'Age'."

Let us proceed further with our investigation of the columns of the "Revolutionary Age."

In the December 1, 1929 issue of the "Revolutionary Age," Will Herberg, who has now developed a theory that the Stalin regime is something entirely apart from its general line, which is absolutely correct, wrote in his article on the "Decay of Trotskyism," as follows:

"The new turn bore immediate fruit. The readmission of Radek, Smilga, and Preobreshtensky was only a beginning. Hundreds of expelled Trotskyites began rushing back to the Party once they saw the new ideas in the process of rapid adoption."

Comrade Herberg now claims that the general line is correct and was correct. How, then, will Comrade Herberg explain as he states in his article that the adoption of the main ideas of the Trotskyites in the Stalinist general line constitutes the basis of a correct general line? Surely, Comrade Herberg, as a consistent courageous warrior against Trotskyism, you will now declare that the main ideas of Trotskyism which were incorporated in the general line by the Stalin regime only as attributes of the regime are incorrect but as additions to the general line they become Leninist, Bolshevik, Marxian attributes, as correct as correct can be. What heresy for a champion against Trotskyism to fall into—from fighting Trotskyism to endorsing it!

I again quote from the December 1, 1929 issue of the "Revolutionary Age." The following statement appears:

BUKHARIN REMOVED FROM THE POLBURO

Thus the struggle against the revision of the line of Leninism in the direction of Trotskyism on the part of the Stalin leadership of the C. P. S. U. takes on acute forms, but at the same time gains momentum and force. That the removal of Comrade Bukharin from the Politburo and the "warning" to Comrades Tomsky and Rykov are really a prelude to their expulsion from the Party if they do not give up their struggle for a Leninist line is clear from the article in the recent "Pravda" mentioned in the recent "Age"

(Continued on Page 7)

In The Post-Conference Discussion

THE RUSSIAN QUESTION CRITICALLY CONSIDERED

by Ben Gitlow

(Continued from the last issue)

The position of our group in opposition to the general line of the Stalin regime was maintained up till the time the resolution of the German Communist Opposition was published in the "Revolutionary Age" of January 10, 1929. This resolution gave full support to the Stalin regime and its general line. It is only necessary to give a historical review of many of the articles and statements published in the "Age" to prove this.

The following is a quotation from the "Revolutionary Age" of November 1, 1929:

FURTHER NARROWING OF THE BASIS OF STALINIST LEADERSHIP IN THE C.P.S.U.

The inevitable disintegration of the Stalin leadership in the C. P. S. U. as the result of the false inner line has reached a new stage of the development. Schatzkin, Sten, and others, who have hitherto formed the famous "young guard" of the Stalinist leadership have been "cut off." In a recent issue of the "Pravda" Comrade Schatzkin stated: "We have defeated Bukharin not with arguments but with Party cards!" while Comrade Sten went so far as to declare: "The Party has grown very unevenly. We have had a tremendous development of its grabbing organs but we have also had a shriveling up of its thinking organs."

For expressing such obvious truths which even they could hide no longer, Schatzkin, Sten and the rest were immediately removed from their posts (Schatzkin was a member of the editorial committee of five of the "Pravda") and made the victims of a campaign against "intellectual Trotskyism." Schatzkin and Sten are both capable comrades; the latter was considered one of the most promising younger Marxian students in the C. P. S. U. Meanwhile the basis of leadership in the C. P. S. U. grows narrower and narrower and the crisis grows ever sharper. At the XIV Congress of the C. P. S. U. (December 1925) Comrade Stalin declared: "The method of lopping off, the method of blood-letting is dangerous and infectious. Today you lop off one limb; tomorrow another, the day after tomorrow a third—and what is left of the Party?"

The catastrophic course followed by the present leadership of the C. P. S. U. (for which Comrade Stalin is directly and personally responsible) is a living proof of the profound truth of the words of the Stalin of 1925!

tion concerns only the inner-party line, the wrong regime and has nothing to do with the questions of economic policy. Only a school-boy can make such an assertion. The Schatzkin and Sten opposition were strong adherents of the Stalin regime and lineup till the time they realized the line was wrong. How, then, can one explain the statement: "We have defeated Bukharin not with arguments but with party cards." It is obvious that this quotation from the "Age" which concludes: "The catastrophic course followed by the present leadership of the C.P.S.U. (for which Comrade Stalin is directly and personally responsible) is a living proof of the profound truth of the words of the Stalin of 1925" does not merely refer to the regime as divorced and separated from the general line of the Stalin leadership. It is indeed a very faint indistinguishable line which separates the Stalin regime from its general line of policy for the Soviet Union. Only at this late date is the leadership of our group trying to justify its position in support of Stalin's general line by arbitrarily drawing a definite line of demarcation between the regime and its line as two different and

unrelated entities. That this was not always the case as far as our group and its leadership was concerned will readily realize from the further quotations which I will give from the "Revolutionary Age."

The following quotation is from the "Revolutionary Age" of November 15, 1929:

BUKHARIN FACES EXPULSION

Reliable reports from the U. S. S. R. indicate that in the C. P. S. U. itself the struggle against the revisionist line and the dangerous inner-party course of the Stalin leadership is developing on an organized scale. As a result preparations are already under way—"semi-officially"—for the expulsion of Bukharin and his supporters at either the next Plenum or the next Congress of the C. P. S. U., to be held towards the end of the year (Articles in "Isvestya", etc). This offensive against Bukharin is closely connected with the political coalition with the Trotskyites, on whose platform the struggle against the so-called "right wing" is being conducted.

This is a very clear statement of opposition to the general line of Stalin regime. It does not fear to state emphatically the position of our group against the revisionist line and the dangerous inner party course of the Stalinist leadership. It states also the fact that the Stalin regime has adopted the platform of the Trotskyites in their struggle against the so-called "right wing." It is obvious to anyone who knows anything about the Trotsky platform that it has a great deal to do with the question of the construction of industrialism in the Soviet Union, of industrialization and also the policy to be pursued towards the peasantry. The Trotsky line, in my opinion, represented a wrong line. It was rejected by the fifteenth party congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was precisely the false general line of the Trotskyist platform which our group opposed and which the Stalin leadership incorporated as the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in place of the correct line of the fifteenth party congress.

If we should state that we favored the Stalinist general line as far back as November 15, 1929, then according to the above mentioned quotation from the "Age"

JUST OUT— "I Accuse!"

by
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Why a United Jobless Movement?

On the Discussion in the "Communist"

by B. Herman

In the "Communist" of December 1932 there is a discussion—doubtful significant because it is so rare—of the recent Chicago united front movement of the unemployed against the 50% slash in relief in that city. As a result of the success in uniting all of the existing bodies of the unemployed and other workers organizations, tremendous power was massed in a demonstration of more than 25,000 workers and the cut was rescinded. This we must hail as a victory for the workers and a victory for the policy of the unity of labor in its struggles against the capitalists. By the same token, the notorious "united front from below" received a terrible shock. For here was a united front of *leaders*: Communist leaders, representing mass organizations, met with the Socialist and Proletarian party leaders, representing their organizations. The phrases of Williamson about "uniting only with the rank and file" are like the mumbo-jumbo of a witch-doctor who tells his superstitious devotees that nothing has really happened to the clay idol which lies smashed to bits at his feet. Indeed, certain party members protested against the profanation of the "united front from below". How can we—they asked—meet together with the "social-fascist" leaders? These comrades, filled with the ultra-left nonsense for years by the party leadership to the point where they really believe it, are now being prepared for slaughter as scapegoats by this very same leadership. So much, at present, for the "left deviation"; the party has begun to hunt out.

Unemployed Council And Party
The article of Comrade Verblin correctly exposes the sectarian bumbling and suicidal methods of the party leadership, in spite of its hypocritical smoke-screen about "fighting sectarianism." It is a welcome relief in the welter of non-Leninist and anti-Leninist nonsense that fills the columns of the party press. It will certainly have its effect in recalling to the minds of many party members the elementary ideas of Leninist tactics now forgotten and proscribed in the party.

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that Comrade Verblin himself does not go far enough in his repudiation of sectarianism. He, too, tends to regard the Chicago united front as if the participants were not primarily the mass organizations of the unemployed but rather the Communist and Socialist parties. He, too, tends to take it for granted that it is proper and for the best interests of the workers that there should exist separate unemployed organizations, each affiliated, directly or indirectly, to political parties; in other words, that there should exist a Communist unemployed organization, a Socialist unemployed organization, a Proletarian party unemployed organization, etc., which, on occasion, may join in a united front on some common issue. Of course, what is merely an implicit tendency in Verblin is crassly outspoken in Williamson. To the Unemployed Councils Williamson as-

cribes a role that belongs to the Communist party:

"We must emphasize that the united front is not a unification of all organizations. Through the entire united front action, the unemployed Councils must maintain their own identity, own activity, and must build themselves thru their leadership in the mass struggles against the boss class and in spite of the reformist leadership of other organizations."

But this is the very crux of the matter: A Communist Party in a united front must not lose its identity and must under no circumstances merge with the other organizations with which its carrying on a joint struggle because, in spite of the common agreement on one fighting issue, it differs from the other organizations in fundamental principles, in its end program. But what on earth is to prevent one unemployed or another—except the crassest sectarianism? It is, or should be, the very purpose of a jobless organization to gather in itself the unemployed of all or no political viewpoint on the basis of a broad elementary program on unemployment. In fact it is the very establishment of jobless councils on party lines that has split the ranks of the unemployed, has weakened and demoralized their movement, has rendered their struggle far

less effective and has helped to keep the masses of the unemployed, who are not Communists and not even Socialists from being drawn into a powerful movement of the jobless.

For A Non-Partisan Movement

The organizations of the unemployed must be non-party, non-partisan, admitting all jobless without question as to their political views and without being subordinated directly or indirectly, to any political organization. To organize on a political basis means to drive away large masses of the unemployed who, to this very day, will have nothing to do with radical political groups.

And yet in this country, whatever there is of an unemployed movement is split up along political party lines. The Communist Party has its organization and the Socialist, the Proletarian party and the C.P.L.A. have theirs. The official Communist Party is not alone in its sectarianism; all of the above mentioned groups are deeply tinged with it.

The Communist Party, the P.P., the C. P. L. A., and the S. P. cannot give up their political or organizational identity in a united front because their programs differ fundamentally even though they may all agree on unemployment insurance and immediate relief for the unemployed. But their unemployment organizations have no such bar to merging for surely no one will maintain that the political

platform of each party must be injected into "its" unemployed organization!

With the unemployed mobilized in one powerful nation-wide non-partisan jobless association, the formation of a real united front of the unemployment organizations with the trade unions and other bodies of employed workers, becomes really possible.

But this very idea of a united non-partisan unemployed association is as far as possible from the present sectarian course of the party. The party leaders curse it as the most abominable opportunism. In the meantime, the party leaders fight common sense as the "right menace" of "Verblinism" and disport themselves with "coarse" potshots at the fleas of sectarianism while the tigers roam unheeded.

affair. This, however did not take place at all."

The Logic Of Activism

The full and complete meaning of "Activism" becomes clear in September. Consider the following sections of a leading article by "Florian Geyer" called "The Social-democracy at the Parting of the Ways." Great pride is expressed in the "fourteen years of the most responsible state-political course of the S. P. G." and in the "national political attitude of the German workers in the great war." To the course of 1913, we are told no return is possible; it is the course of the Communists today.

That position was "negative radicalism." "For the S.P.G. there are many dangers but there is one which is absolutely fatal, namely, an attempt to compete with the C. P. G." The S. P. G. must "make a turn towards positive radicalism." It must "give up the old anti-state conceptions of vulgar Marxism"; it must "forge the interests of the state with the interests of the working class. The S. P. G. must not allow itself to be "hindered by the vague cosmopolitan ideas of vulgar Marxism"; it must not fail "to make itself the organ of that passionate national movement, which must be considered self-evident in a people that has been mishandled as has been the German people."

In the most open fashion is denied the class antagonism between working class and bourgeoisie: "It is true that the S. P. G. declined to set up a Bolshevik dictatorship and based itself on the fundamental idea of drawing the bourgeois classes into the state."

In the most astounding manner, the very basis of modern Socialism in all its forms is flatly denied. "The vulgar Marxist idea of a basic contradiction between proletarian and bourgeoisie must be rejected!"

The dictatorship of the Junker generals is explained away as "Socialistic": "That the real soldier under present conditions can be nothing but a Socialist is self-evident. For capitalism destroys the defensive power of the nation." This is a deliberate justification of any collaboration with the "Socialist" General Schleicher!

And a month later (October) the full implications of these ideas are drawn: "The idea of the third front as the front of all socialistically-minded people, of all popularly rooted parties and leagues from left to right, is from a broad viewpoint a great hope and a still greater task."

Here, every "i" is dotted; every "l" is crossed!

The "Activist" movement represents a tremendous menace to German labor, a menace that is likely to feed upon the passive and defeatist policies of the leaders of the S. P. G. The Social-democratic workers should take warning.

WANTED: Copies of Revolutionary Age, Vol. II, No. 14, March 7, 1931, to complete sets for binding. Comrades having any copies of this number bring or send them to us.

A New "Right Deviation"

The discussion in the "Communist" arises chiefly over a "right deviation" supposed to have been committed by certain comrades, especially Comrade Verblin. In his article Comrade Verblin, with arguments that show that he has assiduously followed the "Workers Age", very correctly attacks the extremely stupid and disruptive conduct at the conference of John Williamson, the party organization secretary of the Chicago district and the representative of the party-controlled Unemployed Councils to the conference. In order to show that the "united front must be a tactic of struggle and not of peace with the reformists", Williamson could find nothing better to do at the conference than to launch into a bitter name-calling tirade against Karl Borders, the Socialist leader of the Socialist-controlled Workers Committee on Unemployment the biggest unemployed organization present, claiming about 15,000 members to the 10,000 claimed by the Unemployed Councils. He made this abusive attack on the ground that the Socialists are the "betrayers of the workers," in Germany, Milwaukee, etc., and declared that "the Communist Party does not unite with the leaders but only with the rank and file." Verblin points out that Williamson's conduct gave rise to a hostile demonstration, boosing and hissing by all non-Communist elements present and brought uneasiness and dissatisfaction even to the party members and sympathizers.

Not by abuse do we win away the workers from reformist misleaders. This was proven again at the conference and after for here abuse separated the workers not from the reformists but from the Communists. It is the experience of struggle, supplemented by careful and patient explanation, that teaches the workers which policy to follow and which leadership to trust.

The article of Comrade Verblin has caused considerable uneasiness in the party apparatus. Sympathy for his position is being felt to such an extent as to make the party bureaucrats regret that they permitted the least dissenting opinion in their "theoretical" organ. The whole weight of the editorials in the "Daily Worker" and the "Communist" is brought to bear against Verblin's views and against the alleged "right menace" lurking there.

What's Happening In Germany Today?

THE "ACTIVIST" MOVEMENT IN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

by A. P.

Berlin, Germany.
The most recent turn of the Social-democratic party of Germany and of the A.D.G.B. (German A. F. of L.—Editor), the formation of a "loyal opposition" to the Schleicher Cabinet to collaborate with it, the integration of this "opposition" into the "third front", the chauvinistic and semi-Fascist speech of Leipart at the Bernau trade union school, deserve the closest attention of the working class and of the Communist movement in particular.

The new turn is the consequence of the carefully planned work of an organized tendency in the leading circles of the S. P. G., the trade unions and the Reichsbanner. The adherents of this tendency prefer to call themselves "Activists." They are primarily young trade union leaders, bourgeois intellectuals, "November-Socialists", who came to the S. P. G. for a career and quickly succeeded in reaching high administrative posts. These people were recently thrown out of their good positions in the government and elsewhere and are now "radical" indeed. They are extremely indignant that the bourgeoisie should have discharged them from its service. They declare themselves ready to apply all means in order to come again into the "enjoyment of state power." They speak of proletarian "defense", of "forces" that must be "counterposed" to the forces of the other side, of "extra-parliamentary action" that must "supplement parliamentary action," they are indeed lackeys of the bourgeois state with bomb in hand, or rather, with bomb in mouth! Their "radicalism" is of a nationalistic, Fascist color. It is necessary for the Social-democratic masses to see the real character of these "Activists" who are hiding their fundamental, nationally nationalistic and Fascist position with Socialist and democratic phrases.

The "Activists" And Their Paper

The "Activists" have their own organ, the monthly "Neue Blaetter fuer den Sozialismus" ("New Pa-

ges for Socialism"). The point of departure of their outlook is a determined nationalism and imperialism that rejects pacifist phrases of all sorts. "There is no way out of the tragic circle of emergency decree politics except a firm foreign policy" (January, 1932). In the April issue a hymn of praise is sung to the famous Karl Schmidt, the Berlin professor of law, who was counsel for Papen and Bracht in the case of the constitutionality of the Prussian coup d'etat. Their enthusiasm for Schmidt is based on the latter's sharp attacks on democracy and the parliamentary system—attacks, of course, from the extreme right! The disintegration of the parliamentary system backwards, in favor of open bourgeois dictatorship, is thus greeted. "In this situation democracy and parliamentarism are considered the same and regarded as a political unity. This view cannot be shared; it is indeed dangerous for Socialist politics" ("N.B.", April). And what "Socialism" is, according to these "Activists", is indicated in the following words: "Petty ownership and large-scale capitalist property are not only different in size but also in essence. For this rea-

son the struggle against small property must be given up in principle and not merely placed in the background" ("N.B.", June).

It is the merest commonplace that small and large-scale property are not exactly the same from the viewpoint of tactics but to endorse small property in principle means to reject the very foundations of Socialism. For small property is the fruitful matrix out of which capitalism is continually reborn. To endorse small property in principle means to endorse capitalism in principle.

Fascism And Socialism

By July the "Activists" had already reached the point of demanding that the Nazis be taken into the government: "There is no other way: If the N.S.D.A.P. (the Nazi party.—Editor) cannot be stifled in opposition it must be destroyed in the government. This party must get into the government under conditions that will avoid as much as possible the misuse of the state power..." This is exactly the policy of Papen-Schleicher and of the heavy industrialist chiefs. The "good intentions" of "destroying" the Nazis with "conditions" naturally cannot change any objective consequences. The natural result of such a position is to make an alliance with the Nazis in the government and out.

The coup d'etat of July 20 was evaluated as the "first great defeat" of democracy but of resistance the "Activists" had no idea; they contented themselves with impotent and empty protests. In the August number of "Neue Blaetter", a writer by the name of "Florian Geyer" says in the leading article "Democracy or Dictatorship": "This defeat was, if we withhold resistance, unavoidable from the viewpoint of the relations of political power, but it did not necessarily have to bring about such a moral defeat of democracy. It would have been otherwise had the protest of the masses been given an expression commensurate with the monstrosity of the

Have You Read ?

- THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone 10c
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The Group at Work

Three Notable Meetings in N. Y.

New York. Approximately three hundred workers jammed the headquarters of the Communist Opposition on January 8 to listen to a lecture by James L. Cannon on "What the Left Opposition (Trotsky) Stands For." A number of party and Y. C. L. members were amongst those present. Comrade Cannon's presentation was a disappointment to the vast majority present. In a talk which lasted over one hour he failed to devote any time whatsoever to American problems or to outline concretely any program of action for the American working class. Many workers in the audience called him to account for this. He failed even to make clear to the non-Communist workers present what the theories of the Trotskyites (permanent revolution, "socialism in one country," etc.) were, merely mentioning the usual Trotskyist ritual, but explaining and clarifying none of these questions. His time was devoted in the main to the "Russian question." In the discussion, the question of the position of the Trotskyites towards the Soviet Union, their theory of Thermidor, was emphasized by speaker after speaker. Quotations from innumerable pamphlets by Trotsky were brought forward to substantiate this charge. The Communist Opposition is planning the arrangement of a debate to further make clear the Trotskyist inconsistencies and the incorrectness of their viewpoint.

On January 15 Comrade Jay Lovestone spoke before a very large audience on "What the Communist Opposition Stands For." The discussion brought out further the disintegration and the incorrectness of the official party line, particularly in the unemployment work. Many party members were present. Forty-seven copies of the pamphlet "What Is the Communist Opposition?" were sold, besides the "Workers Age" and other literature. The audience showed the widespread interest in the program of the Communist Opposition.

As part of a series of meetings in the membership drive now being conducted by the Communist Opposition, Comrade Lovestone spoke to over 300 workers on Thursday, January 12 at Labor Temple on "Whither the American Labor Movement." A great deal of interest was expressed in the prospects for the building of a Labor party in this country.

FORT WAYNE, IND.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

The Communist Opposition in Fort Wayne, Indiana, is going ahead and getting results. Recently the membership has been increasing. The latest recruits are Comrades Ferrell, Wyburn and Henderson. They are all experienced workers in the political and trade union movement. We have a number of prospects whom we hope to sign up within the next few weeks. Among them are several colored comrades. A study class in the Fundamentals of Communism is being organized. At the last unit meeting Comrade Miller of Detroit gave a talk on organization. The local movement for a Labor party is making headway. The "Workers Age" agent is reporting good prospects for more subscriptions.

MONTREAL

Montreal, Canada.

Montreal, for the first time, heard Comrade Lovestone at the Carmen Sylva Hall on December 30, at 8:30 P. M. Altho the difficulties for arranging the lecture were innumerable and altho it rained, and, in spite of the fact that the official Communist Party passed a decision to boycott the lecture and the Y. C. L. was picketing the hall, yet over 250 people, both workers and intellectuals, were present at the lecture.

The subject of the lecture was: "Whither Germany, the Rise of the Nazis." Comrade Lovestone em-

phasized that Germany at the present time was at the crossroads—in the near future the power was bound to fall either to the Fascists or to the Communists. He stressed that the Communist Party would be in no position to assume power if it upheld its present sectarian policies. If, on the other hand, the party entered into a united front with the Social-democrats, the chances for Germany turning Red were even greater than for it turning black.

After the lecture; the meeting was thrown open for questions and discussion. Since the Socialists, (including the Ypsels), the Trotskyites, and the Communist Party were all represented in force, the discussion was very thoro. As was expected the party's representative attacked Comrade Lovestone and the Communist Opposition in general; but in the eyes of the audience the attack was groundless. Especially was this recognized when Comrade Lovestone answered. And if the party comrades refused to listen to reason, they should at least have learned from Comrade Lovestone a lesson in tolerance and patience.

Dave Breslow.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

"Capitalist decay in the United States will be marked by increased class struggles, economically and politically, and by an enormous growth of militancy on the part of the American working class," Bella Engels said in a lecture on the American labor movement before the Syracuse group of the Nature Friends on January 10.

"Objective conditions are such as to guarantee a tremendous growth of American Communism. However, as great as the prospects for a mass Communist Party might be," Comrade Engels asserted, "there are big obstacles in two distinct features of the present tactical line of the C. P., namely dual unionism and sectarianism."

Giving a survey of American labor history, Comrade Engels stressed the revolutionary traditions of American labor manifested in the Haymarket event, Pullman strike and similar labor struggles.

In an analysis of the present situation, Comrade Engels put forward the great tasks and problems facing the American working class. Condemning sectarianism, union-splitting and factional disputes, she urged labor unity as an immediate need to fight our common enemy, the capitalist class.

Much of her time, she devoted to the questions of trade unionism and it was on the trade union question that she was bitterly attacked in the discussion that followed. The discussion itself was very lively but unfortunately it was not devoted to a consideration of the great pressing problems that confront labor, but rather to the differences between the C. P. and C.

LABOR GAIN IN CANADA VOTE

All Workers Tickets Make Remarkable Advance

Toronto, Canada.

The January municipal elections in this district revealed gains for all those running on a workers ticket. This statement goes, not only for the left, but also for the right, which must be said because, as usual, the alleged "united front" (actually sectarian) election committee seeks to hog all the credit for the advance.

Comrade Alice Buck, running for the Board of Control secured over ten thousand votes as a result of the city-wide campaign. None dreamed that she would ever reach such a magnificent total. Such a poll reveals a general awakening. The "Mail and Empire" expressed itself as follows: "A surprise and in some quarters, disquieting feature of the election was the vote accorded Mrs. Buck, which was roughly double the support given a year ago to her husband, the Communist leader now in the penitentiary." Other "united front" candidates made very good showings. So did the Labor party and Socialist candidates. It is plain candidates alone who recorded increases, but that the workers at large are breaking thru the shell of conservatism and that, were genuine united front tactics used, the collective political results would be much more favorable.

Nor can the "united front" committee parade York Township (West York) and ignore East York. In the former, Humphries, the United Workers candidate, was beaten by 11,264 to 3,852. The "Worker" credits its candidate with making 20% of the vote. Actually it was better than 34%, and, knowing the locality, one can only describe this as magnificent. The "Worker" oversteps the mark when it acclaim the results for the remainder of its slate of "revolutionary" candidates. Kirkwood, one of these alleged revolutionaries made speeches which would have carried him thru an evangelical campaign. His "come to Jesus" style stamps this bird as a second-grade Christian Socialist. The other candidates made a good job of it. In East York the Workers Association there elected Doggett as deputy-reeve and defeated Cheeseman, an ex-Socialist. The vote for the members of the old council was a little better than twenty thousand, the Workers Association candidates rolling up more than nineteen thousand. The East York campaign was distinctly reformist in tone.

P. (Opposition).

Without taking any sides, one must admit that Comrade Engels knew her subject remarkably well and she left a notable psychological effect on the audience of thirty-five workers.

—W. N.

In the Comintern

Recent Developments in Sweden

We publish below a letter of information from a leading official of the Communist Party of Sweden, affiliated with the International Communist Opposition.—Editor.

Stockholm, Sweden.

Since the national elections of September 18, the Swedish Comintern section, the official Communist party, has not engaged in any political activity at all. It has maintained a vegetative existence, even in regard to the campaigns and activities undertaken by our party.

Roy Campaign and Amnesty

Our party, on the other hand, has been exceedingly active. During the visit of the British Prince of Wales here we organized effective demonstrations demanding the freedom of Comrade Roy, which found repercussions in the press of the whole world. At about the same time, just as the Social-democratic government came into power, we initiated a strong campaign demanding amnesty for all political prisoners. Scores of mass meetings were arranged, our fractions in the trade unions were mobilized, and, above all, we made a serious effort to arrange united front conferences with the local Social-democratic organizations (and higher committees) for the same object. In about fifty places we succeeded in establishing joint committees and in organizing joint meetings. What did the Sillen people (the Comintern party—Editor) do? Here and there they held a meeting or so, it is true, but in their blind factional hatred they actually came out against the release of our comrades in prison for political offenses (for example, Comrade Olle Kell, the responsible publisher of our paper)! The indignation this conduct evoked in working class circles cannot be described.

The Unemployment Conference

Another important field of our work has been and is unemployment. Today there are already over 300,000 out of work in Sweden, an enormous amount. There is no government unemployment insurance of any sort and the relief is very meager. There is some "emergency work" relief, with wages at least 30% lower than the prevailing rates, but even here very few workers are involved. Thru our initiative, an Unemployment Central Committee has been set up, with syndicalist and Social-democratic organizations and non-party workers, and a national conference has been called for January 14 and 15, 1933. Only trade unions and unemployed bodies are to be represented. Over 100 delegates have already been elected and we expect about 200. The Comintern party was in great confusion on this question. Its papers were full of abuse and slander and misrepresentation. At

first it came out against the conference; finally under pressure, it seems, it has issued an equivocal call for the support of the movement.

Opposition In The Sillen Party

In all these matters, it should be noted, the Comintern people were at the tail end of events. And when they did take action, it always proved a boomerang against them. As a result, opposition began to arise not only in the ranks of the Sillen party but even in its topmost leadership, aggravated by financial difficulties and organizational decline. The factional mobilization reached such a point that the "Swedish question" was again placed upon the order of business of the Comintern. Immediately after the elections, a commission of Swedish comrades was despatched to Moscow. When this commission came back it bore with it a letter to the party, which is now being discussed in the organizations.

The Comintern Letter

The letter sharply criticizes the election campaign and the failure of the Comintern party in it. Sillen is made the scapegoat and Sven Linderot elevated to party secretary. The silly fishwife abuse of the Comintern sect against our party is condemned as ineffective and the instructions issued that the Comintern people should behave "in a comradely manner" to us! It is even forbidden to abuse our leadership! Indeed, it is even suggested that our organizations be invited to joint discussions with the Comintern party.

We immediately took cognizance of this maneuver and issued directives to our members and organizations. Wherever the Sillenites have any influence we are glad to undertake joint discussions. And everywhere such discussions have occurred, they have meant a considerable victory for us. Since the elections, the Sillen sect has taken only five people from our party, while we have increased our membership at least 500, some from the Comintern party but most from the Social-democracy. In general, our organization grows at the rate of about 300 members a month, while, in the whole period since the elections, the Comintern party has only succeeded in establishing one new organization, according to its own reports. Their press has also shrunk considerably.

Their new tactics came as a result of their desperate situation and our continual advances. But it will avail them nothing: *our party is and will continue to be the Communist Party of Sweden.*

E. A.

The Death Of Zanaide Wolkov

There cannot be the least doubt in the world that the tragic suicide of Zanaide Wolkov, Leon Trotsky's daughter, came as the result of anguish and despair caused by the withdrawal of her Soviet citizenship, thus making it impossible for her to return to the Soviet Union and be reunited with her husband and 10-year old child. Nor can there be the least doubt in the world that this brutal piece of meanness was perpetrated by the Stalin faction in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as an act of factional vengeance against Trotsky. Zanaide Wolkov was not involved in politics in any way, but just because she happened to be Leon Trotsky's daughter she had to feel the weight of the Stalinist repressions.

It is necessary to point out that such disgusting methods have nothing in common with a real Communist struggle against false doctrine and deviations! The latest exploit of the Stalin regime can only revolt and incense every honest Communist and revolutionary worker!

The Story of a Yugoslavian Worker

Hoboken, N. J.

by A. Sandrin

Hoboken is one of those towns from which, during the World War, the United States Army was shipped across the ocean to fight for democracy. Today, in this same old Hoboken, these same workers (former soldiers) meet with police terror and brutality when they try to demand bread and relief, because they are unemployed thru no fault of their own.

Anton Bezich had been out of work for two years and was now penniless and without any means to support his family. He took part in the agitation for the National Hunger March to Washington. While distributing leaflets among the longshoremen, his fellow-workers, the police arrested him and the judge sentenced him to ninety days in jail.

His wife and two children were left destitute. Worry over the fate of her husband drove her frantic

and all efforts of neighbors to calm her were in vain. An ambulance was called and she was taken to the insane asylum where, in a few days, she contracted a fever and was dying. The hospital asked that her husband be called to her side at the end. Comrade Bezich, was released on parole, but, before she could reach her, his wife died. Eight hours before his wife's funeral, he died too! The funeral, which had been scheduled for December 27, was postponed to December 29.

At the funeral, one comrade from the I. L. D. tried to make a speech, but was immediately stopped by the police.

Comrade Bezich had been a candidate for the State Legislature on the Communist Party ticket in the recent elections and the Com-

munist Party should have been able to mobilize more than the hundred who were present to his funeral.

The responsibility for the deaths of Comrade Bezich and his wife is directly with Judge Schlossen. If the proper action had been taken by the party and a mass mobilization made, it could have brought them closer to the class struggle, and it could have shown the State of New Jersey and the City of Hoboken that the Communist Party is international and could have won support for itself.

In Hoboken, all kinds of illegal businesses are carried on and there is a bar on every corner, carrying the American flag. Such people are not molested but a worker like Bezich, when he demanded bread for his wife and children, is jailed and his health broken, resulting in his death and the death of his wife.

A. Sandrin.

With the Working Youth

The Chicago Anti-War Conference

by Lou Ayres

The Student Congress Against War convened at Mandel Hall, the University of Chicago, December 27, 28, and 29 for the express purpose of presenting a united front against imperialist wars, based on a minimum program. Also the National Committee was representative of the colleges and the various political groups, it was clear from the beginning that the Y. C. L. and the N. S. L. (Young Communist League and National Student League) controlled the conference. Members of these groups urged a united front with the reservation, paradoxical enough that their program must be the program which should be adopted.

Also the N. S. L. and the Y. C. L. were in a majority, there was a splendid opportunity for a vital united front in the character of the minority delegates. They represented liberal opinion, made ripe for a radical stand by economic conditions, but, soon enough, they were to be treated to the tactics of the official Communist Party.

Instead of being satisfied with a really minimum program (such as abolition of the R. O. T. C. on the campus, recognition of Russia by the U. S. government, a stand against imperialist wars, and freedom of speech and assembly of students and faculty members), the Communist Party majority forced their own program (including such issues as defense of Soviet Russia, condemnation of the leaders of the Socialist International, etc.), despite the heated protest of other groups, particularly the Socialists. The repeated charges of: "You're railroading things thru" was met with, "Throw him out!" or "Make him show his credentials!" Sane delegates, amidst the boing of the Y. C. L. and N. S. L. people, insisted that they could not carry back to their college campuses a minimum program demanding defense of Soviet Russia. Socialist delegates pleaded against the resolution censuring the leaders of the Second International on the ground that they could take no further part in the congress after such a "slap in the face" but the majority group overruled their protest without thought.

Toward the end of the conference, after midnight Thursday, there remained only the consideration of a permanent organization, plans for immediate activity and

election of officers for the National Committee. Thus, by far the most important features of the conference received the inadequate treatment. Then the controlling forces hit a snag in the refusal of one minority delegate after another to accept nomination for the National Committee. By necessity the official Communist group had to rescind its resolution censuring the Second International and had to agree that delegates "representing every shade of political opinion" would be nominated for the National Committee. Thus a National Committee, a really united front representation, was "hitched up" during the short time in which the delegates were only able to give vocal approval. What will come out of this "hotheaded" youth conference? Probably the minority delegates will return to their college campuses with thumbs down on a united front, based on official Party tactics, and will broadcast their opinion of Communists in general.

Lou Ayres

Geneva, Switzerland.

The preparatory conference has begun here, under auspices of the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, on the 44-hour week as a remedy for unemployment. On the opening day (January 11), however, the gathering was already deadlocked, owing to the opposition of the employers groups, supported by the various government delegates, to the plan in general, but above all, to the demand that the hours be cut without reductions in wages. The British government was especially vigorous in opposition.

The British government urged the conference "not to waste any time pursuing this phantom of a 44-hour convention" for, even if adopted, it would not be ratified but merely cause "dangerous wage disputes." The employers group rejected the convention as "impracticable and certain to defeat its ends by increasing the cost of production, cost of living and unemployment."

Jouhaux, the leader of the French Confederation of Labor, spoke for the labor group, declaring that, at a time when over 30,000,000, or about 16% of the workers of the world were unemployed, some sort of action was necessary on an international scale. Even when the present crisis will give way, he said, unemployment on a mass scale will continue. He

A Letter from a Worker

Dear Editor:

Thanks for writing up the situation in Local 3 of the I. B. E. U. If you print this in your paper I will be thankful.

At our last meeting, our officers came in 100% prepared to put their stuff across. Before the regular union meeting the delegates went around the jobs instructing the men working that they must be present at the local meeting to vote as instructed. The administration clubs, such as the Kingsboro S. & A., the Friday Nighters, and the Acorns and others held special meetings at which all those present were instructed to support the administration.

At the union meeting, we were all let in for a good treat. Bart Cortmen, a business agent, made a motion: "We go on record against two scales of wages." Surprise Number Two was given to us by Jerry Sullivan, another administration man; he made an amendment that we go on record for one scale of wages of \$13.20 a day. So far so good.

From these two motions many of the members got the impression that the administration was against reducing the \$13.20 scale of wages or adopting a \$9 scale for alteration work. But here is where the joker comes in. A third administration man, Gerald Duffy, made an amendment to the amendment that we give the officers a chance for a graceful retreat in the event they cannot come to terms with the employers by allowing them to "arbitrate." The parliamentary net of the administration was now completely drawn, there being three motions before the house, the limit allowed by the Broach constitution. During all the

also warned that the workers group would not accept the agreement unless it provided against the cutting of wages.

Present prospects are that the preparatory conference will end in nothing.

time those motions were being made the chairman was blind and deaf to all the attempts of the opposition speakers who tried to get the floor to make a motion.

After the amendment to the amendment was made, which is the first motion to be voted on, President Wilson stated that he was going to allow as much discussion as possible, and that every one would get a chance to express himself (even though they could not make a motion in line with their opinions). Several brothers tried to point out that the motion to arbitrate was out of order, because a motion had been passed at a previous meeting not to arbitrate. According to the union constitution, a motion to reconsider must be carried by a two-thirds vote before we can consider a matter which has already been passed upon. But what's a little thing like a constitution when it hinders the administration? After Solomon, of organizing committee fame, who tore up vouchers for several million dollars, spoke, cries through the hall were made by machine men to close discussion. This the chairman proceeded to do although he promised that he would allow full discussion on all motions.

When the vote was taken there was a slight majority against arbitration despite the confusing tactics of the administration, tactics which tried to create the impression that the administration was against two scales of wages. President Wilson, however, declared the arbitration amendment carried. He immediately proceeded to close the meeting before anyone could ask for a recount. Now that the administration has clear sailing to arbitrate wage matters, it will try to disclaim all responsibility for the results. The members must remember how Pries stated he would break a leg in order to save the \$13.20 scale of wages. The members will have to take steps to defeat arbitration if they want to save their union standards.

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of Comrade Lovestone and those who support his present view to explain how the incorrect, non-Leninist line of the Stalin regime became a correct line, especially now when the results of the Stalinist policies in life prove the contrary.

Further statements to the effect that the Stalin regime adopted the policies of Trotskyism appeared in the "Revolutionary Age" of January 15, 1930. In a statement entitled: "Who Has Adopted Trotskyism?" the "Age" states:

"If any proof were needed of the ideological affinity between many basic tenets of Trotskyism and the present line of the Exec and the various Party leadership, the speech of Stalin at the last Congress of Agricultural Experts has furnished it. In this speech he declared openly and frankly that the present policies are those proposed by Trotsky two years ago and for which Trotsky was expelled. Only Trotsky was 'premature.' This is an open shameless revision of the traditional estimation by the Comintern and the Russian Party of the Trotskyism as 'Menshevism hiding beneath left phrases.' This is the road for the open incorporation of the anti-Leninist views of Trotsky into the program of the Comintern. Is it any wonder that all the most outstanding Trotskyites are rushing back to the party and finding an open-armed welcome there?"

The speech of Comrade Stalin here referred to was to the Congress of Agricultural Experts of the Soviet Union on the industrial and agricultural policies of the Stalin regime. Stalin did not refer to Comintern policies but to Russian policies, to his general line. Says the "Age" it contained the basic tenets of Trotskyism for which Trotsky was expelled from the Russian party. It is very clear that at that time our group saw very clearly Trotskyism in the general line. Then we branded it correctly as a shameless revision of the correct general line. But it is no more shameless and unprincipled than the revision of our group's position to full support of the Trotskyist un-Leninist line of the Stalin regime.

(Continued in the next issue)

On the "Russian Question"

(Continued from page 4)

The "editorial which declared: 'Unless the opposition disavows its policies and activities in time... the Communist Party itself will carry the fight against the opposition to the bitter end, making all the necessary conclusions.'

From the above statement it is evident that the "Age" was quite emphatic in presenting the position of our group that the Stalin line for the Soviet Union was wrong. It even goes so far to state that the fight against the line of the Stalin

regime by Bukharin, Rykoff, Tomsky was for a Leninist line. We knew very well then that the fight of these three and their associates was against the Stalinist policies in industry and agriculture, against the whole Stalinist general line of socialist construction. We were not afraid to state that the fight of Rykoff, Tomsky and Bukharin was for a correct Leninist line as against the wrong general line of the Stalin regime. It will take a lot of explaining on the part

LENIN AND THE COMINTERN

(Continued from page 3)

and of our party is its supreme contempt for the masses and for every form of mass work. According to the new line, all organizations with reactionary leadership must be abandoned. The new leadership is too "pure" to work among the backward workers and to fight for the leadership of these workers. All workers in the A. F. of L. and other unions under right wing control are lumped together under the simple term "social-fascists," thus making work among them unnecessary. The faithful are comforted with the explanation that there is such a radicalization of the masses that the workers are "seething with revolt," are running ahead of the party. The united front, of which Lenin was the foremost champion, the great weapon of proletarian unity and the great instrument for winning and politically educating the masses, for breaking them away from reactionary leadership, has been abandoned as opportunism. Whoever advocates Lenin's methods today is told that he is an opportunist and a counter-revolutionist.

Nothing can be further from the methods of Lenin than this wholesale spattering of every form of reformist, opportunist, petty bourgeois liberal, Social-democrat, capitalist of industry and capitalist politician with the single label of "social-fascist." The ordinary pro-

cess of capitalist government, such as the conviction of workers by capitalist courts, suddenly become "fascism" as if capitalist "democracy" had nothing to do with injustice against the workers, the use of police and troops against pickets, as if capitalist democracy did not represent a brutal naked dictatorship by the capitalist class, as if big business never ruled America before. All of Lenin's, all of Marx's teachings on the nature of capitalist democracy count for naught with the dunderheads of the new course.

Lenin The Party Builder

Lenin's teachings on the nature of party life, on discipline, on party democracy on the role of the party, have been forgotten by the leaders of the new course. In place of developing theoretical life, we find a most desperate effort to suppress all discussion. Workers are not permitted to say anything, are even to ask questions. They are ordered to make "statements" and are then told what the statements must be. Expulsion is "traditionalized" on the belt and speed-up system and the production figures rise every week. To choke off discussion of political issues the most demoralizing slanders are resorted to.

The Social-democrats have always contended that the Communist Party was organized like a

church, that everything had to be taken on faith, that there was no possibility of discussion, that discipline was nothing but dictatorship from above. Today, the new "leadership" of the Communist International is trying to justify these Social-democratic slanders of Communist discipline. Lenin long ago answered the Social-democratic slanders and the present methods prevailing in the party when he wrote:

"And first the question arises: Upon what rests the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat? How is it tested; controlled, reinforced, strengthened? First: by the clarity of aim of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by the steadfastness, spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism. Second: by its ability to lead the toiling masses, to form contact with them and to a certain extent to fuse itself with the proletarian masses, primarily, but also with the non-proletarian toilers. Third: by the correctness of the political leadership carried out by the vanguard and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, based on the idea that the workers convince themselves of the soundness of this political leadership, strategy and tactics through their own experience. Without all these conditions, really capable of becoming a party of the advanced class whose object is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and revolutionize all of society, it is impossible, realization. Without these conditions, all attempts to create discipline result in empty phrases, in tomfoolery, in clownishness."

Who can imagine Lenin endorsing a wrong line or ceasing to fight for a correct one, in order to hold a party post? To give up one's

principles, to cease to fight for a correct Communist line, to make an unprincipled endorsement of a line which you know is wrong, is to cease to be a Communist, the you hold a membership card and a functionary's post or a dozen posts.

If Lenin were alive today, and in the American party, with his theory of the united front, his insistence on working in all organizations of the masses, his "exceptionalism", his belief in realistic analysis as the basis for tactics, how long would he last as a member of our party under its present leadership? What would he say to the comrade summoned to the control commission to make "statements"? What would he say to those who debate whether they should give up the struggle to correct the line of the party because they are threatened with expulsion?

"You must and you certainly will understand that once a member of the party is convinced of the absolute incorrectness and harm of a certain doctrine, he is duty bound to take a stand against it... at all costs."

So Lenin answered once before and never were Communists more in need of such advice than at the present moment when a crisis threatens our movement with destruction in America and on an international scale.

Lenin Today

"If Lenin were alive," some comrades say, "then we would never have had the present crisis." But it is idle to speculate. Lenin can no longer contribute to the solution

of our problems, but Leninism can. The thing for every Communist to do by way of commemoration of the Lenin anniversary is to absorb and apply his teachings and fight for Communist unity and the re-establishment of a Leninist line in our party and in the Comintern!

FRAUD IN LOCAL 10

(Continued from page 3)

already approved the report of the election board and that the prestige of the local would suffer. He asked for a postponement of the hearing. Upon his recommendation, the appeals committee postponed the hearing for an indefinite period.

New elections in Local 10 are probable, providing the manager, Perlmuter, will be able to carry this proposal or a similar proposal in the executive of the local, which is considered very doubtful by those close to the local and to the union generally.

X.

SWEATSHOP BACK!

(Continued from page 3)

must be organized with two great objectives: (1) the enactment of effective labor legislation against the sweatshop, including Federal anti-child labor laws, and (2) the organization of the workers in the sweatshop trades into unions. All tendencies in the labor movement and friendly to it must join forces in this great crusade!

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THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN ACCOMPLISHED

The completion of the Soviet Five-Year Plan, officially announced recently, is an event of world historical dimensions. It is not merely, nor even largely, a question of plan figures achieved or surpassed, these matters are of great consequence indeed, but far deeper is the significance of the Five-Year Plan as the threshold to a new stage of the development of mankind, to a socialist society, without exploitation and without classes!

The great objectives of the Five-Year Plan were precisely to provide the prerequisites for the construction of an harmonious socialist economy. And that these objectives have been fulfilled, far beyond original expectations, can hardly be denied. The Soviet Union is now on the straight road to becoming an advanced industrial country with a firm and unshakable basis in heavy industry. The ever menacing contradiction between socialist industry and capitalist agriculture has been definitely, tho not completely or finally, overcome thru the world-shaking process of collectivization. The natural resources of the country have been greatly developed, all forms of economic life extended at an unprecedented tempo, the working class enormously enlarged, trained, and its standards raised. But most important of all, the socialist base of the national economy has been expanded so as to embrace not only practically the whole of industry and trade but the decisive sections of agriculture as well, thus radically transforming the basic relations of town and country. Only the stultifying bias of reactionary class prejudice can blind one to the profound significance of these great historical changes.

The execution of the Five-Year Plan took place on the background of the most severe economic crisis in the history of the capitalist world. Yet it was precisely in this period that the Soviet Union made its greatest advances, jumping, in industrial production, from the index figure of 100 in 1928 to 234 in 1932. Nevertheless, it would be ignorant folly to maintain that the Soviet economy can isolate itself from the influence of the world market and thus escape entirely the impact of the crisis. The enormous difficulties brought by the crisis were supplemented by those arising out of the Far-Eastern situation, the widespread drought of last year and other factors—all combining to make the year 1932 a hard one indeed! In spite of everything, however, the Five-Year Plan was accomplished—a tribute to the energy, devotion, readiness to sacrifice and determination to conquer of the Soviet proletariat and the Soviet Communist Party.

The accomplishment of the Five-Year Plan uncovered very serious shortcomings, very grave problems, which can be neglected or denied only at great risk. The negative consequences of the extremely rapid tempo of development and of the relative sacrifice of light industry, both absolutely necessary and inevitable under the circumstances, must now be counteracted and systematically overcome—the "goods shortage," the large labor turnover, the high unit cost of production, the low labor productivity. All of these problems are being faced realistically by the Soviet leaders and decisive measures for their solution have already been taken. Unfortunately, however, one obstacle, and a serious one at that, in the way of the most rapid and most effective construction of socialism, is still unrecognized by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and consequently unmet—the undemocratic, un-Leninist and oppressive regime in the Communist Party itself, which stifles independent thought, makes significant self-criticism impossible, and continually narrows down the basis of leadership in the party. But here, too, the objective course of socialist development, with its implications for the Soviet proletariat and Soviet party masses, holds out the promise of great improvement; here, too, the revolution will prove able to solve its problems . . .

The Five-Year Plan has called the attention of the whole world to the fact that the great Russian Revolution of November 1917 was not merely a political transformation, profound tho it may be, but that it was the herald of a new stage in the social evolution of mankind. In this lies its incalculable historical significance!

THE REDUCTION TO THE ABSURD!

"Reduction to the absurd" is frequently the most effective form of proof. And the utter fallacy and dangerous consequences of dual unionism become most clear in the latest and most farcical move in that direction. The January issue of the "Labor Age," the paper of the C. P. L. A., publishes and comments sympathetically upon the manifesto and appeal of the Central Labor Union of Gillespie, Illinois, and the trade unions of the country to secede from the A. F. of L., and gather around it to form the "Progressive Federation of Labor," Shades of Daniel De Leon!

In this terrible crisis of unionism in the United States, at a time when the concentrated forces of capital, aided by the passivity and outright treason of the reactionary union officials, seem determined to wipe out altogether the organizations of the workers, the progress-blessings of A. J. Muste and the Trotskyites, have nothing better to do but try to form a new Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, a new Industrial Workers of the World, a new Trade Union Unity League, by means of a new split in the A. F. of L. This is their contribution towards the life-and-death problem of consolidating and uniting the forces of labor!

Fortunately enough the whole matter is a sorry farce and is certain to go down as an interesting exhibit in the museum of curiosities of the American labor movement. Have these people actually lost all sense of reality? Where the T. U. U. L. failed dismally altho it could draw upon the extensive capital of the victorious left wing in the needle trades, of the powerful movement among the miners, of the heroic struggles of the textile workers, do they expect to succeed with a few scattered dualist groups? And what would their success mean but further division, further demoralization, further disintegration of the American labor movement?

How long will it be before all left wingers and progressives in this country will fully grasp the profound truth of the words of William Z. Foster: "Dual unionism is essentially a product of utopianism; it is the result of striving to reach the revolutionary goal by a short cut of ready-made, perfectionist organizations.

The Results of the First Five Year Plan

From The Report Of Stalin To The Plenum

We publish below extracts from Walter Duranty's report ("New York Times", January 10, 1933) of the report of Comrade Stalin to the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The problems raised in the report are of great importance to the world Communist movement and are of special significance in connection with the discussion of the "Russian Question" that has been going on in the "Age."—Editor.

Moscow, U.S.S.R.

For the first time Stalin clearly defined the meaning and purpose of the Five-Year Plan, as the Bolsheviks conceived it and its historic importance to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and to the world. He declared the "plan had succeeded beyond the expectations of the most enthusiastic" and that 93.7% of the industrial program had been accomplished.

The 6.3% lag, he said, had been due to "the unwillingness of neighboring countries to conclude non-aggression pacts" and to war danger generally, which had compelled the diversion of a number of factories to the needs of national defense.

Then the Soviet leader proceeded with an explanation of the purpose of the plan, the fundamental object of which, he said, had been to remove the contradiction between socialized industry—the result of the urban proletarian revolution—and small peasant individualism, which had resulted from the peasant revolution involving the expulsion of the landlords and the division of the land.

Stalin asserted a successful socialist state was impossible unless this contradiction was removed and that such removal was possible only by establishing a solid industrial basis for big-scale, socialized agriculture. Otherwise, he continued, while socialist industry was destroying capitalism, individualist agriculture would be breeding capitalist elements.

Why Speed Was Essential

"While small peasant individualism remained," he said, "the danger of a capitalist restoration remained greatest. Therefore, it was the Soviet's task to provide a self-sufficient industrial basis for collective agriculture at all costs and at the utmost speed, which meant the development of heavy industry and machine construction."

To the questions—Has the speed been too fast? Have the results been worth while? The sacrifices greater than anticipated?—Stalin said firmly the Bolsheviks had known and discounted the costs beforehand and were not afraid of difficulties.

The results had been fully worth while, he said. The frantic tempo adopted had not only been right but absolutely necessary to meet possible attacks by enemies at home and abroad, he asserted.

Had the speed not been thus rushed the Soviet Union might now be in the position of China, but, as it was, capitalism had been eliminated from industry and its foundations in agriculture destroyed, he said.

Did this mean the same speed must be maintained in the second plan? No, he explained because, first, a solid foundation for industrial and rural socialism had already been laid; second, the national defense had been adequately strengthened, and, third, it was now paramount to master the new technique, the new factories and the new methods, which could not be rushed in a burst of enthusiasm as in the building of the plants.

Thus he reckoned an annual increase of 13% to 14% in industrial production henceforth as sufficient, compared with 22% in the next four and a quarter years, but he said it was significant that the growth of 16% planned for 1933 was seven times greater in volume than the growth of 66% in 1925.

Agricultural Problems
Analyzing the agricultural situa-

tion Stalin said the problem of converting small individual farms into big socialized units had already been solved and that this had increased the quantity of grain mobilized in the hands of the government from 10,000,000 tons yearly to 22,000,000 tons.

There are now more than 200,000 collectives and 5,000 state farms, including 60% of the peasants and 70% of the cultivated land, the area of which has increased 50,000,000 acres in the past four years, he said.

This is an enormous advance, he asserted. He asked what would be said of a country that built 25,000 new factories in a year, adding that the U. S. S. R. had built far more than 25,000 great new collective grain factories annually.

It was argued by some that this was not a paying proposition, he continued, but he said a few years ago the same was true of half the textile plants, tho that was no reason to abandon them. Likewise with the Nizhni-Novgorod automobile plant and some metallurgical plants, he said. It was a question of general national economy, he said, and of non-paying becoming paying with time and experience. The older collectives, he contended, had proved that beyond doubt.

The speaker asked whether it was right to rush the speed of collectivization, and answered that it was, to cut the ground from under the kulaks (rich peasants) and complete and utilize the nationalization of land, but that here, too, the tempo might be slowed in the future. What is most important now is organization, he insisted.

Gains For Workers

Stalin maintained that the material position of the workers and peasants had been greatly improved by the Five-Year Plan. It had abolished unemployment and insecurity among workers; it had abolished inequality between rich and poor peasants, he asserted.

He cited the steady rise of wages and the increase in communal feeding and state insurance, and he made a biting reference to urban and rural conditions in capitalist countries. He stressed the developing socialized commerce and declared a goods supply in the hands of the state was better backing for the currency than gold.

Stalin's final words contained the assertion that, despite difficulties, the Five-Year Plan and the socialized system had definitely proved their superiority over decaying capitalism.



TO MAKE MY BREAD, by Grace Lumpkin. Macaulay Publishers, New York, 1932.

The title of this book is the threat of Jack the Giant Killer's giant: "Fee fi fo fum . . . I'll grind his bones to make my bread."

But this time the giant is the factory system and the victory of Jack is in terms of a group of mill workers, highly individualized thruout the story but achieving finally a group personality and force in their organized upsurge against the giant who had crushed hope and satisfaction out of their lives. Nor is the end of the struggle an easy fairy-tale victory.

"I was feeling as if everything was finished," is the despairing conclusion of John, the worker-hero of the book.

"No," the more experienced strike organizer answers him. "This is just the beginning." And he, as well as John, knows that their young union has been crushed, their relief station demolished, some of their bravest comrades killed because they, as workers had dared to fight against the terrible evils which industrialism brings into the South.

The first half of the book is laid in the Smoky Mountains where John is born to Emma in a lonely, windswept shack. There is primitive scarcity and need in the home of the "poor white trash," but courage, independence and pride too. Emma's persistent hope, in the face of successive disappointments, that somehow, something will happen to improve conditions if only she can bear each today bravely, rings true and tragic. It is in interesting contrast to the hope held out by the birth of the workers organization which ultimately is as sure to win out as is Emma's individual effort is sure to fail.

When the promise of a better life does come it is in the form of a press agent from the city mills. Eagerly the mountain folk follow him out of the frying pan of their hillside destitution into the fire of the factory system with its crowded shacks, occupational diseases, child labor, starvation of body and spirit—death!

The story moves fast, showing many of the characters so real as to be recognizable. Grandpa, cocky in the mountains, sassing back preachers, judges, his daughter and grandchildren, has the self-reliance and independence crushed out of him in the city struggles until he is willing to grovel his way into heaven by prayers, submission and resignation on earth.

Ora, John, Bonnie, Negro chain gangs, sharecroppers, Ku Kluxers, relief workers, college girl company workers, organizers, who urge the starving housewives to broil, not fry, their meat and to give plenty of milk and eggs to their children, ministers who talk always of equality in death but not in life, company doctors who own the drug stores, union organizers from the North, give the book vivid color and scope. Finally the most exciting event in this book, which is hot with religious emotionalism, love struggles, shootings, personal conflicts, is the dramatic strike in which the union, organized painfully out of individual needs and ambitions, acquires, even in its temporary defeat, a social character which lifts each member in it above himself in courage, purpose and power.

This story of a society in flux, of a group of workers being made and then being made conscious, is an important contribution to current literature and is all the more effective as propaganda because the writer appears to have set forth just what she saw without preaching or moralizing. They just "happen" to speak dynamically for themselves!

E. R. Brand

What Next in Germany?

HEAR

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